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THE IMPUTATION OF MOTIVES[1]

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ABSTRACT

All causal imputation is inferential, but the imputation of motives is an inference of a peculiar kind and subject to peculiar difficulties. Consequently there are those who regard it as a wholly unscientific procedure. Sometimes they claim that the language of "motives and goals" is itself unscientific, but this is a dogmatic and metaphysical limitation of the realm of science. More plausibly they claim that since motives are baffling and unverifiable they lie outside the scope of scientific investigation. But this claim goes too far, since motives manifest themselves in various evidential ways, and science may properly examine the bearing of the evidences, even where certainty is not attainable. The moral is not that we abandon the investigation of motives—for they are intimate data of human experience—but that we make the recognition of difficulties the basis for more thorough investigation.

Causal knowledge is always inferential, never immediate. The causal nexus, like every other relationship between data, is not itself a datum. It can never be vindicated by perception or by any of the devices that come to the aid of perception. The assertion of any relationship, no matter how simple or obvious, involves the appeal to reason, and its establishment is a scientific construction. We do not perceive the relationship of the earth to the sun or of a child to its mother, we only infer it. Some relationships are completely demonstrable, like the properties of geometrical figures; others are cumulatively demonstrable—we can approach ever nearer to full verification, or refutation, by means of scientifically attainable evidences; others again are of such a nature that complete demonstration is barred by a seemingly insuperable obstacle. To the last category

[1] From a work, now under preparation by the author, entitled *Social Causation.*

belongs the imputation of motives. The peculiar feature of the imputation of motives is that we are asserting a nexus between an overt action and a purely subjective factor that cannot be exposed to any kind of direct scrutiny and that is not, as such, manifest in the action. If, for example, a man competes for a prize, we can say with some assurance that the prize was his objective; but if we add that he sought the prize in order to triumph over a rival or to recover from a former defeat, we are precariously going behind the objective to assert a motive for it. Several alternative motives in this sense or several different combinations of motives are equally admissible for the explanation of a particular action, in the sense that the action itself does not enable us to refute any of them. There are certain conventional symbols and gestures of motivation that are expressed or indicated by the agent, but even so they may be entirely deceptive. "A man may smile and smile and be a villain." So when we impute motives, we are inferring not simply a relationship between one datum and another; we are inferring a relationship (the causal nexus) between a datum (the overt act) and a postulate that is itself a highly precarious inference (the alleged motive). We should here observe, however, that the postulate is not the existence of motives but the presence of a particular motive within the scheme of a particular situation.

Confronted with this dark hazard one might easily conclude that the imputation of motives is a wholly unscientific business; that it represents what one writer roundly calls "the animistic, theological, cause-effect viewpoint"; that in all science, not alone physical science, "a generalized statement of *how* events occur is the only *why* we seek," so that we must relegate the quest for motives to the limbo of ancient superstitions.[2] But we are loath to accept this conclusion, for the simple reason that we cannot dismiss, as beyond scientific inquiry, any intelligible question concerning reality. That motives, as already defined, belong to the world of reality is established by the

[2] The quotations are taken from G. A. Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology* (New York, 1939), p. 260. I fully accept the statement of this author that "motives and goals can be inferred only from behavior" (p. 286). But he begs the question when he suggests that there are no more scientific grounds for inferring motives and goals for human actions than for concluding that "it is the 'motive' and the 'goal' of lightning to thunder!"

best of all evidences—that of immediate experience. We are all aware that we have motives. We might even go so far as to suggest that the phenomenon of motivation constitutes an elementary distinction between animate beings and inanimate things. We cannot accept the intellectual asceticism of those who would rule out of the realm of science the study of motivation, since by that decree we would be denying to the scientist a vast area of human interests. Those who assert, as an objective against the language of "motives and goals," that the scientist is concerned only with the *how* of things are not really facing the issue. We are told by such writers that the *how* of behavior includes "*the conditions under which it takes place and the probability of its occurrence under these conditions.*"[3] Now, among the conditions of human behavior are the subjective attitudes and impulses without which it would certainly not be human. To the agent himself these subjective urges are important as conditions and explanations of his act. For him they constitute its *why*. They at least appear to be determining factors, and that is why the term *why* is more relevant than the term *how*. Or, if you prefer it, among the *hows* of behavior are certain factors which we distinguish as *whys*. There is an obvious distinction between asking why we did something and asking how we did it. To inquire why people make money is not to inquire how they make it. This *why* is intelligibly different from other conditions of the act. There is no human, and certainly no social, area of investigation to which this question of *why*, in one or another of its forms, is alien. We want to know not only how but why customs change, divorce increases, the birth-rate falls, conflicts arise, social movements grow and decline.

Those who abjure the language of "motives and goals" are apt to combine, sometimes indiscriminately, two contentions for their position. They may claim that it is unscientific to speak of motives at all, that such concepts belong to a scientifically outmoded, "animistic," "folklorish" manner of speech. Sometimes this claim is based on a materialistic or mechanistic metaphysics, buttressed by the fact that in mechanistic physics, their model for all the sciences, such language finds no place. But if motives and goals exist as data of experience, the claim comes perilously close to being a blind

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 286. Italics in original.

dogma. It would exclude from reality something indubitably present in human behavior. It is, of course, an interesting hypothesis that the apparent role of motives as determinants of behavior is a subjective illusion, but they do not investigate this hypothesis, still less establish it. And even were it established, these illusory motives would still remain among the conditions under which behavior takes place. It would be animistic thinking to assert that the lightning strikes a tree because it was angry with the tree. We would be illegitimately extending the concept of angry intention from the sphere to which experience entitles us to refer it. This illegitimate extension is the meaning of animism. But what on earth does it mean when we dub "animistic" the language of "motives and goals," applied not to the angry lightning but to the angry man?

The second contention is logically independent of the first. It is based on the peculiar difficulties involved in the discovery, identification, and attribution of motives. Motives are hidden from the observer; they cannot be brought into the light of day. Even the agent's consciousness of them is elusive and obscure. Because of their baffling uncertainty, because they cannot be verified, because they cannot be examined, tested, measured, they lie outside the area of scientific investigation. They may be fit themes for the novelist or the moralist, but the scientist should leave them severely alone, for he is concerned only with observable and verifiable facts.

For this second contention we have more sympathy. The difficulty we face in seeking to include motives within the range of scientific investigation is obvious and great, but the question is whether that difficulty is insuperable, so as to justify an attitude of complete scientific renunciation. The mere fact that an enterprise is difficult is an unworthy reason for abjuring it altogether. Let us then consider more fully the nature of the difficulty.

The first count is that the investigator can never observe or "get at" motives. They are the secret of the agent and, since the same overt action may be inspired by any one of a variety of motives or, rather, by any combination of a number of complex and elusive urges that together constitute the motive of the particular action, the external signs are quite inconclusive. They are often quite misleading. The agent has often a motive for hiding his motives. When

he lets us into his secret, as it were, he may be concealing it the more. Even if he is genuinely attempting to reveal it he cannot offer us any proof. There is no way of "objectifying" the motive. It cannot be recorded; it cannot be expressed in precise, unmistakable symbols. It cannot be made amenable to tests of its presence or absence, still less of its quantity and degree.

The second count is that even the agent has no assurance concerning his own motives. He may confidently announce them to others because their credence in his alleged motives helps him to gain his objectives; because the announcement contributes to his self-satisfaction or his social standing; because his interests persuade him that such are his motives; because he wants to persuade himself that his motives are what he declares them to be. He socializes or rationalizes his motives, proclaiming them to be the expression of certain simple attitudes of a kind that are socially esteemed. It is so much easier to do this than to state or even to discover what his actual motives are. For motives are complex and elusive. Why should one undertake the difficult business of fathoming them—in so far as they can be fathomed at all—when it serves our purpose so much better to resort to these conventional and plausible simplifications? It is true that we often are curious about the motives of others. Sometimes we even expect them to answer questionnaires concerning the reason why they got married or divorced, why they chose their occupation, why they went to college, why they voted for a certain candidate, and a thousand other things. And we naïvely expect them to name one, or possibly two or three, out of a short list of simple "reasons." But if we candidly ask ourselves why *we* did any of the things in question, we are most likely to find that our self-examination reveals no such clarity of motivation. Why did we go to college? We went because each of us, being the kind of person he is or was, just acted so in the light of the particular alternatives presented to him. To analyze a decision of this sort is a difficult task, often baffling and sometimes repugnant to us; but when we try it we learn at least how superficial and how hazardous this whole business is of naming and imputing motives.

As if these difficulties were not enough, a modern school of psychological analysis has advanced another that is even more per-

turbing, since it threatens the validity of our conscious motives altogether. They tell us that the attitudes and emotions we recognize in ourselves and believe to be determinant of our actions are frequently not those that really move us; that they are only a substitute or a mask for our true motivations, which lie deep in our unconscious being; that because of early experience, indoctrination, and our built-up interests, we have powerful inducements for suppressing the very awareness of these motivations and for resisting any exploration that might lead to our own enlightenment. We have, so to say, strong motives for ignoring our motives. It is true that this school has, on the basis of certain assumptions, devised its own techniques for the unearthing of the unconscious, but, whatever we may think of these assumptions, the evidence adduced to show the deceptive character of our own beliefs concerning our motives sets up new danger signals for the investigator hotfoot for certainty in this world of elusive apparitions.

What then should we conclude? That we abandon altogether the quest of motivation? But in the arguments we have cited there is no suggestion that motives do not exist; and even as apparitions they call for investigation. And there is no demonstration that access to them is impossible, but only that it is difficult. Let us take the first count—that the outsider cannot get at motives. Obviously he can read motives only through their manifestations. Sometimes the signs are obscure and baffling, sometimes they are relatively clear. A man discovers that an acquaintance is the lover of his wife. Uttering words of anger and evincing the gestures associated with rage, he attacks the man. In a case of this sort, particularly if we know from other evidences the characteristics of the agent, we infer that he intended to do harm to his wife's lover and that he was animated by feelings of hatred and anger. We cannot demonstrate the conclusion beyond all possible doubt. In one instance out of many we may go wrong even in reading such obvious and universally accepted signs. But why should it be unscientific to read the signs as carefully as possible, to develop the logic of evidence and apply it to situations, even though it yields not absolute certainty but only some kind of probability? We may surely advance toward truth by repeated approximations, each based on par-

tial evidence, as well as by adding one to another a series of itemized and finally verified unit blocks of knowledge. Some very important types of knowledge, some aspects of all knowledge, we can attain only in the former way. Moreover, as students of the social sciences we are not dealing with individual behavior as such but with patterns of behavior exhibited by many individuals. The case cited above represents such a pattern. Since we have hundreds of instances, we can discover with a high degree of assurance typical social behavior under well-defined conditions. And in this typical behavior we find quite recognizable motives operative. The typology of social actions is a vast branch of social science that is still undeveloped and that is susceptible of far more scientific treatment than it is now receiving.

So far, in consideration of the first count, we have referred only to cases where the signs are relatively clear. We agree that often they are utterly inadequate to provide grounds for reasonable inference. But the further objection, that the agent, who alone has "inside knowledge" of his own motives, frequently misrepresents them with intent to deceive, does not justify a purely negative attitude toward the task of investigation. We cannot assume that the deception is invariably successful. There are other evidences than the words and gestures of the agent. As far as the behavior of any one individual in any one situation is at issue, our inference may be quite conjectural and hazardous. But when we relate the single action of the individual to his other actions, to his life-history, and still more when we relate the action of one individual to the actions of others in similar situations, we may well discover a consistency of behavior that discounts the diverse allegations of plausible motives and enables us to discern with high probability, if we proceed far enough, the characteristic motivation associated with types of situation. We may find, for example, that a nationality group, suffering from exploitation by a dominant people, clings more strongly to its traditional mores than do the members of the same nationality where they are autonomous; or we may find that a racial group, suffering discrimination on racial or other grounds, adopts, more readily than do other groups, a social philosophy subversive of the system under which they live; such findings carry with them strong

indications of motive, and if our examples are numerous enough it would be idle to deny that these indications lack scientific value.

The misrepresentation of motives is a difficulty, not a total impasse. Sometimes the disguise is subtle, sometimes it is transparent. The following case may serve as an illustration. A certain petty official held a post in a municipal administration, several members of which had been convicted of corrupt dealings. A special prosecutor presented evidence that this official had been consorting with an array of thugs, racketeers, and convicts. The official, rather than submit to examination, resigned his office. He did so on the plea that if he defended himself the records of these people would be published. "Many of them," he declared, "are now leading decent clean lives, bringing up families the best they can, and the disclosure of their names can bring only shame and distress to their innocent ones. . . . . I cannot and will not, no matter at what cost to me, cause any further suffering and humiliation to those people. There are but four weeks remaining to my term of office. It is too brief a time to justify all of the suffering and humiliation that might result from a public hearing."[4] To say the least, no investigator would be misled by such a plea. Nor would he entertain serious doubt concerning the motive that prompted this parade of motive.

We turn then to the second count—that the agent frequently mistakes and misinterprets his own motives. But this claim is itself a positive one. It has validity only in so far as motives are knowable. It can be advanced only by those who profess to be able to uncover the real motive behind the disguise, the genuine wish underneath the repression, the determinant urge back of the agent's false consciousness of his motives. In fact, a characteristic of the various schools that dwell on the distinction between real motives and apparent ones is the assurance with which they undertake to reveal the former. Pareto has no trouble in identifying the "manifestations of residues" and in exposing the "derivations" that mask them, any more than has Freud in identifying a primary "libido" as the core of the most elaborate credos. In like manner the critics of "ideologies" assume the ability to penetrate behind the mental defenses of those who proclaim them. Whether or not we share this

[4] *New York Times*, December 4, 1937.

assurance we must agree that only in so far as there is some ground for it can we reasonably assert that the agent either misapprehends or disguises his real motives, and consequently the distinction thus drawn affords no argument for dismissing the possibility of scientific investigation.

We may note, however, in passing, that those who make the distinction as sharp and decisive as do the Freudians proclaim, in so doing, their possession of techniques enabling them to arrive at absolute certainty, particularly with respect to the hidden, disguised, or "unconscious" motives operative in individual behavior. We cannot accept so clear cut a solution, since all the investigator can do is to discover, examine, and organize the evidences that point to the presence of particular motives, thus revealing the grounds for an inference that can be no more than highly probable. If, as psychoanalyst or psychiatrist, he is engaged with problems of individual therapy, his diagnosis of motivation may be confirmed or corrected by the results of the treatment based on it. If, as social psychoanalyst, he is concerned with problems of group behavior, he can achieve the very considerable reinforcement of probability that comes from the study of the like behaving of many individuals. On this basis he can learn to predict with expertness how people will respond to similar situations as they occur; how, for example, a group of people of a particular culture will feel and act if they are treated thus and thus by another group. If this art is still rudimentary it is not because the evidences of motivation are lacking but because the scientific study of these evidences has gone so short a way. Nor is the sociologist any less scientific in drawing probable conclusions from such evidences than is the meteorologist who predicts what tomorrow's weather will be. The lapse from science appears when he claims unwarranted certainty and treats his inferences as though they were established facts. And, in spite of the remarkable and possibly epoch-making work of the Freudians, they have widely exposed themselves to this charge. Their certainty rests on a number of assumptions regarding the biological nature of man, regarding the dominance of a construct called the "libido" and of a few sex-rooted "complexes," regarding the causal role in adult behavior of a few experience patterns attributed to infancy and child-

hood stages, regarding the analogical reference to these patterns of a wide diversity of behavior manifestations, and regarding the translation of the same patterns into a wide diversity of social institutions.[5] Freud tells us, for example, that the rise of religion is due to the child's sense of helplessness and his longing for a father, and that totemism is a device by which the primitive tribe guarded itself against the dangers associated with incest. But these, like countless other examples of psychoanalytic pronouncement, are merely suggestive hypotheses which should be stated and treated as such. Hypotheses of this sort are not to be taken as demonstrated merely because they are in harmony with psychoanalytic assumptions. They should be checked as rigorously as any other hypotheses. In the literature of psychoanalysis there is all too frequently the contentment with the congenial guess, the acceptance of analogy as proof, the daring leap in the dark—the *salto mortale* of faith.

From this point of view some danger lurks in the very expression, "unconscious motive." In what sense, if any, can we be said to have desires, feelings, attitudes, of the existence of which we are not even dimly aware? A particular biological tension stimulates appropriate desires; a particular nervous condition is reflected in correspondent attitudes; but does that justify us in treating the tension as desire and the neurosis as attitude? No doubt it is a matter of definition, but there is a genuine risk of confusion if we use the same term for the phenomena of conscious life and for the organic conditions and processes that work below this level. The psychoanalysts are particularly interested in the relation between the two levels, which is all the more reason for keeping the terms distinct. In effect, when they speak of "unconscious motives" they constantly pass from one level to the other. We find at least three usages: (1) There are motives of which the agent is totally unaware, but which the psychoanalyst can infer from various indications such as dreams, beliefs, fantasies, and Freudian errors. For the organic tensions and strivings thus indicated it would probably be better to use some

[5] See A. Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York, 1939), Part III; Erich Fromm, "Über Methode und Aufgabe einer analytischen Socialpsychologie," *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, I (1932), 28–54, 253–77; K. Horney, *New Ways in Psychoanalysis* (New York, 1939).

other language than that of motivation. It is not in question that motives, as phenomena of consciousness, express or reflect the organic constitution. (2) There are motives of which the agent is fitfully or dimly aware but without realizing their full significance. "Awareness of an attitude comprises not only the knowledge of its existence, but also the knowledge of its forcefulness and influence and the knowledge of its consequences and the functions which it serves."[6] But a dim light is still a light, and to suggest that we are unconscious of an attitude when we do not know "its consequences and the functions which it serves" is to employ a mode of speech that plays havoc with any distinction whatever between the conscious and the unconscious. (3) There are motives of which the agent is clearly conscious but which nevertheless have an entirely different character or direction from that which he ascribes to them. "We may be disgruntled or depressed without knowing why; . . . . our interests, our convictions, our attachments may be determined by forces which we do not know."[7] But the fact that we do not examine our motives, could not explain them even if we tried, and do not understand what lies back of them does not entitle us to call these motives themselves "unconscious" or to call "motives" the unconscious factors that may determine them.

To pursue these issues further is beyond our present scope. It is obvious enough that the investigation of motives is a task beset by peculiar hazards. It is obvious that the application of scientific method to this task is still, in spite of the brave new leads of the psychoanalysts, somewhat rudimentary. But surely the moral is not that we abandon the endeavor but that we make the fuller recognition of difficulties the basis for more thorough exploration. We need in particular to extend the range of our inquiry into motives. On the psychological side we have to study more explicitly their relation to the types and varieties of personality, to the developing interest-complexes dependent on the interplay between personality and environment, to the impact on such interest-complexes of conjunctures and crises occurring in the individual life-history; and we have to learn to read the indices of motivation within the coherence of such total situations. On the sociological side we have to investigate the

[6] Horney, *op. cit.*, p. 20. [7] *Ibid.*

impulses generating social movements of all kinds, the sentiments that characterize the various forms of group solidarity, the foci of emotional attachments under different social conditions, the like responses of men within the same situation and in similar situations, etc. There is a sociology of emotion that is almost entirely unexplored and that might throw much light on the problems of motivation. And if there are some who still doubt either the importance or the feasibility of such investigations, it may perhaps suffice to point out that the art of the manipulation and control of motives is already a large-scale enterprise, with its private practitioners and with, what is still more formidable, its public agencies. If the art advances, applying its knowledge of motivation to ends that often are regardless of all truth, shall science, the truth-seeker, abjure that knowledge altogether?

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

THE ADVANTAGES OF WORK RELIEF OVER DIRECT RELIEF IN MAINTAINING MORALE IN ST. PAUL IN 1939[1]

F. STUART CHAPIN AND JULIUS A. JAHN

ABSTRACT

Does the W.P.A. program maintain a higher morale than the direct-relief program? This study attempts to secure an answer to this question by a control-group analysis in which a group of eighty W.P.A. workers was matched on fourteen controls against a group of forty-two direct-relief clients waiting assignment in St. Paul, in 1939. The morale was measured on the Rundquist-Sletto morale scale, and three other measures of comparative adjustment were used: general adjustment (Rundquist-Sletto), social participation (Chapin), and social status (Chapin). The average difference expressed as percentage of superiority of scores of the W.P.A. workers over the matched group of direct-relief clients was 5.67 per cent on the percentage gains of the four scales. Although the absolute differences in scores were small, all were favorable to the W.P.A. workers. When the multiple critical ratio of the four separate critical ratios was calculated, it showed that the probability of a chance difference in pattern of adjustment on the four measures between the W.P.A. workers and the direct-relief clients was 49 against 1. Hence when such a difference in pattern does occur, we may conclude that it probably represents a real difference between the W.P.A. workers and the direct-relief clients that were studied.

A program of work projects for the able-bodied, needy unemployed is generally assumed to have two important advantages over a system of direct relief. In the first place, it is obvious that such a program results in additions to the facilities and services of a community—public buildings, roads, educational activities, etc.—which would not be possible otherwise. The second advantage involves the maintenance and development of skills, work habits, and morale among the unemployed.

Despite the fact that the value of a work-relief program in maintaining the morale of the unemployed is widely accepted, objective evidence on the question is fragmentary. This study attempts to provide an answer to the question, Does work relief maintain a higher morale than direct relief? Since an investigation of this nature concerns a study of psychological factors, and since these factors must be spontaneously expressed if they are to reveal actual

[1] The Division of Research of the Work Projects Administration, which co-operated in making records available and in supplying information on administrative procedures, has given us permission to release the results of this study.

differences in morale, this investigation was carried on quietly and without publicity.

The morale of eighty W.P.A. workers in St. Paul was found to be 5.46 per cent higher than the morale of a matched group of forty-two direct-relief clients in St. Paul (certified for W.P.A. and waiting assignment). Besides measurement of morale, we obtained a pat-

TABLE 1

DIFFERENCES ON FOUR CRITERIA OF ADJUSTMENT
W.P.A. AND DIRECT-RELIEF GROUPS

Groups Compared	Mean Scores on Four Criteria of Adjustment			
	Morale*	General Adjustment*	Social Participation	Social Status
W.P.A. group, 80 cases	64.01	48.41	4.94	66.29
Direct-relief group, 42 cases	67.71	50.98	4.67	62.29
Differences between mean scores	− 3.70	− 2.57	0.27	4.00
Percentage differences	5.46	5.04	5.78	6.42
Critical ratios of these differences†	− 1.92	− 1.73	0.20	0.81
Combined critical ratios of four differences‡	.....	2.33	Odds against chance occurrence, 49:1	

* Scores on morale and general adjustment are on reverse scales, i.e., the higher the score the worse the morale, hence a negative difference is a gain. On the last two scales an increase in score is a gain.

† Computed from Fisher's formula.

‡ Computed from Guttman's formula, "On Uses of the Critical Ratio," by Louis Guttman, a research paper for the M.A. degree, University of Minnesota, June, 1939, pp. 36–40. Guttman proves that although the means of two variables are correlated in random samples, nevertheless, in random samples differences between pairs of means of one variable correlate zero with differences between pairs of means of the other variable. Thus the formula for the multiple critical ratio (M.C.R.) is

$$\text{M.C.R.} = \frac{c_1 + c_2 + \ldots + c_m}{\sqrt{m}}. \qquad (11)$$

tern of adjustment by using three additional criteria—general adjustment, social participation, and social status. The average percentage superiority of the W.P.A. workers over the matched group of direct-relief clients was 5.67 per cent on the percentage gains of these four criteria. Assuming these four criteria of adjustment to be a pattern that is more reliable than any one of the factors considered alone, we may ask: Is the difference in pattern of adjustment one that may occur so often by chance that it is merely a sampling error and not significant? We cannot, of course, claim

that the superiority of the W.P.A. workers studied was exclusively the effect of the W.P.A. program as a cause. But we can answer the question: What is the probability of obtaining a difference of the magnitude found, by pure chance? The odds are 49 to 1 of obtaining by chance a difference in pattern of adjustment as large as the advantage that the eighty W.P.A. workers showed over a matched group of forty-two direct-relief clients. Clearly, such a difference in pattern of social adjustment does not often occur by chance; therefore, we may conclude that the higher morale, general adjustment, social participation, and social status is probably due to the W.P.A. program. In other words, we have some real evidence to support the conviction that a work program is better than direct relief in maintaining morale.

We must next try to answer such questions as the following: (1) Were the W.P.A. group and the relief group studied selected groups that would show differences in morale anyway? (2) How can you know that the differences found were not due to other factors, since adjustment is at best a very complicated process? (3) What dependence can you put upon the measurements of morale; would not some other investigator have obtained a different result? (4) Can you rely for a description of differences in complex adjustment upon only four criteria, such as those used?

Consider the first question: (1) Were the W.P.A. group and the relief group studied selected groups that would show differences in morale anyway? In March, 1939, when the study was begun, there were 8,074 at work on W.P.A. in St. Paul on the twenty-ninth of the month. At the same time there were only 465 cases in all on direct relief certified as employable and waiting assignment to W.P.A. Obviously, the number we had to choose from in the relief list was comparatively small. Our first step was to select a 5 per cent sample at random from the W.P.A. lists, to be compared with the direct-relief group. In order to simplify the problem of comparison, there were eliminated from the two samples all persons previously on W.P.A. but now on the waiting list, all single persons, and all divorced, separated, and widowed cases. Also all persons not living in St. Paul and not working in Ramsey County were excluded. The result of equating the two groups, the W.P.A. group and the

direct-relief group, on these seven factors was to make all the individuals selected for study more comparable than would otherwise have been the case.

The next step was to eliminate from the two groups those individuals who still showed marked differences on other factors in addition to the seven mentioned above. Since marked differences in the distribution by former occupation, size of family, age, sex, years of education, race, and nativity might affect morale, the two groups were matched in respect to each of these seven additional factors. In this way, extreme variations were eliminated, and the two groups were made as similar as possible in all characteristics except morale and adjustment, which might be associated with being on W.P.A. in one group and with receiving direct relief in the other. Thus our method of dealing with question (1) was to apply the familiar control-group procedure and so protect our results from the limitations that would arise from "selected" samples of "bias" in the groups to be compared. This process did, however, reduce the number of cases for interview, so that at the time the field work was begun, we had only one hundred and seventy-two W.P.A. and one hundred and two relief cases, of which one hundred thirty W.P.A. and seventy-two relief cases were interviewed.

Social workers and graduate students in social work then visited these persons in their homes and obtained from each person responses to the Rundquist-Sletto "Survey of Opinions" (from which the morale score and the general adjustment score of each individual was later computed) and also obtained information on the "Social Participation Scale" and the "Social Status Scale." In this process of interviewing additional cases were eliminated because of refusals, not located, moved out of town, changes in relief status, separated from relief, sickness and death, or working in private employment. The net result was the final groups, eighty W.P.A. workers and forty-two direct-relief clients, complete as to information on each of the four criteria used to measure adjustment and matched on fourteen characteristic traits that were the ascertainable facts of their social situations (see Fig. 1).

Turning now to the second question, (2) How can you know that the differences found were not due to other factors, since adjust-

ment is at best a very complicated process? we can answer by stating that since we matched on seven initial factors (dwelling residence, work residence, previous W.P.A. experience, single, divorced, sepa-

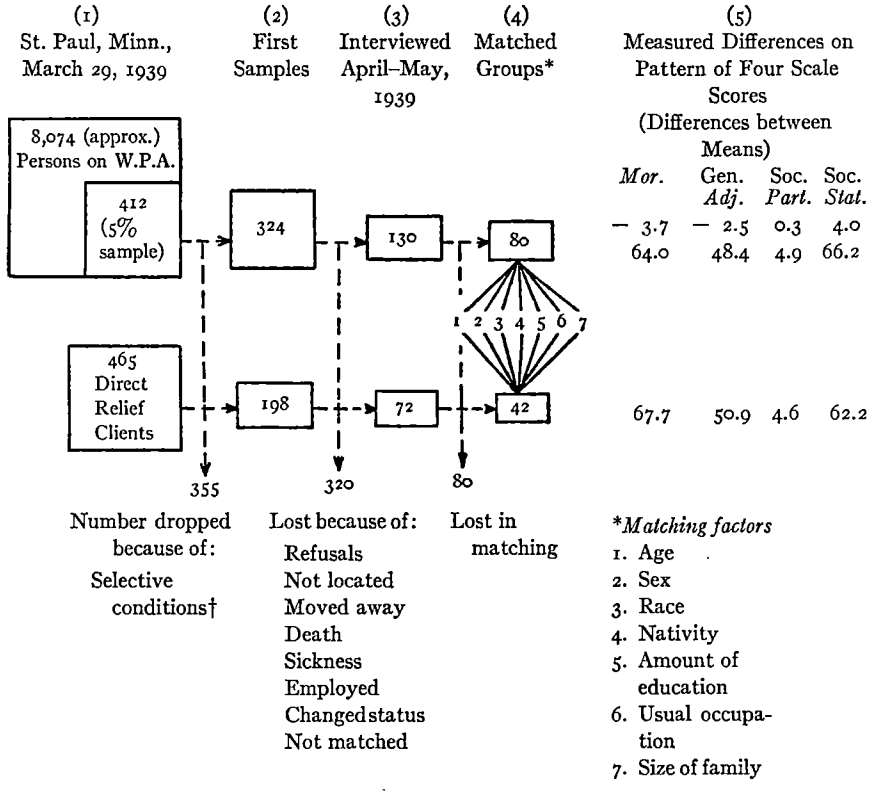

FIG. 1.—Flow chart of process of study

rated, or widowed) and again matched on seven additional controlled factors (age, sex, size of family, former occupation, years of education, race, and nativity), the differences found in favor of W.P.A. workers as compared with direct-relief clients could not have been due to these fourteen factors. Now it is apparent, of

course, that factors upon which information was not obtainable could not be held constant by matching. Such factors will, no doubt, occur to the critical reader. All that we can say in extenuation is that we were limited by the available information and that another experiment might be improved by more complete coverage. One such factor is income. This factor would have to be controlled if we desired a more precise isolation of the single factor, work, to determine how this factor alone is related to adjustment. Disparity of income as between the W.P.A. and relief groups, otherwise matched on fourteen factors, is not as serious a limitation as might first appear. In a previous study, we found that income tended to vary with the class of occupation and with number of years of education. Consequently, when variation in occupation and variation in education were controlled, the variation in income was strikingly diminished. Since in the present W.P.A. study we did control occupation and education, there is good reason to believe that income also was controlled to a marked extent. This evidence is indirect but is probably quite significant. Finally, it may be claimed with some point that larger income is a necessary part of the W.P.A. program.

Another factor not controlled in obtaining the first results was length of time on relief.[2] By further elimination of cases in matched comparisons, we were able, however, to control this eighth factor. This process reduced the final numbers to thirty-seven W.P.A. and twenty-five direct-relief cases. In this final comparison the W.P.A. group still showed a better pattern of adjustment on the whole than the relief group, although the absolute differences on each of the four measures of adjustment were smaller than in the case of comparisons using seven controlled factors[3] (see Table 2).

The next question now deserves attention: (3) What dependence can you put upon the measurements of morale; would not some other investigators have obtained a different result? The answer to this question is the simplest of the list. It is this. Morale was measured

[2] Time on relief means here the length of time since the subject's family was registered for the first time with the direct relief agency. All W.P.A. workers in St. Paul were so registered before being placed on W.P.A. projects.

[3] These decreases in differences probably reflected fluctuations, due to the small number of cases in these samples remaining after adding time on relief as a control.

by responses to a standardized scale constructed to measure morale. By a standardized scale we mean a measuring instrument that has been tested hundreds of times and does, in fact, give almost identical results when used by different investigators on the same or similar groups of subjects. Thus, the morale scale is a reliable scale. It is also a valid scale. It does measure what it is designed to measure because it differentiates employed and unemployed persons and other contrasting groups which are ordinarily taken as typical of differences in morale by common-sense judgments of competent

TABLE 2

COMPARISONS OF THE MORALE, GENERAL ADJUSTMENT, SOCIAL PARTICIPATION, AND SOCIAL STATUS BETWEEN W.P.A. WORKERS AND RELIEF CLIENTS, HOLDING CONSTANT SEX, RACE, NATIVITY, USUAL OCCUPATION, AGE, EDUCATION, SIZE OF FAMILY, AND LENGTH OF TIME ON RELIEF

Groups Compared, Differences and Constants	Variables Compared			
	Morale*	General Adjustment*	Social Participation	Social Status
Means				
1. W.P.A. group ($n=37$)	65.27	49.54	5.19	62.78
2. Relief group ($n=25$)	66.76	50.44	5.84	59.44
Differences between means	− 1.49	− 0.90	−0.65	+ 3.34
Critical ratios (Fisher's formula)	− 0.56	− 0.46	−0.32	+ 0.47

* Lower morale and adjustment scores on the Rundquist-Sletto test indicate higher morale and adjustment in the customary meaning of these terms.

judges. The same conditions of reliability and validity are met by the other three scales: general adjustment, social participation, and social status.

Since the critical reader may wish to know additional facts about the method of using these four scales in interviews, the following description may anticipate further questions.

The scales measure: (1) *morale*, or the degree that the individual feels competent to cope with the future and to achieve his desired goals; (2) *general adjustment*, or the feelings about his relationship to other persons, toward present or future social conditions, and toward present social institutions; (3) *social participation*, or the degree to which an individual actually engages in the organized

activities of his community in terms of membership, attendance, contributions, committees, and offices; and (4) *social status*, or the position the family occupies with reference to the average prevailing household possessions of other families in the community.

It will be noted that the scales to measure morale and general adjustment describe *how people feel* about their situation, whereas the scales that measure social participation and social status describe their *objective social condition*. Together, the four scales enable us to describe the pattern of their adjustment to new or to old surroundings. Since each scale has been in use and tested out hundreds of times in a number of social investigations, there are published norms available for comparison. For example, morale scores of 58 to 59 points obtained from slum populations in another 1939 study are decidedly better than 64 for W.P.A. and 67 for relief clients studied at the same time (see Table 1) and not far from those of the normal population. The general adjustment scores of 43 points in the same slum study are similarly better than 48 for the W.P.A. and 50 for relief clients, and again not far from those of the normal population. The participation scores of the W.P.A. and relief clients are worse than those of slum families in a previous study of the same area. Social status scores of 57 and 59 points in the same slum study compare unfavorably with those of the W.P.A. 66 and of the relief group 62. Previous studies show, however, that a score in the fifties is within the observed range of normal working-class families in Minneapolis, Massachusetts, and Alabama.

The material gathered in the interview consisted of:

"Minnesota Survey of Opinions," two sheets with 31 questions about the individual's attitudes, to be filled in by the subject. After the interview, the *morale score* and the *general adjustment score* may be extracted from the subject's marked response by a simple system of weighting and scoring. It takes the subject from 20 to 30 minutes to fill this in.[4]

"Social Participation Scale," one sheet for entries on each group affiliation of subject recorded in five entries under five columns by the visitor in reply to questions answered by the subject. It takes 10 or 15 minutes to fill in the subject's answers.[5]

[4] These scales and their norms will be found in E. A. Rundquist and R. F. Sletto, *Personality in the Depression* (University of Minnesota Press, 1936).

[5] These scales and their norms will be found in F. S. Chapin, *Contemporary American Institution* (Harpers, 1935), pp. 373–97; and F. S. Chapin, "Social Participation and Social Intelligence," *American Sociological Review*, IV, No. 2 (April, 1939), 157–66.

"Social Status Scale," one sheet containing 21 entries filled in as observations made by the visitor, with perhaps one or two non-inquisitorial questions. Can be completed in 5 minutes' observation.[5]

Finally, the reader may ask question (4), Can you rely for a description of differences in complex adjustment upon only four criteria, such as those used? This is a difficult question and only a qualified answer can be given, an answer which the reader may accept or not, according to his own judgment. The answer can be made only in terms of several considerations. In the first place, the four scales have differentiated between Negroes and Jews in a slum population study in Minneapolis in 1935–36, between overcrowded slum families and not overcrowded slum families,[6] and between former Boy Scouts of four-year tenure and Boy Scouts with two-year tenure in 1938.[7] In the second place, the probability of a chance difference in pattern of adjustment between W.P.A. workers and direct-relief clients is 49 against 1, whereas the highest chance occurrence for any single criterion (morale) is one in which the odds are only 17 to 1. Obviously, a pattern of differences on four factors (morale, general adjustment, social participation, and social status) is less likely to occur by chance in random sampling than is a difference on any single factor. Hence when such a difference in pattern does occur, we may conclude that it probably represents a real difference between the W.P.A. and direct-relief groups studied.[8]

[6] F. S. Chapin, "The Effects of Slum Clearance on Family and Community Relationships in Minneapolis in 1935–1936," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII, No. 5 (March, 1938), 744–63.

[7] N. G. Mandel, "A Controlled Analysis of the Relationship of Boy Scout Tenure and Participation in Community Adjustment" (M.A. thesis; University of Minnesota, July, 1938).

[8] The differences in favor of W.P.A. workers found in this study were obtained several weeks before the strikes of July, 1939, and so could not have been influenced by these disturbances. Utmost care was taken to disarm suspicion by making it clear at the beginning of each interview that we were asking co-operation in obtaining people's opinions as part of a larger study conducted by a sociologist at the University of Minnesota. It was made clear that this study had no bearing on W.P.A. operations. Although the results of this study are gratifyingly favorable to the W.P.A. program in St. Paul as of the spring of 1939, every precaution was taken to secure objectivity and to avoid bias. Although the W.P.A. Division of Research has expressed an interest in the results, the collection and interpretation of the facts were carried out entirely by us without suggestions or restrictions, except concerning administrative matters related to the use of W.P.A. official records. Under these circumstances the discovery of results favorable to W.P.A. is all the more significant.

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The chief purpose of this study was to discover whether a better adjustment of W.P.A. workers than a comparable group of direct-relief clients could be established as caused by the Works program. The outcome of this single and somewhat limited study does establish the probability of such a cause-and-effect relationship. Social workers are justly skeptical of simple cause-and-effect explanations in the complex social life of today. It is wisely observed that a large number of influences combine to explain each specific social situation. And yet, by matched groupings, we have succeeded in securing some control over fourteen factors related to the etiology of individual adjustment. When these fourteen factors are held constant, we discover that in St. Paul the Works program is associated with higher adjustment and direct relief is associated with lower adjustment. We cannot arbitrarily say whether the absolute differences found on measures of adjustment are important. We can and do state that there is a probability of 49 to 1 against the chance occurrence of absolute differences of the magnitudes actually found. When we say "due to chance," we mean due to a large number of small causes; for "chance" is a term which never means in the language of science, the absence of cause. When the odds are heavy against a difference being due to chance (i.e., due to many small influences or causes), then we may claim that the differences are probably due to a few very influential factors, or causes, in this case the W.P.A. program as contrasted to the direct-relief program.

How far these favorable results from the 1939 St. Paul study may be generalized to W.P.A. at large, it is not possible to state. Obviously, the next step is to extend this sort of study to other areas, repeat the procedures, and discover if the results are verified or disproved.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

CASTE AND CLASS IN HAITI

JOHN LOBB

ABSTRACT

The stratification of Haitian society is, in pattern, that of a caste system surviving from the country's early history as a French colony, while in function it forms a class structure. It is composed of two clearly delineated classes, the *Elite* and the *Noirs*. They are definable and separated in the following criteria: size, place of residence, physical stigmata, and, most important, cultural differences. Movement between them takes place according to certain general requirements which determine *Elite* class status: physical characteristics, family position, economic success, political and professional prominance, and intellectuality. Ascent on the class ladder is hindered by many unsolved social problems, despite definite trends toward the improvement of the condition of the lower class. Present observations indicate that the former caste demarcations are in the process of being replaced with more flexible class distinctions.

The republic of Haiti is only slightly larger than Massachusetts and Rhode Island. It has an area of 10,204 square miles and a population of about three million people. From much of the popular literature on Haiti one is likely to receive a sensational conception of this Negro republic as a place the character of which is chiefly delineated by the *vodun* cult, black magic, and mystery. Such a conception may be an exciting, romantic interpretation, judged by the strangeness of many of its customs, but it is misleading. It disregards the important fact that Haiti is a nation of Negroes, similar in African origin to those of the United States, whose solution of their national and social problems is of first-rate importance to Negroes and to students of their status and future.

During the decades of revolution in Europe and America at the end of the eighteenth century, the French colony of Haiti began a contest which ended in independence. The struggle involved not only revolt against the vacillating French government but civil war within the colony. It was a situation in which a memorable fight for liberty involved a social chaos from which the nation has not yet recovered. The colony was stratified at that time roughly into three classes: the whites (French and Creole overlords), the *affranchis* (freed mulattoes and blacks with limited rights and privileges), and the Negro slaves. The whites, inspired by the revolution in France, sought autonomy and the preservation of their overlordship. The

affranchis, desiring equality with the whites and the continued subjugation of the slaves, struck against the former and at the same time attempted to maintain their superiority over the latter. The Negro slaves rose blindly against both until Toussaint l'Ouverture assumed their leadership and gave direction to the whole struggle. Bryan Edwards,[1] writing of the situation in the early years of the 1790's, said:

> By the last accounts, Toussaint appears to have at present the superiority. His army is undoubtedly more numerous than that of Rigaud [leader of the mulattoes]; but I suspect it is worse appointed and provided. The mulattoes too have infinitely the advantage of the blacks in point of general knowledge and military discipline. Rigaud himself is a man of sagacity and experience; but above all, there is this circumstance attending the mulattoes, (which I think must ultimately turn the scale in their favour), that they have no possibility of retreat, and are well assured they must either subdue their enemies, *or perish themselves to a man.* My opinion therefore is, that the mulattoes will finally become masters of all the sea coast, and the cultivatable parts of the country; and the fugitive slaves seek a refuge in the mountainous and interior districts.

In some respects, this prophecy came true, although the partition of the country was not precisely as Edwards anticipated. By the time the conflicts had been nominally ended with a declaration of independence in 1804, the whites had ceased to count as a dominant class in the society, and the former slaves in the north and the mulattoes in the south and west had begun the now century-old efforts to overcome their differences in a common interest in the new state. Actually independence came to a greatly disorganized and totally unprepared group of people. Not even was there a biased white population to orient the liberated slaves. The burden fell upon the mulattoes, the direct inheritors of what culture France had bestowed upon her exploited colony, of whom the present *Elite* are the cultural and lineal descendants. The liberated slaves turned to the land, and it is that with which, as small farmers, they have since been occupied, maintaining a pattern of primitive culture little changed since 1804.[2] In Haitian society today it is these two classes, the *Elite* and

[1] *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (Philadelphia, 1806), IV, 240.

[2] For a short account of the history of Haiti see F. A. Kirkpatrick, *Latin America* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1939), pp. 393 ff.

the *Noirs*,[3] which still form the most important and clearly discernible stratification of the people.

The *Elite* are a very small fraction of the three million Haitians.[4] Since they are found chiefly in the urban centers, one can arrive at some idea of their number from Dantès Bellegarde's[5] estimate of the distribution of population between country and town; in the rural zone, 83 per cent, or about 2,490,000; and in the urban centers, 17 per cent, or about 510,000. An estimate of half a million *Elite*, however, is an exaggeration. The numerical appraisal in Haiti varies from the conservative figure of twenty thousand up to several hundred thousand, depending upon the informant and his conception of the term. The significant conclusion at present is that the *Noirs* are by far the most numerous part of the population, vitally important economically to this agricultural country, but at the same time inarticulate in it. It is the small *Elite* class which is dominant politically and socially. One of the chief obstacles, in fact, to Haiti's social development has been the existence side by side of these two variously defined and interdependent divisions of the people, different in customs and even sometimes in physical appearance, and each with an awareness of their social positions and differences almost great enough to form a caste system. Such a barrier between them, however, cannot be said to exist in the sense that it does between the whites and the Negroes in the United States.[6] The social stratification of Haitian society forms a class structure consisting of two major groupings of the population. There is evidence of substrata within each, but there is no more than an embryonic middle class between them, which is not yet distinct or functional.

These two classes may be further differentiated according to the following characteristic criteria: place of residence, physical stig-

[3] Other terms used synonymously with *Noirs* in Haiti to indicate this lower class are *Paysans and Habitants*. None of them is an absolute descriptive. *Noirs* is used here because it has the most inclusive connotation.

[4] Exact statistics on population and conditions in Haiti are not yet available.

[5] "Haiti and Her Problems," *University of Puerto Rico Bulletin*, Ser. VII, No. 1 (September, 1936), p. 21.

[6] For the definition of caste and class used here see W. Lloyd Warner, "American Caste and Class," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII, No. 2 (September, 1936), 234–37.

mata, and cultural differences. The first has already been referred to: the *Elite* live chiefly in the urban centers and the *Noirs* in the country. It must be borne in mind, however, that this very place of residence describes and determines differing occupational pursuits along which further class lines may develop in Haiti.

The prestige of lightness of skin color, along with other white physical characteristics, was so deeply impressed upon Haitian society in pre-revolutionary days,[7] that it has unfortunately survived the intervening century and carries great weight today. The *Elite*, as a class, are noticeably lighter colored than the *Noirs*, varying from light brown to a degree of "whiteness" which would permit them to "pass" over the color line. White physical characteristics are valued by the *Elite* as marks of refinement and upper-class status highly desirable for themselves and their children. The more negroid features of the *Noirs*, constant reminders of a humble past, in their turn are symbols of primitiveness and a lower-class status. In each class, to be sure, there are individuals of contradictory physical characteristics, but the two classes are on the whole differentiated according to physical stigmata both recognizable and restrictive.

Although the question of skin color permeates many aspects of Haitian society and social status, the most important of the criteria differentiating the two classes lies in the cultural differences. It would be incorrect to maintain that the *Elite* and the *Noirs* live in culture patterns entirely distinct. In each there are elements of similarity, owing to constant daily contact and common background. The patterns are, however, in sharp-enough contrast to make these two classes aware of their differences. The *Elite*'s pattern is dominantly European, while the *Noirs*' is still thoroughly permeated with West African customs.[8] The following paragraphs illustrate, with certain important examples, the distinguishable separation of the two groups.

An easily discernible cultural difference and one which is vital to their ultimate social unity is that of language. The *Noirs* scarcely understand French, the official and *Elite* language of the country, to

[7] M. J. Herskovits, *Life in a Haitian Valley* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937), pp. 50–51.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 251–66.

say nothing of reading and writing it. They speak Creole, which is defined by the Haitian writer, Jules Faine,[9] as a "neo-roman language developed from the *langue d'oil*," increased by the ancient Norman, Picard, Angevin, and Poitevin dialects, and including also words from English, Spanish, and the Caribbean Indian and African idioms. As the language of the *Noirs*, Creole is an indication of lower-class status, but even more important than this the language difference stands as a barrier between the two classes, especially in the education of the *Noirs*, who can be reached extensively only through Creole. Although the *Elite* use both languages, there is as yet insufficient literature in Creole through which the *Noirs* can gain a knowledge of the world and receive instruction in changing techniques. To bridge this difference, either Creole must be practically developed and given recognition, as is being attempted at present, or the *Noirs* must be weaned from it.

Equally evident are the differences in the economic pursuits of the two classes. The *Elite* are found in the professions, in politics, and in the larger business enterprises. The *Noirs* are for the most part small farmers, artisans, and tradesmen employing primitive techniques for their livelihood, and a few are domestics in the towns. An important aspect of this difference lies in the fact that the *Noirs* have remained on the land, and it has become their most prized possession, while the *Elite* are almost completely separated from it, thus giving their economic interests marked divergence.

Distinct too are the marriage practices of the *Noirs*, embracing as they do a custom of African origin known as *plaçage*, which still often involves plural wives. The *Elite* adhere strictly, as far as social acceptance is concerned, to monogamy and the regulations of the Christian church, monogamous, church-sanctioned marriage being a mark of the upper class. In religion the *Noirs* are most noticeably different. They have a dual loyalty: to the *vodun* cult and to the Christian church (chiefly Roman Catholic). It is difficult to say which takes precedence, but it is the *vodun* cult with its primitive ceremonies, sacrifices, and dances, by which Haiti has been made conspicuous in popular literature, while within the country it stands as another class symbol of the *Noirs*.

[9] *Philologie créole* (Port-au-Prince, Haiti, 1936), p. xi.

The *Noirs* are largely inarticulate politically except in local affairs, even though they have the right to vote, and their actual numerical strength has been felt mainly in times of disorder. The national government is dominated by the *Elite* class and in their hands rests the welfare of the people. The American intervention (1915–34) did much to set Haiti on the road to a democratic government, but it is still an ideal which cannot be achieved with an estimated illiteracy of 95 per cent among the *Noirs*.

Artistic accomplishment in Haiti comes from the *Elite*, whose writers, composers, and artists are rising toward recognition at home and abroad, while, among the *Noirs*, even the traditional African skills have degenerated in artistic merit or have been lost and not replaced. The *Noirs* have perpetuated a heritage of African customs intermixed with occasional borrowings from the European pattern, and the *Elite* have adopted the contemporary European culture almost entirely and are set apart from the *Noirs* by the sophistication and accomplishments we anticipate in a civilized society.

There exist at the same time for the *Elite* and the *Noirs* certain factors which bind them to a common destiny: their densely populated country, a common participation in a war of independence, the Creole language, and in part a similar racial background involving in the eyes of the world the stigma attached to the Negro. Although one cannot agree with some of the Haitians that the people form a homogeneous nation in which there is a Haitian type with distinctive characteristics, these mutual interests and characteristics, as well as the experiences of daily living and the interdependence of the two classes, do create avenues of cultural exchange and movement between them. For this, mainly cultural, stratification of Haitian society does not imply a hard and fast system which prohibits an individual's rising from the *Noirs* to the *Elite* class, difficult as the process may be. Certain outstanding *Elite* class determinants, which are derivatives of the physical and cultural criteria already described, and many of which an aspiring individual can acquire in time, serve not only as descriptives of the class structure but also of the mechanism of movement up or down in the society. These keys to the *Elite* class are important, too, in that they emphasize the contrast with the caste barrier between the whites and the Negroes in

the United States, which depends more on racial rather than on cultural distinction.[10]

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Among the most valuable attributes in a candidate for higher social status are a light-colored skin and white features. These alone do not assure his advancement, but, when combined with a reasonable amount of ability, they are of great assistance. The emphasis upon color is not uniform throughout Haiti. For example, in the northern part of the country it is not so much stressed as in the largest *Elite* center of Port-au-Prince, but everywhere there is an easily observable color consciousness. The awareness of skin colors is illustrated in the *Elite* class in general, and especially among those on the fringe, by the difficulty for the darker-skinned individual to marry one of lighter complexion, by the less favorable position of a dark child in a light-colored *Elite* family, and by marriages with European whites even of inferior cultural status. The conclusion one comes to among the *Elite* in Haiti is that while negroid coloring and features are not an absolute barrier, the darker the skin the more difficult it is for an individual to rise in social status.

FAMILY POSITION

Family position is the most important of all the *Elite* class determinants, around which the others tend to revolve. One informant defined family status as a position resulting from the recognition that in a family the parents had, for generations, been legally married in the church. This, of course, is an inadequate description of *Elite* family status resting on the contrast between the *Elite* marriage customs and the *plaçage*, which is socially acceptable only among the *Noirs*. Family status among the *Elite* appears closely comparable to upper-class family status in the United States. It is established and maintained by economic success and political or professional prominence. It is enhanced by a close conformity, at least outwardly, to the social customs and ideals of the *Elite;* and it is rendered more secure by succeeding generations of membership in the *Elite* class. Although one can inherit *Elite* family status, it is by

[10] John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), p. 64.

no means as rigid and secure a position as would exist in a caste society. A member of the highest *Elite* stratum can lower his children's chances of status if he marries, to take an extreme example, an individual from the *Noirs*, although he himself might conceivably keep his own position. In a rising Haitian family, on the other hand, the children, depending upon their color and achievements, may often have a higher status than their parents.

ECONOMIC SUCCESS, POLITICAL AND PROFESSIONAL PROMINENCE

Closely associated with family status are wealth and professional achievements. The possession of even a moderate income is a great asset in the establishment of an *Elite* family. It makes possible the attainment of the traditional *Elite* culture pattern through place of residence, travel, and education, and it permits the necessary amount of display. Once securely established, however, the *Elite* family does not necessarily lose status, simply because of reduced circumstances. One of the surest ways of improving one's financial position in Haiti has been to secure an important post in the republic's government, so that for the ambitious it is a key to the *Elite* class. Political prominence also carries with it a great deal of prestige, which is true too, though less conspicuously, of the professional attainments of the doctor, lawyer, artist, and churchman.

INTELLECTUALITY

The *Elite* respect and reward intellectual and skilful accomplishments, although with certain reservations. An observer may be puzzled at first by the terms "intellectual *Elite*" and "social *Elite*." They differentiate the unquestioned position of the latter from the respected but not wholly accepted position of the former. If one inquires about an intellectual's position, it will be replied that he is on outstanding man, he is of the intellectual *Elite*, but he does not belong in the top brackets. In other words, although many of the *Elite* are among the intellectuals, by no means all of the intellectuals possess full upper-class status.

It is very unlikely that an individual in possession of one or even several of these keys should arrive in fully accepted *Elite* status even in a lifetime. Ascent on the class ladder is a slow and precarious

undertaking usually involving generations of effort. Not only is the process rendered difficult because of the obstacles inherent in the keys to the *Elite* class, but also because of many unsolved social problems. Haitian society is based in the minds of its thoughtful citizens on the general principles of equality of opportunity, but this as yet does not exist outside the constitution. One of the great barriers to it lies in the lack of opportunity for higher education. It is the boast of Haiti, and it is a fact, that an individual can go from elementary school through a university course in the public institutions free of tuition charges. There is the drawback for the *Noirs*, however, in that most schools of higher education are in the urban centers where living expenses are comparatively higher than the *Noirs* can afford. Haiti, however, is aware of the importance of education, and *Elite* of broad vision are making attempts to enlarge and improve the school system. The most prominent educational efforts which are being made are in the field of vocational training, chiefly agricultural, and in movements to improve rural education. The former tends to keep the *Noirs* in the rural districts and in the *Noirs* class, and the latter has as yet made little progress. Consequently progress is very slow for the *Noirs*, both in changes in the culture pattern and in changes in the social status.

Another factor which does much to reinforce the lower-class status of the *Noirs* is disease. How much ill-health and malnutrition can be held accountable for the *Noirs'* status cannot yet be measured, but it is now recognized that therein lies an important cause of the lack of ambition in the Haitian worker. The *Noirs* in the country and in the slums of the towns and cities are the most seriously affected by the diseases which cause most havoc in Haiti: malaria, yaws (frambesia, having many analogies with syphilis), hookworm, and tapeworm. These, fostered by undernourishment of children and adults alike, are widespread and tend to perpetuate the low status of the sufferers. It is very difficult, in spite of the efforts of the capable and interested doctors in Haiti, to attack and remove these diseases, owing to the unwillingness of the uneducated and primitive-living *Noirs* to co-operate and submit to treatment. They have greater faith in their own bone-setters and healers, so that even were there sufficient physicians and clinics to care for this great mass

of the population, it is doubtful that without a very extensive program of education they could be successfully taught public and personal hygiene. Thus solidly intrenched, full *Elite* status is difficult to attain.

Dantês Bellegarde[11] writes in one place of three classes in Haitian society: a lower class consisting of the vast majority of manual workers; a numerous middle class of workers in small industries, trades, and commercial enterprises; and the upper class, the *Elite*. And in another, he describes the social strata as composed of peasants, laborers, artisans, merchants, and the intellectual *Elite*. The division of the Haitian population along traditional class lines, although it appears orderly, is a superimposed description. Economic pursuit alone does not give class status nor does it suggest other important, underlying determinants. Among the *Elite*, unquestionably at the top, is a numerically small but highly influential fraction of the class which is light in color, educated, comparatively well to do, has family background, long standing in the class, position in the community and often in the nation, is traveled and cultured, and which is in a sense the aristocracy of Haiti. Just below them in prestige is a small section definable as the "accepted" or *Elite* middle class. It has all the characteristics of the higher stratum, though not held for so long a time, and, as might be expected, it includes more of the darker-colored individuals of less wealth and security of social position. Finally there is a group which may be described as the "fringe" or *Elite* lower class, containing people who are precariously pulling themselves and their families into the higher *Elite* brackets. Included here also are many of the urban artisans, some of the domestic servants, and recently arrived country people, usually light-colored, who are difficult to classify in either group. For the *Noirs*, Professor Herskovits[12] reports an informal stratification in Mirebalais Valley, according to economic specialization into the following classes: at the bottom, the poverty-stricken known as the "unlucky"; the middle class, which includes most of the population and is composed of people who get along on

[11] *Op. cit.*, pp. 15, 37–38.

[12] *Op. cit.*, pp. 86–87.

their small holdings; and at the top a small number of people of wealth and those powerful in the *vodun* cult.

In both the *Elite* and the *Noirs* there exist, therefore, groupings of the people which can be labeled upper, middle, and lower class according to their relative economic and social status. Between the two, however, there is no class which serves to bridge the gap and give the expected gradations of the usual class structure. The stratification of Haitian society is, in form, that of a caste system inherited from colonial days, when the existence of a powerful white caste placed everyone of color in a subordinate and restricted status. Although the form of the structure follows this older pattern, it is not now a caste line which separates the two main divisions of the population according to the criteria of positive bans on movement between them and on intermarriage. Difficult as advancement in status may be, it does take place from the lower to the upper class by means of the avenues already discussed. The existence of a strong and functional middle class would ease and accelerate individual movement and cultural exchange between them.

The *Elite-Noirs* stratification of Haitian society may be summarized by comparison with the white-Negro caste system in the United States. The *Elite* in their relation to the *Noirs* occupy a position, at first glance, similar to that of the whites in the United States. In each case one finds white racial and cultural characteristics taking precedence over Negro ones and giving to the possessors opportunity and status. The *Elite* have maintained the heritage from colonial days of the enforced superiority of white characteristics and customs, and they are fully aware of the contemporary white domination in Europe and America and wish to identify themselves with it on a basis of equality. The recent occupation by the United States emphasized this awareness which the *Elite* reveal in their resentment at having Haiti labeled with the primitive customs of the *Noirs* and in their contempt for the ignorance and ways of the blacker majority of the population.

The position of the *Elite*, however, is less secure than that of the whites in the United States. In the first place, the *Elite* are a small minority. More important still, the *Elite* share with the *Noirs* a racial strain which the world of the whites will not permit them to

forget. In Haiti, furthermore, the most important factor of differentiation lies in the cultural contrast, whereas in the United States the rigid caste demarcation is based increasingly on differences in physical stigmata which entirely prevent the Negroes' assumption of a status of equality regardless of achievements. In the United States, even with the eventual removal of the cultural differences between the whites and the Negroes, the latter would still have an inferior status. Haiti, on the other hand, is in a position to establish for Negroes a nation within itself free of the existing discrimination.

At present the attainment of this goal seems remote in view of the little progress made during the past century and a quarter. With the broadening of educational opportunities, however, it may be anticipated that the cultural barrier will be lowered, and from the merging of the *Elite* "fringe" and the upper-stratum *Noirs* there will develop the necessary middle class. Haiti will then have substituted the more flexible class structure for a caste system which has survived in form if not in fact. With the lessened awareness of cultural differences, there will doubtless come, in Haiti, a decreasing emphasis on the "color line." The initiative in all this must rest with the *Elite*, whose position will be threatened by such a transition in Haitian society. There are, nevertheless, encouraging signs among them of a willingness to assist the *Noirs* to better their lot. Such signs are found in more far-reaching educational plans, in efforts for the eradication of disease and the improvement of living conditions, and in the recent organization of women for social action.[13] In all these lie nuclei of still more extensive efforts for the improvement of the *Noirs* who have not yet, as a class, become conscious of their status or of their place in the nation.

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[13] Madeleine G. Sylvain, "The Feminist Movement in Haiti," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, LXXIII, No. 6 (June, 1939), 315–21.

THE TOLERATION QUOTIENT AS A DEVICE FOR DEFINING CERTAIN SOCIAL CONCEPTS

COURTLANDT C. VAN VECHTEN

ABSTRACT

Sutherland has raised a vital issue in his "White Collar Criminality." Criminology has not been the study of crime and criminals but of certain crimes and the individuals committing them. Juvenile delinquency, insanity, poverty, and feeble-mindedness similarly have no objective referent. Sutherland's attack on present practices can be generalized and is valid; but the solution it implies is not practicable. The sociologically important aspects of behavior along the various vectors of deviation from approved conduct may be expressed as tolerance quotients, ratios between behavior in objective terms, and the community's willingness to tolerate it. At unity the community, in its corporate capacity, goes into action. Quantification here is difficult but possible.

When Edwin H. Sutherland addressed the American Sociological and American Economics societies on "The White Collar Criminal"[1] in December, 1939, he jarred social thinking to its roots. The criminologists were especially embarrassed, for Sutherland explicitly challenged the basic ideas on which that "science" was progressing. Agreeing with current criminological thought, that the criminal was a person who violated criminal statutes wilfully and to the detriment of society, Sutherland pointed out the notable prevalence of wilful, detrimental law violations by white-collar classes. But these individuals were seldom arrested, tried, and imprisoned; rather they were subject to administrative tribunals and consent decrees. They retained an "honorable" place in society. The criminology based upon studies of those subject to the processes of criminal justice thus becomes a wilderness of delusion and half-truth based on fundamentally unsound social theory.

Analogous, if less striking, attacks had been made in other fields however. Thus Sophia M. Robison had attacked the delinquency areas concept, and with it much of the other work in the field of juvenile delinquency on the grounds that the accepted measures of juvenile delinquency were invalid.[2] Recognizing the tremendous gulf between the statutory definitions of delinquency and the circumstances leading to formal complaints or adjudications of delinquency, she rejected work done on these bases. Her solution is essentially to set up an additional criterion of de-

[1] Printed under the title "White Collar Criminality" in *American Sociological Review*, V (1940), 1–12.

[2] *Can Delinquency Be Measured?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936).

linquency—the child who has been treated by a social-work agency for bad conduct is a delinquent.

In the field of mental abnormality the problem of the definition of insanity was avoided by the creation of a new term—"psychosis." Insanity then became a strictly legal term denoting a mental state in which the individual was not legally responsible for his actions, and social scientists talked learnedly of psychoses and depreciatively of the backwardness of courts and laymen.

The solution to the problem of "What is feeble-mindedness?" was solved not by social scientists but by legislative appropriations for the special care of mental defectives. Here there existed in the intelligence tests a reasonably acceptable scale for rank ordering the mental abilities of children. For practical purposes the feeble-minded then became the individuals from the bottom of the rank order up to the capacities of the institutions for their care, usually with considerable overcrowding.

Poverty somewhat similarly existed or did not exist in terms of funds, public or private, with which to do something about it. Though not always successful, the effort on the part of workers was to extend the available resources to the cases they deemed most in need. Other concepts in the general field of social pathology or disorganization might be similarly treated. Conduct is defined by community attitudes; not by its overt content or even its social consequences.

It appears, then, that criminology has not been the study of crime and criminals but of certain crimes and the individuals committing them; that juvenile delinquency has not studied juvenile offenders but only those exposed to certain forms of treatment; that the student of mental abnormality must choose between the unintegrated concepts of psychiatry and the law; that the fields of mental defect and poverty are delineated by no reality other than the then current facilities for treatment for the groups and in the areas concerned. In each field Sutherland's criticism would seem valid—the methods are unscientific and the conclusions unsound because only a portion, and that a highly selected portion, of the data as objectively defined are considered.

Three possible courses of action would seem to be available. The first is the continuation of present procedures. The second, the general adoption by students of social disorganization of the demand made on criminology by Sutherland's paper—inclusion of all the phenomena as objectively defined. It is the purpose of this paper to suggest a third solution: one which it is hoped will be found to have general validity based on sociologically sound concepts.

The objections to present procedures have already been alluded to. While Sutherland's argument was directed specifically against criminology, it is obviously capable of being generalized and is so thoroughly competent as to obviate the need of further reiteration.

On the other hand, is Sutherland's solution acceptable generally or even in the field of criminology? Discussing the paper with criminologists one gets the impression that they were much impressed but that there will be little modification of texts, teaching, or research in consequence of it. Sutherland's charges will be given mention, as indeed they must be, but at most his findings will be reflected in footnote qualification to the old familiar generalizations.

An examination from the viewpoints of theory, practice, and policy would seem to provide justification for such a limitation of influence. On theoretical grounds there is certainly enough significance in social attitudes to make social sanctions as important a test of criminality as law and social damage—an illegal and damaging act is still a very different thing if public opinion does not brand the doer as an offender against society. As a matter of practice there is a very considerable body of research, conclusion, and theory, admittedly valid for the ordinary sort of underworld and underprivileged character, which would have to be almost hopelessly incumbered with qualifying reservations if we are to include large portions of the medical, legal, banking, and other professions in the criminal classes. The argument from policy makes no pretense of being a scientific one but is perhaps most important of all. As Sutherland has observed, one of the most unmanageable aspects of the life-experience of the young delinquent is his contact with widespread disregard for law and right on the part of businessmen and officials. He feels that "everyone has a racket, some are safer than others." From this he concludes that his holdups are simply more courageous forms of self-expression than the "shakedowns" of the police. Illegitimate as a "holier-than-thou" attitude may be on the part of the "respectable people," it would seem still socially desirable to maintain the assumption that the privileged classes are honest since that idea will probably not make either group any less so, while the destruction of the assumption would go far toward destroying the sanction of moral indignation at any sort of conduct in any group.

If it be accepted that the present practice is unacceptable theoretically, and Sutherland's solution unworkable practically, is there a valid alternative? It is the writer's contention that "criminality," "delinquency," "mental abnormality," "mental defect," "poverty," and similar terms are validly definable in terms of community attitude and in such terms alone.

"He is a criminal" expresses not an objective fact about behavior and its legal status but fundamentally the fact that his conduct exceeds the existing tolerance limits of the community toward people of his class.

To express the relationship between objective behavior and social status the concept of toleration quotient is suggested. This would be a fraction of which the numerator would be objective behavior and the denominator the measure of the community tolerance for that particular type of behavior on the part of members of the class to which the person concerned belongs, plus possibly some individualized factor. When the numerator exceeds the denominator formal and official action takes place; the seriousness of the action having some relation to the degree of excess. For quotients less than unity, social pressures short of official action, but still somewhat proportional to the value of the quotient, are brought to bear.

If we apply this analysis to the field of criminology, we find that specific crimes have weights not in proportion to the legal penalties attached or to any objective measure of their relation to the general welfare but largely in terms of their directly visible relations to the traditional mores. We note that the weights are in a process of change through time (blasphemy, for instance, has only a slight fraction of its weight two centuries ago), and that they vary geographically and with respect to race, nationality, economic status, occupation, urban or rural residence, and numerous other factors. These facts are recognized by the literary censorship crusaders who are agitating for legislation permitting "obscene literature" trials in the places to which the material is sent rather than exclusively in the place of origin.

From this point of view, the unifying aspect of criminology as a science is transgression of the community's tolerance limits along a particular vector, that thought of as sane, wrongful, adult behavior and called "crime." From this point of view Sutherland's "white-collar criminal" becomes important to the extent that it changes the community's tolerance limits rather than as a basis for modifying the field of the science of criminology.

Applying the same reasoning to other vectors of social deviation we find that in the field of juvenile delinquency the delinquency areas concept is valid despite the fact that tolerance values are higher for children whose parents will pay for their depredations or who have access to social agencies. If Miss Robison wishes to consider only the mechanical similarities in behavior and disregard their social setting, she might profitably select some other designating term.

Insanity similarly takes on meaning as mental deviation of such a

nature and to such a degree as to produce official action to remove the deviate from the community. Feeble-mindedness becomes that degree of amentia sufficient to provoke community demand that the individual be officially designated as such, clearly a very different thing for a rural negro and for a Bostonian. Poverty in this analysis becomes a relation between things and community standard. Its range in America is well indicated by the tremendous range among the states in relief and social security payments. Community pressures to help neighbors and relatives who were still below the unity quotient at which official intervention took place would illustrate action on the subofficial level.

It is recognized that the number of variables entering into the tolerance value of particular acts is so great that no general computation or evaluation would be practicable. Ray Mars Simpson and others have, however, attempted to measure the relative tolerance of particular groups toward certain crimes; variations of social attitude with size of community and geographic area have been explored; some indices of racial differences are available; it is accepted as a fact that most social case workers are accessories after the fact to most of the crimes on the calendar.[3] What this leads to is that most of us have a fairly valid subjective conception of the tolerance limits of our own communities along the various vectors of disorganization and even appreciate how those tolerance limits vary when applied to individuals of different racial, economic, or occupational groups. The problem of quantifying what we know should be no more difficult than many of the quantification jobs already attempted. At least it should be possible to make valid generalizations on intercommunity variations in tolerance and direction of trends in change through time.

In summary, then, it is here maintained that the sociologically important aspects of behavior along the various vectors of deviation from normal or approved conduct may be expressed in terms of a quotient which is a ratio between the behavior in objective terms and the community's willingness to tolerate it, with the critical point for each case where the community in its corporate capacity goes into action. It is further maintained that only this approach, or a similar one emphasizing community standards, provides a basis for a scientific approach to the fields of social disorganization. It is believed that valid measures and generalizations on the quantitative aspects of tolerance limits are possible.

WAYNE UNIVERSITY

[3] It is only after a hard fight that they have won privileged status for their confidences, and that not universally.

COMMENT

The thesis of this paper, as I understand it, is that white-collar crime should not be called crime and that in order to avoid this designation and for other reasons crime should be defined by a tolerance quotient.

I agree substantially with Van Vechten in his most general criterion of crime. Both of us insist that community attitudes are the criteria of criminal behavior. I believe that the "law in action" usually expresses these community attitudes adequately in regard to types of behavior, and conclude that when a community takes official and formal action in regard to types of behavior which violate the law, such behavior may properly be called criminal. Van Vechten reaches the same conclusion through a tolerance quotient, namely, that when a community takes official and formal action in regard to types of behavior, those types of behavior may properly be called criminal. The law in action is a matter of direct observation and official record. If a tolerance quotient can be constructed accurately it will agree with the law in action and have the additional value of the statistical exercise of computing it. The only divergence I can imagine in the two criteria of crime is official action taken against a person who has not violated a law. By my definition behavior is criminal only if it violates a law, while by Van Vechten's definition, as I understand it, it is criminal only if it exceeds the tolerance limit, regardless of the law.

White-collar criminality exceeds the tolerance limit of the community and is in this respect like other criminality except that official action is usually taken by administrative boards and commissions rather than by police departments and criminal courts. The community in its corporate capacity does react against white-collar crimes, and such crimes are therefore justifiably included within the scope of criminology. The community does not react so severely against white-collar crimes as against burglary and murder, to be sure, but if severity of punishment is used as the criterion of crime it would be justifiable to include only the behavior punished by death or by more than ten years of imprisonment.

I do not understand Van Vechten's tolerance quotient. He proposes that the objective behavior—which presumably means burglary, fraud, or chicken theft—be the numerator and some measure of community tolerance the denominator. He does not suggest how a numerical value can be given to the objective behavior in the numerator, and I can imagine no method by which this can be done in this connection except one which evaluates that behavior in terms of community tolerance. This would make the numerator and denominator an expression of the same thing; the quotient would be a ratio of a thing to itself and would always be unity. I suspect that Van Vechten means merely that the crimes, classified in whatever way might seem desirable, could be listed and ranked or in some other may measured in terms of community tolerance. This

is substantially the same as Sellin's resistance potential; but it is not a quotient, it has no critical point, and it does not provide a definition of crime.

A second specific difficulty with the tolerance quotient is that it is defined as "the community tolerance" on the part of "the class to which the person belongs." Is it the community or the class that defines the crime? The class tolerance may vary widely from the official action of the community in its corporate capacity. I do not understand how the quotient is to be constructed or what it is to measure. This point, however, is relatively trivial, and the lack of understanding is perhaps due to the brevity of the paper.

Van Vechten's conclusion that my definition is not practicable is not based on an explicit analysis. He states merely that if this definition were used, the usual conclusions and theories, "which are admittedly valid," would be greatly incumbered by qualifications. I attempted to show that the conclusions and theories are not valid, that they should be discarded, and that a search should be made for wider generalizations which include white-collar crimes as well as the crimes we are accustomed to study. I presented a brief outline of a theory which I believe will fit the wider range of data as well as account more satisfactorily for the facts in the narrower range within which we have been working. Van Vechten's statement that it is not practicable to discard old conclusions and search for new conclusions sounds like an expression of a vested interest.

His last argument is that social injury might result from calling white-collar crimes "crimes." By the same argument it might be desirable to stop calling chicken thieves criminals, but that is irrelevant from the point of view of scientific analysis, as Van Vechten agrees. I should be quite content to call the behavior x or any other letter of the alphabet.

EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND

Indiana University

REJOINDER

I am moved to accept Dr. Sutherland's concluding offer to "call the behavior x," for my fundamental contention involves the idea that the sort of community action taken by administrative boards against white-collar criminals represents action along a vector of social deviation significantly different from that of "crime." Risking that sort of treatment is very different from risking branding as a "common criminal." Only by calling white-collar crime x, or some other designation, can its significantly different social nature and genesis be preserved. The two types of deviation will be unified only when we arrive at a general theory of social conduct in its entirety.

My ratio is a ratio in that the numerator would represent an objective description of acts, and the denominator would vary with time, place, and many other variables. Of course it is the community which defines the crime (here,

AN INDIAN'S SOLILOQUY

B. W. AGINSKY

While doing field research in northern California with an Indian group which had suffered a great deal under the disruptive influences of Spanish and Americans, I became familiar with an old Indian man well over one hundred years of age. He had lived through a period which encompassed the days before any whites had come into his territory, the Spanish raids, the white massacres, the herding of his people upon reservations, and the variegated civilized tortures accompanying these deprivations. One day after a long period of discussion concerning the changing family situation he talked eloquently for a period of about two hours. As soon as it was possible I returned to my headquarters and recorded what he had said in as close an approximation as I could.

An old Pomo Indian once said to me: "What is a man? A man is nothing. Without his family he is of less importance than that bug crossing the trail, of less importance than the sputum or exuviae. At least they can be used to help poison[1] a man. A man must be with his family to amount to anything with us. If he had nobody else to help him, the first trouble he got into he would be killed by his enemies because there would be no relatives to help him fight the poison of the other group. No woman would marry him because her family would not let her marry a man with no family. He would be poorer than a newborn child; he would be poorer than a worm, and the family would not consider him worth anything. He would not bring renown or glory with him. He would not bring support of other relatives either. The family is important. If a man has a large family and a profession[2] and upbringing by a family that is known to produce good children, then he is somebody and every family is willing to have him marry a woman of their group. It is the family that is important. In the white ways of doing things the family is not so important. The police and soldiers take care of protecting you, the courts give you justice, the post office carries messages for you, the school teaches you. Everything is taken care of, even your children, if you die; but with us the family must do all of that.

"Without the family we are nothing, and in the old days before the

[1] Sorcery—black magic.

[2] Specialized occupation requiring years of training and preparation. Some of the specializations are deer-hunter, gambler, doctor, and money manufacturers.

white people came the family was given the first consideration by anyone who was about to do anything at all. That is why we got along. We had no courts, judges, schools, and the other things you have, but we got along better than you. We had poison, but if we minded our own business and restrained ourselves we lived well. We were taught to leave people alone. We were taught to consider that other people had to live. We were taught that we would suffer from the devil, spirits, ghosts, or other people if we did not support one another. The family was everything, and no man ever forgot that. Each person was nothing, but as a group joined by blood the individual knew that he would get the support of all his relatives if anything happened. He also knew that if he was a bad person the head man of his family would pay another tribe to kill him so that there would be no trouble afterward and so that he would not get the family into trouble all of the time.

"That is why we were good people and why we were friends with the white people when they came. But the white people were different from us. They wanted to take the world for themselves. My grandfather told me that the white people were homeless and had no families. They came by themselves and settled on our property. They had no manners. They did not know how to get along with other people. They were strangers who were rough and common and did not know how to behave. But I have seen that these people of yours are even worse. They have taken everything away from the Indians, and they take everything away from one another. They do not help one another when they are in trouble, and they do not care what happens to other people. We were not like that. We would not let a person die of starvation when we had plenty of food. We would not bury our dead with no show. We would kill another person by poisoning him if he was an enemy, but we would not treat a stranger the way they treat their own brothers and sisters. Your people are hard to understand. My brother lived with your people for twenty years, and he said that he was used to you; but he cannot understand yet why you people act as you do. You are all the same in one way. We are all the same in another. What is wrong with you? The white people have the land. They own the courts, they own everything, but they will not give the Indians enough money to live on. It is hard to understand.

"With us the family was everything. Now it is nothing. We are getting like the white people, and it is bad for the old people. We had no old peoples' homes like you. The old people were important. They were wise. Your old people must be fools."

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY CONFERRED IN 1939

According to reports received by the *Journal* from institutions offering graduate instruction, 58 doctoral degrees and 177 Masters' degrees in sociology were conferred in the calendar year 1939 by 51 institutions in the United States and Canada. The list includes only those institutions which require dissertations or theses. Because of lack of space, degrees, dissertations, and theses in the field of social work are not included.

DOCTORS' DEGREES

Selden Daskam Bacon, B.A., M.A. Yale, 1931, 1935. "The Early Development of American Municipal Police." *Yale.*

Mathilde Bahar, B.A. George Washington, 1938; M.A. Columbia, 1939. "A Sociological Analysis of the Interests and Activities of Federal Clerks in Washington, D.C." *Columbia.*

James H. Barnett, B.A. Berea, 1928; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1930. "Divorce and the American Divorce Novel, 1864–1937." *Pennsylvania.*

Lawrence S. Bee, B.A. Brigham Young, 1936; M.S. Iowa State College, 1937. "Attitude Differentials in a New York Rural Community." *Cornell.*

Robert Bierstedt, B.A. Iowa, 1934; M.A. Columbia, 1935. "Semantics and Sociology." *Columbia.*

Robert G. Caldwell, B.S., M.A. Pennsylvania, 1928, 1934. "The New Castle County Workhouse of Greenbank, Delaware." *Pennsylvania.*

Margaret I. Conway, B.A. Wisconsin, 1922; M.A. Minnesota, 1930. "The Significance of Personal-Social History Factors in the Prediction of Achievement." *Minnesota.*

Lewis C. Copeland, B.A. Texas Christian University, 1931; M.A. Chicago, 1937. "The Function of Racial Ideologies." *Duke.*

Sister Felicia Corrigan, B.A. Webster College, 1928; M.A. Catholic University, 1936. "The Social Thought of Orestes K. Brownson." *Catholic University.*

Ralph H. Danhof, B.A. Michigan, 1935. "The Agricultural System of Production in the United States, 1850 to 1860." *Michigan.*

J. Douglas Ensminger, B.S., M.A. Missouri, 1934, 1935. "Diagnosing a Rural Community." *Cornell.*

Clarence Enzler. "Some Social Aspects of the Depression, 1930–1935." *Catholic University.*

Julian B. Feibelman, B.A. Millsaps College, 1918; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1929. "A Social and Economic Study of the New Orleans Jewish Community." *Pennsylvania.*

Paul Breck Foreman, B.S., M.A. Oregon, 1933, 1935. "Mississippi Population Trends." *Vanderbilt.*

Amy A. Gessner, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1931, 1933. "Selective Factors in Migration in a Rural Community." *Cornell.*

Florence G. Greenhoe, B.A. Hillsdale College, 1927; M.A. Michigan, 1934. "The Community Contacts of 9,122 Teachers Selected as a National Sample." *Ohio State.*

Charles J. Hanser, B.A., M.A. Columbia, 1934, 1935. "Social Research and Social Problems." *Columbia.*

Sister M. Inez Higler, B.A. Minnesota, 1923; M.A. Catholic University, 1925. "A Social Study of One Hundred Fifty Chippewa Families of the White Earth Reservation of Minnesota." *Catholic University.*

J. Edward Hulett, Jr., B.A. Mississippi College, 1929; M.A. Wisconsin, 1934. "The Sociological and Social Psychological Aspects of the Mormon Polygamous Family." *Wisconsin.*

Allan Hulsizer, B.A. Harvard, 1920; M.A. Columbia, 1923. "Region and Culture in the Education of the Navaho and the Dakota." *Columbia.*

Charles E. Ironside, M.A. Aberdeen, Scotland. "The Family in Colonial New York." *Columbia.*

William Bunyan Jones, B.A. Maryville College, 1928; Vanderbilt, 1932. "The Treatment of Juvenile Offenders in Tennessee: A Study in Integration." *Vanderbilt.*

Israel Joseph Kazis, B.A., M.A. Harvard, 1932, 1933. "Hasidism: A Study in the Sociology and History of Religion." *Harvard.*

Philip E. Keller, B.A., 1928; M.A. 1930. "The Sociology of Simon Nelson Patten." *Columbia.*

John Ballenger Knox, B.A. Davidson College, 1930; M.A. University of North Carolina, 1934; M.A. Harvard, 1935. "Business and the Professions: A Study Based upon Occupations of Graduates of Harvard College." *Harvard.*

Sidney Kobre, B.A. Johns Hopkins, 1927; M.A. Columbia, 1932. "The Colonial Newspaper." *Columbia.*

Rupert Clifford Koeninger, B.A. Texas Technological College, 1929; M.A. Chicago, 1936. "An Evaluation of the Introductory Sociology Courses at the Ohio State University." *Ohio State.*

Sandor Bodonsky Kovacs, B.A., M.A. University of Richmond, 1935, 1936. "The Czecho-Slovaks in Virginia." *Virginia.*

Edwin McCarthy Lemert, B.A. Miami, 1934. "Technology and Social Controls in Soviet Russia." *Ohio State.*

Saul Levine, B.S. Pennsylvania, 1937; M.A. Columbia, 1938. "Social Perception and the Formation of Social Norms." *Columbia.*

Beryl Rogers McClasky, B.A. Alabama, 1918; M.A. Chicago, 1922. "A Social and Economic Survey of Beadle County, South Dakota." *Columbia.*

Vincent McQuade. "The American Catholic Attitude on Child Labor since 1891: A Study of the Formation and Development of the Catholic Attitude on a Specific Social Question." *Catholic University.*

Bess C. Miles, B.A. Boston University, 1925. "A Study of Social Needs and Resources of a Local Church Community." *Catholic University.*

Rita Somerville Morgan, B.A. Hunter College, 1928. "Arbitration and Conference Method in the Men's Clothing Industry in New York City." *Columbia.*

S. Clayton Newman, B.A. Pittsburgh, 1931; M.A. Oberlin College, 1934. "Self-help Employment among College Students and Its Implications for American Education." *Ohio State.*

Rosemary Norris. "Sociology of Death." *Columbia.*

Sister Corita O'Brien, B.A. St. Joseph College, 1936; M.A. Catholic University, 1937. "Contribution of John Ruskin to Sociology." *Catholic University.*

Sister Ancilla O'Neill, B.A. Immaculate Heart College, 1930; M.A. California, 1935. "Tristao de Athayde and the Catholic Social Movement in Brazil." *Catholic University.*

Donald Robert Pierson, B.A. College of Emporia, 1927; M.A. Chicago, 1933. "A Study of Racial and Cultural Adjustment in Bahia, Brazil." *Chicago.*

John Adrian Rademaker, B.A. College of Puget Sound, 1930; M.A. Washington, 1935. "Japanese Land Holding for Agricultural Purposes in the State of Washington." *Washington.*

Elizabeth Adelaide Redden, B.A., M.S. New Hampshire, 1928, 1930. "Embezzlement: A Study of One Kind of Criminal Behavior, with Prediction Tables Based on Fidelity Insurance Records." *Chicago.*

Stephen Winsor Reed, B.A. Yale, 1934. "Acculturation in New Guinea." *Yale.*

Albert Alan Rogers, B.A. Richmond, 1926; M.A. Virginia, 1937. "The Family in Eighteenth Century Virginia." *Virginia.*

Seth Winfield Russell, B.A., M.A. Pennsylvania State College, 1933, 1935. "A Study of Changing Rural Church Organization in Relation to Community Development." *Pittsburgh.*

Alice Belle Salter, B.A. Coe College, 1939. "Membership in Certain Youth Organizations as Affecting the Behavior of High School Students, Cedar Rapids, Iowa." *Cornell.*

Marjorie Scherer, B.A. Wilson, 1917; M.A. Columbia, 1928. "The Friends." *Columbia.*

Florence Hemley Schneider, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1934; M.A. Columbia, 1935. "The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry." *Bryn Mawr.*

Sister M. C. Schwartz. "Social Contribution of the Catholic Church in France." *Catholic University.*

William H. Sewell, B.A., M.A., Michigan State College, 1933, 1934. "The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of Oklahoma Farm Family Socio-economic Status." *Minnesota.*

Vahn D. Sewny, B.A. Michigan, 1929; M.A. Columbia, 1933. "The Social Theory of James Mark Baldwin." *Columbia.*

Christopher Smith, B.S. Springfield; M.A. Columbia, 1936. "A Study of Vertical Occupational Mobility." *Columbia.*

Henry G. Stetler, B.S. Franklin Marshall; M.A. Columbia, 1930. "Evolution of Municipal Socialization." *Columbia.*

Olive M. Stone, B.A. Alabama College, 1917; M.A. Chicago, 1929. "Agrarian Conflict in Alabama." *North Carolina.*

Paul Stroh. "The Catholic Clergy and American Labor Disputes (1900–1937)." *Catholic University.*

Edith Miller Tufts, B.A. Baker University, 1923. "Census of Dependent Children in Foster Care under the Supervision of Children's Agencies and Institutions in Allegheny County as of December 31, 1935: An Analysis and Source Book." *Pittsburgh.*

John H. Useem, B.A. California, 1934. "The Provision of Social Security in a Rural Society." *Wisconsin.*

H. Ashley Weeks, Jr., B.A. Berea, 1931; M.A. Nebraska, 1932. "The Relation of Broken Homes to Juvenile Delinquency in Spokane, Washington." *Wisconsin.*

Logan Wilson, M.A. Texas, 1927; M.A. Harvard, 1939. "The Academic Man: An Inquiry into the Social Organization of the University." *Harvard.*

MASTERS' DEGREES

Vernon L. Aaserude, B.A. North Dakota State Teachers College, 1934. "Medical Service Available in the State with Special Reference to the Indigent Population Group." *North Dakota.*

Ben Avis Adams, B.A. Alabama, 1936. "A Study of Indexes of Assimilation of the Creole in New Orleans." *Tulane.*

I. R. Adams, "Farm Tenantry in Brazos County, Texas." *A. & M. College of Texas.*

Ruby Winona Adams, B.A. Texas, 1930. "Social Behavior in a Drouth-stricken Texas Panhandle Community." *Texas.*

Eunice Adamson, B.A. Talladega, 1927. "Ethnic and Cultural Minorities in India with Special Reference to Indian Nationalism." *Fisk.*

Peter George Alapas, B.S. Pittsburgh, 1936. "Mobility of Families in Selected Areas of Pittsburgh." *Pittsburgh.*

Leonise Aubry, B.A. Xavier University, 1936. "Comparative Studies of Ambitions among Two Selected Groups of Children Living in Different Environments." *Catholic University.*

August Philip Baetke, B.A. Wartburg College, 1931. "An Exploratory Descriptive Study of an Orphanage." *Chicago.*

Elijah Jerge Baker. "Child Labor Regulation under the N.R.A. Codes and Since." *Columbia.*

E. Lloyd Barber, B.A. University of Saskatchewan, 1938. "The Changing Status of the World Bread Supply with Particular Reference to the Canadian Export Trade in Wheat." *Clark University.*

Louise Barrows, B.A. Kalamazoo College, 1936. "Social Activities of Adolescent Girls on Relief." *Michigan State College.*

Laurie Calvin Battle, B.A. Birmingham-Southern College, 1934. "Backgrounds and Parents' Attitudes towards Fraternities." *Ohio State.*

Charles M. Bayley, B.A. University of British Columbia, 1935. "The Social Structure of Immigrant Groups." *McGill.*

Gordon Beebe, B.A. Stanford, 1933. "Ecology of Sub-standard Housing in Seattle." *Washington.*

Samuel Bejiliant. "The Know-Nothing Party: A Study in Nativism." *Columbia.*

Marian Elisabeth Best. "Problems in Organizing Women in White-Collar Occupations." *Columbia.*

Leon Betensky, B.A. Drake University, 1934. "Anti-Semitic Activities in the United States in 1938." *George Washington University.*

Charles Powell Blackmore. "Background Factors in Student Success at Progressive Schools." *Columbia.*

Ruth Weiskoff Borden. "The Psychological Orientation of Jewish Graduate Students at Columbia University." *Columbia.*

Brother John P. Boyle, B.A. Catholic University, 1938. "An Empirical Revolution of Sister Loretta Marie Sheey's Personality Inventory in Terms of Introversion-Extroversion." *Catholic University.*

William Chapman Bradbury, Jr. "Social Classes, Causation and Change in the Sociology of Veblen." *Columbia.*

Carl Friedrich Brast, Ph.B. Yankton College, 1931. "Social Thought of the Ante-Nicene Fathers." *Nebraska.*

Agnes Florence Brown, B.A. Salem College, 1936. "Factors Back of Interracial Cooperation in Winston-Salem." *North Carolina.*

Shirley Jean Burnham, B.A. Utah, 1937. "An Investigation of the Cost of Dental Care in Salt Lake County." *Utah.*

Frank A. Burtner, Jr., B.A. Texas, 1938. "Cooley's Theory of Personality." *Texas.*

Sister M. Berenice Caffrey, B.A. Ursuline College, 1933. "The Social Ideals of the Venerable Mother Mary of the Incarnation." *Catholic University.*

Rev. Joseph E. Cahill, A.B. St. John's University, Canada, 1921; S.T.D. Angelico University, Rome, 1927. "Collective Church Financing." *Catholic University.*

Marian Louise Cawley, B.S. New York University, 1933. "Emotional Backgrounds of Crime." *New York University.*

Angela Marie Chappelle, B.A. Southern Methodist, 1924. "Religious Organizations in San Antonio, Texas." *Texas.*

Katherine Chester, B.A. Goucher College, 1934. "Vocational Adjustments of Young Women of Rural Origin in Washington, D.C." *Catholic University.*

Louis Hing Chu, B.A. Upsala College, 1937. "The Chinese Restaurants of New York City." *New York University.*

Providencia Cintron. "The National Status and the Social Traits of Puerto Ricans." *Columbia.*

Ethel C. Clark, A.B. Kansas, 1921. "The Workers Education Movement." *Kansas.*

Margaret Jones Clark, B.S. Ohio State, 1938. "The Negro Pharmacist and Physician in Columbus, Ohio." *Ohio State.*

Robert Eugene Clark, B.A. Akron, 1935. "The Relationship of Occupational and Mental Disorders." *Chicago.*

M. Ethel Coleman, B.S. Miner Teachers College, 1935. "Study of Recreational Needs in Kingman Park." *Catholic University.*

David H. Colin, B.S. College of the City of New York, 1916. "Immigration and American Labor Development." *New York University.*

George Willard Collins, B.A. Vanderbilt, 1938. "The Use of the Indeterminate Sentence in Tennessee." *Vanderbilt.*

John Joseph Conroy, B.A. New Hampshire, 1932. "Recreational Organization and Activities in an Industrial New England Town." *New Hampshire.*

Lolagene Convis, B.A. Chicago, 1937. "Economic Differentials in Causes of Death." *Chicago.*

William F. Coster, B.A. St. Mary's Seminary, 1935. "An Examination of the Population Picture Presented by Two Generations of Families of a Selected Group of University of Maryland Sorority and Fraternity Members." *Catholic University.*

Henry Wilson Cross, B.A. East Texas State Teachers College, 1932. "Social Organization and Interaction in a Texas Oil Town." *Texas.*

Barbara Davis, B.A. Mount Holyoke College, 1937. "A Study of Attitudes of Children Contributing Earnings in Families Receiving Public Assistance." *Bryn Mawr.*

Ralph Nelson Davis, B.A. Fisk, 1918. "The Negro Newspaper in Chicago." *Chicago.*

James Curtis Day. "The Habitual Negro Criminal: Some Incidents of Broken Homes and Unstable Marital Relationships in the Life Histories of the Habitual Negro Criminal." *Columbia.*

William L. J. Dee, B.A. Washington University, 1935. "An Ecological Study of Mental Disorders in Metropolitan Saint Louis." *Washington University.*

Gerard DeGre. "The Science of the Social Aspects of Knowledge." *Columbia.*

Ruth Conant Delpino, B.A. Bates, 1929. "The Visiting Teacher: An Essential in a State Educational Program." *New Hampshire.*

Frances Meurer Deputy, B.A. Franklin College, 1938. "Marriages and the Depression." *Cincinnati.*

Clyde W. Dewalt, B.Ed. Illinois State Normal, 1925. "Emigration of the Native Population of Iowa within the United States." *Iowa.*

Richard Dewey, A.B. Wooster College, 1936. "Relationship between Sociology and Social Work." *Oberlin.*

Alida Call Dixon, B.A. Utah, 1938. "Infant and Maternal Mortality in Utah." *Utah.*

William Fries Doering, B.A. Washington College, 1938. "An Experimental Study of Fad Behavior." *Vanderbilt.*

Charles Richard Draper, A.B. College of the Pacific, 1937. "The Relation of Certain Social Factors to the Spacing of Births in Families of Four Connecticut Towns." *Connecticut.*

Irvin Dunsky, B.A. Newark, 1936. "The Excess Female Population of Durham, North Carolina," *Duke.*

Allen East, B.A. Oregon, 1929. "The Genesis and Early Development of the Multnomah County, Oregon, Juvenile Court: A Study of the Community Responsibility for the Period 1841–1918." *Oregon.*

Lois Elliott, B.A. Cincinnati, 1935. "The Development of Sociology in Czechoslovakia." *Cincinnati.*

Lenore M. Ellsworth, B.A. Western Reserve, 1934. "Attidudes of Clients of the Family Society toward Employment Problems." *Bryn Mawr.*

Fred O. Erbe, B.A. Drake University, 1933. "Social Background of the Life Inmate at Fort Madison Penitentiary." *Iowa.*

E. Gordon Ericksen, B.S. Utah, 1938. "A Sociological Study of Funeral Customs and Legal Burial Requirements in Utah." *Utah.*

Lusilla Francis Eubank, B.A. Colorado College, 1937. "Palo Alto's Program To Serve the Recreational Needs of Its Younger Citizens." *Stanford.*

Sophia Fagin, B.A. Chicago, 1936. "Public Forums in Chicago." *Chicago.*

Jean Andrew Fortier, B.A. Northland College, 1921. "A Study in Parent-Child Relationships." *Chicago.*

Jacob G. Franz. "The Spirit and Practice of Mennonite Non-violent Resistance." *Columbia.*

Miriam Neill Gallaher. "The American Writers' Congress and League of American Writers: An Attempt To Mobilize Middle-Class Writers." *Columbia.*

William Galvin, B.A. St. Mary's Seminary, 1935. "Revolutionary Phenomena: A Comparison of Phenomena as Described in the Writings of L. P. Edwards, Nicholas, Berdyaev, Arnold Lum." *Catholic University.*

Merlin Estes Garber, A.B. Illinois, 1937. "Culture Adaptations in the Church of the Brethren." *Illinois.*

Celma Gilliland, B.S.A. Arkansas, 1934. "An Analysis of the Social and Economic Backgrounds of Elected Agricultural Leadership in Six Arkansas Counties." *Wisconsin.*

James Earl Glazebrook, B.A. Baker University, 1938. "Recreational Interests and Activities of Northwestern University Students." *Northwestern.*

Bertha Goldstein, B.A. Bryn Mawr, 1937. "A Study of Immigration Laws of the United States." *Bryn Mawr.*

Alma Grant, B.A. Saskatchewan, 1937. "The Changing Status of Women as Reflected in American Family Legislature since 1930." *North Carolina.*

Llewellyn Z. Gross, B.A. Minnesota, 1936. "Construction of a Belief Pattern Scale for Measuring Attitudes toward Romanticism." *Minnesota.*

Monita Guerry, B.A. Shorter College, 1938. "Work Histories of Social Science Graduates." *Emory.*

Wanda N. Gum, B.S.Ed. Southern Illinois State Normal University, 1937. "Social Adjustment of N.Y.A. Students." *Washington University.*

Leonard Beryl Gutner. "Present Knowledge of Medical Care: A Partial Survey." *Columbia.*

Louis Guttman, B.A. Minnesota, 1936. "On Uses of the Critical Ratio." *Minnesota.*

Lynn Hales, B.A. Utah, 1926. "A Mental Health Survey of One Thousand High School Students in Salt Lake City." *Utah.*

Ida May Hall. "Problem Situations of Unattached Men According to Home Relief Records." *Columbia.*

Russell Hall, B.A. Tennessee, 1936. "A Social Study of Pitman Center." *Tennessee.*

Herbert Hannan, B.A. St. Mary's Seminary, 1935. "Brandeis and Quadragesimo Anno-Papal Labor Teaching and That of an American Jurist." *Catholic University.*

Ilean Hansen, B.S. Utah, 1938. "A Social Study of the Causes of the High Appendicitis Mortality Rate in Salt Lake City." *Utah.*

Thelma Marie Hanson. "Greenbelt, Maryland: A Planned Community." *Columbia.*

Kathleen Harlow, B.A. Trinity College, 1925. "Health Insurance." *Catholic University.*

Robert Allen Harper, B.A. Ohio State, 1938. "Race Attitudes and Social Participation." *Ohio State.*

H. L. Heaton, "Some Aspects of Health Services in Small Towns and Rural Communities of Texas." *A. & M. College of Texas.*

Myron S. Heidingsfield, B.S. College of the City of New York, 1937. "A Statistical Analysis of the Results of a New Case Finding Method for the Eradication of Tuberculosis in New York City." *New York University.*

Elmer William Henderson, B.A. Morgan College, 1937. "A Study of the Basic Factors Involved in the Change in the Party Alignment of Negroes in Chicago, 1932–1938." *Chicago.*

Catherine Hildebrand, B.A. Wilson College, 1937. "A Study of Alignment of Public and Private Welfare Services." *Bryn Mawr.*

Esther Creamer Holt, A.B. State College for Women, Tallahassee, 1926. "A Study and Evaluation of Recreational Facilities in West Palm Beach, Florida." *University of Florida.*

Frederick Charles Hopton, B.A. Pittsburgh, 1938. "Burial Customs and Their Social Significance." *Pittsburgh.*

Jean Isobel Hunter, B.A. McGill, 1936. "Invasion and Succession of French Canadians in the Eastern Townships Region, Province of Quebec." *McGill.*

James Glenn Hutchinson, B.A. Emory University, 1936. "Community Study of New Government Towns." *North Carolina.*

Richard Arthur Ibison, B.A. Ohio State, 1938. "Problems of Culture Contact with Particular Reference to North America." *Ohio State.*

Ruchla Laja Indelman. "Parents and Children in a Group of Jewish Families: A Study in Mobility." *Columbia.*

Winifred B. Ingram, B.A. Washington, 1937. "Marcus Garvey: A Study of Projected Negro Myths." *Washington.*

Alver J. Jacobson, A.B. Miami, 1938. "The Railroaders of Minneapolis." *Miami University*

Robert William Janes, B.A. Chicago, 1938. "The Legion of Decency and the Motion Picture Industry." *Chicago*

Clifton R. Jones, B.A. Virginia Union University, 1935. "Negro Leadership in a Southern Town." *State University of Iowa.*

Eunice Joyner Jones, B.A. Virginia Union University, 1934. "A Study of the Urban League Movement in the United States." *New York University.*

Isham Jones, B.A. Howard University, 1939. "Adjustment Patterns of Adolescent Boys in a Slum Area." *Fisk.*

Lewis Wade Jones. "Occupational Stratification among Rural and Small Town Negroes before the Civil War and Today." *Columbia.*

Doris Jeanne Kaplan. "Adjustment Problems of German-Jewish Refugees." *Columbia.*

Esther Kerry, B.A. McGill, 1934. "The Function and Role of the Volunteer in Social Work." *McGill.*

Mildred Kested, B.A. George Washington University, 1934. "Flood Relief Activities of the United States Coast Guard." *George Washington University.*

Ruth M. Knebelman, "The Census of Occupations and Their Use in the Study of Social Status." *Columbia.*

Margaret Cecil Knights. "Attitudes of Congregational Churches toward the Labor Movement." *Columbia.*

Valentina Kolesnikova, Diploma, Azerbaijan State University, Russia, 1930. "Unemployment Compensation in the District of Columbia in 1938." *George Washington University.*

Dorothy Ruth Krouse. "Magazine Content as Indicative of Changing Attitudes toward Current Social Issues: An Eleven-Year Survey of the *Ladies Home Journal* (1928–1938)." *Columbia.*

Andrew Kummerow, Ph.B. Marquette, 1938. "A State Plan for the Administration of a Program for the Blind." *Wisconsin.*

Margaret Kunz, B.A. Illinois. "Changing Attitudes of American People toward the Chinese." *Bryn Mawr.*

Teresa Rose LaFratta, B.A., B.S. Ohio State, 1938. "A Study of the Social Attitudes of One Hundred and Eighty Second-Generation Italians." *Ohio State.*

Asher Bob Lans. "A Study in the Tradition of the Constitution in the United States." *Columbia.*

Heber Delmar Layton, B.S. Arizona, 1937. "Mortality and Morbidity in Arizona." *Utah.*

William P. Lentz, B.S. Oshkosh State Teachers College, 1938. "A Study of Unsettled Transient Families in Wisconsin." *Wisconsin.*

Laing-tang Lin. "The Place of Preparatory Technical Conferences in the International Labor Organizations." *Columbia.*

Charles Manly Loomis, B.A. North Carolina, 1938. "A Study of the Durham Recreation Department." *North Carolina.*

Marion Bolander McCall, B.S. Pittsburgh, 1937. "Field Work in the Southwest with Particular Reference to the Chaco Canyon Area." *Pittsburgh.*

Margaret Dallas McCraney, B.S. Northwestern, 1932. "Family Disorganization and the Depression." *Northwestern.*

Richard McGrath. "A Housing Survey of Census Tract No. 30 in District of Columbia." *Catholic University.*

Dorothy McGrath, B.A. Nazareth College, 1928. "A Study of the Wagner–Van Nuys Anti-lynching Bill in Negro and White Washington, D.C., Newspapers." *Catholic University.*

Kathren P. McKinney, B.A. Washington University, 1936. "An Ecological Study of Paris, France, 1911, 1921, 1931." *Washington University.*

Gilbert Meldrum, B.S. College of the City of New York, 1937. "Comparative Concepts and Methodology Used in the Study of the Family in France and in the United States." *Utah.*

Mary O. Merriwether, B.A. West Virginia State Institute, 1937. "Sociology in Negro Institutions of Higher Learning in the United States." *Iowa.*

Crichton P. Miller. "The Reserve Officer Training Corps: An Organization and a Focus of Student Attitudes." *Columbia.*

Catherine S. Moore. "The Adjustments of Sheltered Workshops to the National Industrial Recovery Act Standards and Its Aftermath." *Columbia.*

Joseph Moos, C.S.U., B.A. Loyola (Chicago, Illinois), 1934. "Negro-White Relations in Brazil before and after 1888." *Catholic University.*

Edythe Norwick, B.A., M.S. Temple University, 1933, 1935. "County Institution Districts—Comparative Study of Four Districts." *Bryn Mawr.*

Geraldine Nott. "The United States Chamber of Commerce Views Labor Relations." *Columbia.*

Sarah J. O'Donnell. "Limitations Imposed upon the Negro in the District of Columbia." *Catholic University.*

Walter Frank Pack, B.A. Chattanooga, 1938. "The Dependent Child in Tennessee." *Vanderbilt.*

Margaret Barbara Pahlman, B.A. Maryland, 1938. "Some Conditions and Trends in Recreational Activities in Suburban Montgomery County, Maryland, as Shown by Studies Made in 1934 and 1938." *Maryland.*

Mildred Esther Peacock. "A Critique of Floyd Henry Allport's Theory of Institutions." *Columbia.*

Ernest Marshall Perkins, B.S. New Hampshire, 1930. "An Educational System." *New Hampshire.*

Samuel Phillips, B.A. Western Reserve, 1930. "The Jewish Population in Rochester, New York: A Study in Racial Concentration—1938." *Western Reserve.*

Dorothy Edwards Powers, B.A. Vassar, 1917. "The Chicago Women's Club." *Chicago.*

Dorothy Cecelia Prothro. "Regional and Subregional Social Contacts of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union." *Columbia.*

George R. Ragland, Langston University, 1938. "Variations in Penal Sentences in the United States." *Iowa.*

Gussie Randall, B.A. Rhode Island State College, 1938. "A Comparative Study of Problems, Situations and Interests of Rural Unmarried Youth, 16–25 Years of Age in Two Maryland Areas." *Maryland.*

Ronald Goodspeed Reuter, B.A. Iowa, 1937. "The Popular Hero." *Nebraska.*

Frieda E. Rhone, B.S. Prairie View College, 1938. "Recreational Activities of Rural Youth in Waller County, Texas." *Prairie View.*

Duane Robinson, B.A. Washington, 1935. "An Investigation of Social Science Teaching in the High Schools of the State of Washington." *Washington.*

Arthur Donald Rosenberg. "The Juvenile Aid Bureau of the City of New York and Its Recreational Program." *Columbia.*

Clarence Erwin Rusch, B.Ed. Milwaukee State Teachers College, 1934. "Alaska: The Country and Its People." *Stanford.*

Sister M. G. Schwaegerl. "Franciscan Social Thought as Exemplified in the Life and Work of Theodosius Florentine, O.M.C.P." *Catholic University.*

Judith Seidel, B.A. McGill, 1937. "The Development of the Social Structure of the Jewish Colony in Montreal." *McGill.*

George William Shafran, B.S. Northwestern, 1935. "The Development of Sex Education in America." *Northwestern.*

Kathleen McCollum Shearer, A.B. Maryland, 1938. "A Comparative Study of Rural Families' Relief and Non-relief." *Maryland.*

Noboru Shirai, B.A. Kalamazoo, 1937. "Japan's Population Policies." *Stanford.*

Herman Silva, B.A. Tennessee, 1937. "A Critical Analysis of Spencer's Sociology." *Tennsssee.*

Victor William Simons. "Methods of Dealing with Juvenile Delinquent Boys in———County, New Jersey: With Special Consideration of a Project Known as the———Hamlet." *Columbia.*

Nina Leanora Dunn Sinkbeil, B.A. Colorado, 1936. "A Comparative Study of Marriage Customs among the Indians of Southwestern United States and the Negroes of West Africa." *Colorado.*

Rex Austin Skidmore, B.A. Utah, 1938. "A Sociological Study of the Boy Scout Membership Mortality Rate in Salt Lake City." *Utah.*

Jamie Smith, B.A. Texas, 1932. "The Role of Women's Clubs in the Community Life of San Antonio, Texas." *Texas.*

Ransford M. Smith, B.A. Alabama, 1937. "The Concept of Social Process in American Sociological Thought." *Ohio State.*

Alfred Breading Stafford, B.S. Carnegie Institute of Technology, 1931. "The Criteria of a Systematic Sociology." *Pittsburgh.*

Maurice LeRoy Stearns, B.S. Bowling Green State University, 1935. "A Comparison of the Attitudes of High School Seniors and College Sophomores of Selected Social Issues." *Ohio State.*

Joseph Stepper, B.S. New York University, 1937. "The Housing Problem and Its Relation to the Lower East Side." *New York University.*

Harry Strothman, B.A. Cincinnati, 1937. "A Survey of Two Boys' Gangs in the West End of Cincinnati." *Cincinnati.*

Arthur Lee Svenson. "The Socialization of the Concept of Maladjustment." *Columbia.*

Earl E. Swartzlander, B.S. Illinois, 1934. "Case Work in Prisons with Special Reference to the Federal Reformatory at Chillicothe, Ohio." *Illinois.*

Mildred Sweet, B.A. American University, Washington, 1931. "Adjustments of Five Downtown Churches in Detroit." *Michigan.*

Seng Tancharoensukh, Ll.B. University of Moral and Political Science, Bangkok, Siam, 1935. "A Study of the Cooperative Movement in Siam." *Chicago.*

Kenneth Tiedke, B.A. Wisconsin, 1938. "The Cultural Subareas of Amazonia." *Wisconsin.*

Francis Trimmer, B.A. Roanoke College, 1932; D.D. Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, 1935. "Ministerial Counselling in Marriage Problems." *Cornell.*

Rosemary Teresa Trodden. "Illegitimacy in the Changing Sex Mores." *Columbia.*

F. Bernadette Rainsford Turner, B.S. Minnesota, 1926. "Family Factors and the Unadjusted Secondary School Pupil." *Northwestern.*

Ann Theresa Ulrich, B.A. Omaha, 1937. "A Social Study of Twenty-five Housemaids." *Nebraska.*

Gladys R. Walker, B.A. Goucher College, 1929. "Unemployment in the Learned Professions in the United States." *Pittsburgh.*

Clifton Francis Ward, B.A. Utah, 1937. "A Study of Vocational Rehabilitation in Utah." *Utah.*

Charles Rudolph Webb, B.Ed. Illinois State Normal University, 1932. "Factors and Trends in Low-Rental Public Housing in the United States." *Illinois.*

Jennie Whitehorn, B.A. Hunter College, 1931. "American Labor Leaders: Their Origins and Philosophies since 1860." *New York University.*

Ruth Christine Wick. "The Effectiveness of the American Civil Liberties Union in 'Academic Freedom' Cases." *Columbia.*

Eugene A. Wilkening, B.S. Missouri, 1937. "Mobility of Rural Rehabilitation Families in Missouri." *Missouri.*

Robert Francis Winch, B.A. Western Reserve University, 1935. "The Relation between Neurotic Tendency and Adjustment in Engagement." *Chicago.*

Eleanor Nadine Winograd. "Jewish-Gentile Relationships in Bensonhurst." *Columbia.*

Howard William Wissner, B.A. Pittsburgh, 1938. "A Comparative Study of the Structures and Policies of Four Peace Organizations in Pittsburgh." *Pittsburgh.*

Dzoe-ts Woo, B.A. Wellesley College, 1938. "Health Services to Women and Children in Soviet Russia." *Bryn Mawr.*

STUDENTS' DISSERTATIONS IN SOCIOLOGY

The following list of doctoral dissertations and Masters' theses in preparation in universities and colleges in the United States and Canada is a compilation of the returns from letters sent by the editors of the *Journal* to departments of sociology. The name of the college or university in italics designates the institution where the research is in progress. The list does not include names which have formerly been printed in the *Journal*, except where the research problem has been changed. The number now working for doctoral degrees is 108, and the number working for Master's degrees is 200.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

Janina M. Adamczyk, B.S., M.A. Northwestern, 1929, 1930. "The Group Continuum as a Concept in Social Theory." *Northwestern.*

Ruth Alexander, B.A. Mills College, 1933. "Race Relations at Watsonville Union High School." *Stanford.*

Francis Robbins Allen, B.A. Antioch, 1931; M.A. Columbia, 1936. "Development of the Public Health Movement in the Southeast." *North Carolina.*

Henry Allen Baker, B.A. Kansas, 1935. "Social Structure of a Kansas Village." *Yale.*

Joel V. Berreman, B.A. Willamette University, 1927; M.A. Oregon, 1933. "Factors Affecting the Sale of Modern Books of Fiction." *Stanford.*

John B. Biesanz, B.A. Chicago, 1937. "A Study of Youth Hostels." *Iowa.*

Gordon Williams Blackwell, A.B. Furman University, 1932; A.M. North Carolina, 1933; A.M. Harvard, 1937. "The Significance of Family Structural Characteristics in the Lowest Economic Stratum of Southern Agriculture." *Harvard.*

Behice Sadik Boran, A.B. Turkey, 1931; M.A. Michigan, 1939. "A Study of Occupational Mobility." *Michigan.*

J. Edmund Brock, A.B. Sulpician Seminary, 1936. "Collective Bargaining in the Cotton Textile Industry in Rhode Island." *Catholic University.*

Wilbur B. Brookover, A.B. Manchester, 1933; M.A. Wisconsin, 1939. "Teacher-Pupil Interaction and Its Influence on Teaching Ability." *Wisconsin.*

Anna Vivian Brown, B.A. Oberlin, 1938. "Anti-Semitism among the Negro Population of Harlem." *New York University.*

Julia Saparoff Brown, B.A. Radcliffe, 1936; M.A. Wisconsin, 1938. "Life History of a Labor Union." *Yale.*

John Harmon Burma, A.B. Trinity College, 1933; M.A. Texas, 1938. "A Study of Emigration from a Nebraska County during the Depression." *Nebraska.*

Carl F. Butts, B.S. Northwestern, 1935. "The Shakers." *Yale.*

Katherine Telfer Calvert, B.J., A.B., A.M. Missouri, 1924, 1926, 1933. "History of the Indians in Missouri." *Missouri.*

David Carpenter, B.A., M.A. Washington University, 1937, 1938. "Community Insecurity." *Washington.*

B. T. Catapusin, B.A. California Christian College, 1933; M.A. Southern California, 1934. "Filipino Race Relations Cycle in the United States." *Southern California.*

Hsueh-Yen Chang, B.A. Cheeloe University, 1930; B.D. Nanking University, 1934. "The Lunar Calendar as a Social Control Mechanism in Chinese Rural Life." *Cornell.*

Harold Christensen, B.S., M.S. Brigham Young, 1935, 1937. "Measurement of Population Pressure among Wisconsin Farmers." *Wisconsin.*

George F. Church, A.B., A.M. Kansas, 1925, 1928. "The Social Function of the Rural Community Newspaper." *Kansas.*

Mary E. Coleman, B.S. Miner Teachers College, 1935; M.A. Catholic University, 1939. "Negro Organizations in the District of Columbia Interested in Social Justice." *Catholic University.*

Clifford M. Corey, B.A. Lake Forest College, 1930; M.A. Northwestern, 1933. "Trends in Social Group Work." *Southern California.*

Ralph H. Danhof, A.B. Michigan, 1935; A.B. American University. "The Agricultural System of Production in the U.S., 1850 to 1860." *Michigan.*

Maurice B. Davies, B.A. Wooster, 1929; M.A. Wisconsin, 1933. "Some Factors Affecting Fertility Rates in the Intermountain Region: A Correlational Analysis." *Wisconsin.*

Alice Davis, B.A. Radcliffe, 1915. "Russian Folkways in Transition." *North Carolina.*

Nicholas J. Demerath, A.B. DePauw, 1934; A.M. Harvard, 1938. "The Sociological Backgrounds of a Series of Schizophrenic Histories with Particular Reference to Occupational Structure and Adolescence." *Harvard.*

Leland C. DeVinney, A.B. Albion College, 1931; A.M. Wisconsin, 1933. "Some Relationships between Educational Achievement and Social Stratification." *Chicago.*

Richard S. Dewey, A.B. Wooster, 1936; A.M. Oberlin, 1939. "Cultural Assimilation of the Jewish People." *Wisconsin.*

Robert M. Dinkel, B.A. Notre Dame, 1930; A.M. Minnesota, 1937. "Changes in Family Organization as Related to the Adjustment of Aged Parents with Their Children." *Minnesota.*

William Fries Doering, B.A. Washington College, 1938; M.A. Vanderbilt, 1939. "Urban Dominance in the Tennessee Central Basin." *Vanderbilt.*

Mary Alice Eaton, B.A. Wellesley College, 1934; M.A. Chicago, 1936. "The

Climate of the Southeast: An Investigation of Southern Climate as a Natural Resource and as a Handicap in Southern Development." *North Carolina.*

Allan W. Eister, B.A. DePauw, 1936; M.A. American University, 1937. "The Oxford Group Movement: A Study of 'Sects' and 'Sectarian' Conduct in Relation to Affirmed Values." *Wisconsin.*

F. Howard Forsyth, A.B. Brigham Young University, 1935; M.S. Iowa State, 1936. "The Construction of a Scale To Measure Attitude toward Relief." *Minnesota.*

Raymond L. Gibbs, A.B. Illinois Weslyan, 1926; M.A. Chicago, 1937. "Social Adjustment of Married Students in Ohio State University." *Ohio State.*

Duane L. Gibson, B.S. Cornell, 1934. "Membership Relations of Farmer's Milk Marketing Association in New York State." *Cornell.*

Stanley A. Ginsburgh, M.A. Johns Hopkins University, 1931. "Jewish Youth Movements." *Massachusetts State College.*

Harriet L. Goldberg, B.A., LL.B. Minnesota, 1932, 1930. "Support for Relatives in Public Assistance." *Bryn Mawr.*

W. A. Goldberg, B.A., M.A. Michigan, 1921, 1922. "The Chicago Crime Commission." *Northwestern.*

Patria Gosnell, A.B. Hunter, 1929; A.M. Columbia, 1930. "The Puerto Ricans in New York City." *New York University.*

S. Earl Grigsby, B.S., M.A. Louisiana State University, 1935, 1937. "A Study of Stranded Population Areas in Louisiana." *Cornell.*

Helen Dorcas Hall, A.B. Allegheny College, 1920; M.A. Columbia, 1929. "Extent of Variation on Occupational Mobility." *Pittsburgh.*

Jarvis Maynard Harper, B.A. Minnesota, 1932. "Study of Fertility and Net Reproduction Rates in the Southeast." *North Carolina.*

William Cecil Headrick, A.B. Southwestern College, 1926. "A Study in Social Immobility in Various Societies and Historical Periods." *New York University.*

Myron S. Heidingsfield, B.S. College of the City of New York, 1937; A.M. New York University, 1939. "Social Engineering as Exemplified in Public Health Achievements." *New York University.*

Ruth M. Hill, B.A. Miami, 1936. "Experimental Validation of a Hedonistic Hypothesis of Human Motivation." *Wisconsin.*

W. Arthur Hillman, A.B., A.M. Washington, 1931, 1934. "Urbanization and the Organization of Welfare Activities in the Metropolitan Community of Chicago." *Chicago.*

Albert Hoyt Hobbs, B.A. Penn State, 1933. "Migration from a Distressed Area." *University of Pennsylvania.*

Oscar F. Hoffman, B.A. Mission House College, 1924; M.A. Wisconsin, 1929. "A Reexamination of Land Use in the Subregion with Special Reference to Crops and Diet." *North Carolina.*

Rex De Vern Hopper, A.B. Butler, 1922; M.A. College of Missions, 1925.

"The Revolutionary Movement in Latin America: A Sociological Study." *Texas.*

Ralph Leroy Hukill, Ph.B. Washburn, 1933; M.A. Kansas, 1938. "An Examination of Opinion Forming Agencies in the Rural Areas of Lancaster County, Nebraska." *Nebraska.*

Ruth A. Inglis, B.A., M.A. Stanford, 1935, 1936. "A Study of the Efforts of Organized Reform Groups To Influence the Motion Pictures." *Bryn Mawr.*

David Ross Jenkins, M.A. Victoria University, 1937. "The Growth and Decline of Agricultural Villages." *Columbia.*

Arthur Hosking Jones, B.S., M.A. Pennsylvania, 1931, 1934. "Cheltenham Township: A Social and Economic Description of a Suburban Area." *Pennsylvania.*

R. Willis Kerns, B.S. Ohio, 1932; M.S. Cornell, 1934. "The Ecology of Rural Social Agencies in Pennsylvania." *Cornell.*

Fenton Keyes, B.A. Yale, 1937. "Urban Typology." *Yale.*

J. E. Kiernan, B.A. St. Joseph's (Princeton, N.J.), 1930; M.A. Catholic University, 1937. "Arthur J. Penty: A Critique of His Social Theory." *Catholic University.*

Morton B. King, B.A., M.A. Vanderbilt, 1934, 1936. "The Changing Relief Institutions in Marshall County, Tennessee." *Wisconsin.*

William L. Kolb, B.A. Miami, 1938; M.A. Wisconsin, 1939. "The Sociology of Revolution." *Wisconsin.*

Althea Hallowell Kratz, B.S., M.A. Pennsylvania, 1929, 1935. "Prosecution and Treatment of Women Offenders and the Economic Crises, Philadelphia, 1925–1934." *Pennsylvania.*

Manford H. Kuhn, B.A. Earlham, 1931; M.A. Wisconsin, 1932. "The Contribution of Freud and Psychoanalysis to the Description and Analysis of Societal and Cultural Data." *Wisconsin.*

Fred Daniel Lamberson, B.S. Gettysburg College, 1927; M.A. Pittsburgh, 1934. "Mobility of the Youth of McConnellsburg, Pa." *Pittsburgh.*

Carlo Lawrence Lastrucci, B.A. San Francisco State College, 1935; M.A. California, 1936. "Occupation and Personality: Dance Band Musicians." *Stanford.*

E. E. LeMasters, A.B. Miami University, 1934; M.A. Western Reserve, 1937. "A Sociological Study of Current Courtship Practices." *Ohio State.*

Myron Lewis, B.A. Quincy College, 1935; M.A. Mercer University, 1936. "Study of the Phenomena Associated with Metropolitan Regionalism in the Southeast." *North Carolina.*

Edwin J. Losey, B.S., M.S. Iowa State, 1930, 1936. "Membership Relations of Farmer's Cooperative Purchasing Organizations." *Cornell.*

Gordon W. Lovejoy, B.A., M.A. Florida, 1935, 1938. "Paths to Maturity." *North Carolina.*

Arnold M. Maahs, A.B., M.L. Pittsburgh, 1937, 1938. "The Accommodation of the Homestead Saxons to American Culture." *Pittsburgh.*

R. Drexel MacTavish, A.B. Juniata College, 1936; M.A. Pittsburgh, 1938. "Social Engineering: A Study in Social Surveying, Planning and Organization." *Pittsburgh.*

Jitsuichi Masuoka, B.A. Emporia College, 1928; M.A. Hawaii, 1931. "The Westernization of the Japanese Family in Hawaii." *Iowa.*

Selz Mayo, B.A. Atlantic Christian, 1935; M.S. North Carolina State, 1937. "Rural Relief." *North Carolina.*

Edward McDonagh, B.A., M.A. Southern California, 1937, 1938. "Social Attitudes toward Direct Legislation in California, 1926–1938." *Southern California.*

John Paul McKinsey, A.B. Westminster College, 1926; A.M. Missouri, 1928. "Phases of Transiency in Missouri." *Missouri.*

Edgar C. McVoy, B.A., M.A. Florida, 1934, 1937. "A Study of Wants and Their Satisfaction among Rural People in Minnesota." *Minnesota.*

Paul Meadows, B.A. McKendree, 1935; M.A. Washington University, 1936. "The Sociological Interpretation of Revolution." *Northwestern.*

Delbert C. Miller, B.S., M.A. Miami, 1934, 1937. "Psycho-social Factors in the Morale of College-trained Adults." *Minnesota.*

Barrington Moore, Jr., B.A. Williams, 1936. "A Comparative Study of Social Classes." *Yale.*

Wilbert Ellis Moore, A.B. Linfield College, 1935; A.M. Oregon, 1935; A.M. Harvard, 1939. "Slavery, Abolition, and the Ethical Valuation of the Individual." *Harvard.*

Rashley B. Moten, A.B., M.A. Kansas, 1936, 1938. "The Process of Racial Integration in the American Negro." *Kansas.*

Bernard G. Mulvaney, A.B. St. Viator, 1929; M.A. Catholic University, 1934; Licencie en Sciences-Politiques et Sociales, 1936. "A Correlation Analysis of the Relation between Catholicity and Birth Rates." *Illinois.*

John C. Murphy, A.B. Laval University, 1934. "The Immigrant and the Negro in Catholic Social Thought, 1825–1925." *Catholic University.*

Douglas Oberdorfer, B.A., M.A. Florida, 1933, 1934. "Effects of the Depression on Marriage and Divorce in Wisconsin." *Wisconsin.*

Robert W. O'Brien, A.B. Pomona, 1929; M.A. Oberlin, 1931. "Seattle Negro Community." *Washington.*

W. O'Connor, B.A. St. Ambrose, 1929; M.A. Catholic University, 1933. "Naturalism in Early American Sociology." *Catholic University.*

Hans H. Plambeck, B.A., M.A. Oregon, 1935, 1938. "Social Participation of Farm Families in Formal Organizations." *Cornell.*

Orville Quackenbush, B.A., B.S., M.A. Minnesota, 1933, 1935, 1938. "A Sociological Examination of the Concept 'Stereotype.' " *Minnesota.*

Elizabeth Rapp, B.A., M.A. Bryn Mawr, 1925, 1926. "The History of Colored Children in Philadelphia: A Study in Changing Concepts." *Bryn Mawr.*

Earle Reynolds, B.A. Chicago, 1939. "Physical Anthropological Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency." *Wisconsin.*

Eugene Richards, B.A. New Orleans, 1928; M.A. Southern California, 1931. "The Social Causes and Effects of the Negro Migration to Southern California." *Southern California.*

Robert Ritzenthaler, B.A. Wisconsin, 1935. "The Cultural History of the Wisconsin Oneidas." *Wisconsin.*

Edward Lovis Rose, B.A., M.A. California, 1931, 1935. "Differential Characteristics of United States Senators." *Stanford.*

William W. Scott, B.A. Birmingham Southern College, 1936; M.A. Vanderbilt, 1937. "Social Backgrounds and Religious Content of Symptoms of Mental Patients in a Southern Area." *Vanderbilt.*

Walter L. Slocum, B.A. South Dakota State Teachers College, 1933; Ph.M. Wisconsin, 1938. "Culture Areas and Culture Types in Rural Wisconsin." *Wisconsin.*

Leon Stern, B.A. Pennsylvania, 1923. "The Pennsylvania Jail." *Pennsylvania.*

Tom Stine, Ph.B. Carroll College, 1925; Ph.M. Wisconsin, 1928. "History of Public Welfare in North Dakota." *North Dakota.*

Madeleine Sylvain, Ph.D. Law School, Haiti, 1933. "Education of Women in Haiti." *Bryn Mawr.*

John W. Syrjamaki, B.A. Carleton, 1934. "Acculturation on the Mesabi Iron Range." *Yale.*

Ina Telberg, B.A. Wittenberg, 1931; M.A. Western Reserve, 1932. "Sociological Analysis of *Moskova Pravda*, 1917–1940." *Ohio State.*

Dorothy Hope Tisdale, B.A. Columbia, 1925; M.A. New York University, 1935. "Study of the Victims of the Depression." *North Carolina.*

Bonita Valien, B.A. Prairie View, 1935; M.A. Atlanta University, 1936. "A Study of Delinquent and Non-delinquent Negro Girls in Nashville, Tennessee." *Wisconsin.*

Preston Valien, B.A. Prairie View, 1934; Ph.M. Wisconsin, 1935. "A Comparison of the Background and Experience of Tennessee Negro Prisoners and Their Brothers." *Wisconsin.*

Viola VanZee, B.A. Pasadena College, 1930; M.A. Southern California, 1935. "A History of Recreation in Chicago and Vicinity from the Building of Fort Dearborn, 1804, to 1850." *Northwestern.*

Russell E. Waitt, B.A. Cornell, 1920; S.T.B. Boston, 1922; M.A. Colorado State, 1929. "Methods and Techniques of Organized Business in Relation to Federal Government Policies in the United States since 1912." *Wisconsin.*

Clayton Watts, A.B. University of Western Ontario, 1932; M.A. Drew University, 1932. "A Study of Mennonite Communities in Ontario." *Washington University.*

Helen Wehrley, B.A. Pacific College, 1935. "The Horizontal and Vertical Mobility of Three Hundred Former Students from Selected Urban and Rural School Districts in Yamhill County." *Oregon.*

Hugh Jeremiah Williams, B.S. Union College, 1917; M.A. Columbia, 1925. "State Survey of the Organization of Week-Day Religious Education in the Rural Communities of New York State." *Cornell.*

Marion F. Williamson, B.A. Buffalo, 1937; M.A. Nebraska, 1938. "Prediction Tables for Probation and Institutional Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents." *Minnesota.*

Benjamin G. Wood, B.A. Kansas, 1930. "Efficiency of Cumulative Experience Tables in Parole Prediction." *Wisconsin.*

Mattie Lloyd Wooten, A.B. Texas, 1928; M.A. Texas, 1929. "The Status of Women in Texas." *Texas.*

MASTERS' THESES

Ethel Aby, B.A. Tulane, 1934. "The Irish in the Social History of New Orleans." *Tulane.*

Philip Alaimo, B.A. Ohio Northern, 1937. "Factors Influencing Ministers in Their Vocational Choice." *Northwestern.*

Harold Baker, B.S. Utah State Agricultural College, 1938. "The Use of Social Case Work Techniques in Classifying Inmates of the Utah State Prison." *Utah.*

Jack Baker, A.B. Notre Dame, 1935. "Sociological Aspects of Intra-mural Sports." *Kentucky.*

Robert Freed Bales, B.S. Oregon, 1938. "Gestalt Theory and the Concept of the 'Social Situation.' " *Oregon.*

Gilbert Balkin, A.B. Washington University, 1938. "A Sociological Analysis of the Propaganda and Related Writings of Lincoln Steffens." *Washington University.*

William S. Banks, B.A. Dillard University, 1937. "Negro Longshoremen in the Port of New Orleans." *Fisk.*

Rachel Bassette, B.S. Hampton Institute, 1938. "A Study of the Vocational Choices of Adolescents." *Fisk.*

Alan Bates, B.A. Washington, 1938. "Parental Roles in Courtship." *Washington.*

Dorothie Beasley, B.A. Fisk, 1938. "A Study of the Underworld through the Medium of the Literature and Human Documents." *Fisk.*

Joseph Beechem, A.B. St. Meinrad Seminary, 1936. "The Catholic Social Thought of Monseignor William J. Kerby." *Catholic University.*

Mary Beeley, A.B. Utah, 1939. "The Adjustment Problems of Freshman Girls at the University of Utah." *Utah.*

Marvin Betnun, B.S. Utah, 1939. "The Leisure Time Interests of Delinquent Boys." *Utah.*

Willard W. Blaesser, B.A. Wisconsin, 1934. "A Structural and Functional Analysis of Student-Personnel Services at the University of Wisconsin." *Wisconsin.*

Germanus Leo Borneman, A.B. Catholic University, 1936. "A Study of Non-athletic Clubs in the Diocesan High Schools for Boys in Philadelphia." *Catholic University.*

Esther Reynolds Bradley, B.A. Pomona College, 1939. "The Mexicans of Pomona, California." *Claremont Colleges.*

Ruthann Brennan, A.B. St. Joseph College, 1939. "A Study of Child Life in Negro Families on the W.P.A. in Washington, D.C." *Catholic University.*

Frieda Brim, A.B. Chicago, 1937. "Radio and the Newspaper: A Study of Competition in Communication." *Chicago.*

Hyman Brodowsky, B.A. Stanford, 1936. "Theories of Migration in the Age of Mercantilism." *Stanford.*

George William Brown, A.B. Indiana, 1939. "The Rural Misdemeanant in Relation to a Theory of Criminal Behavior." *Indiana.*

William Coffy Bull, B.S. New York University, 1936. "Social History of 150 Families on Home Relief." *New York University.*

Loren William Burch, B.A. Kalamazoo College, 1927; B.D. Colgate, 1932. "Some Factors Affecting Church Attendance in Rural Oswego County." *Cornell.*

Joel Earle Cannon, B.A. Wofford College, 1939. "Public Opinion and the Community Chest: An Application of Poll Technique." *Vanderbilt.*

Phyllis Brumm Cannon, B.A. Michigan, 1937. "A List of the Technic Ways." *North Carolina.*

Mabel Carrol, A.B. Cornell, 1937. "Statistical Study of Attitude Differentials." *Cornell.*

Sadye Edna Carter, B.S. Fordham, 1939. "The Social Adjustments of the Successful Negro Women in the United States." *New York University.*

Vera Adrienne Chandler, A.B. Fisk, 1936. "A Study of the Adolescent Child in a Selected Group of Negro Families." *Nebraska.*

Charles Wesley Churchill, A.B. Dana College, 1934. "Economic Culture of the Pomo Indians of Northern California." *New York University.*

Esther Cooper, Oberlin College, 1938. "The Negro Woman Domestic Worker in Relation to Trade Unionism." *Fisk.*

Martin Costello, B.A. Washington, 1939. "Political Trends of Occupational Groups in the State of Washington." *Washington.*

Cortez Ehloe Cox, B.S. Langston University, 1938. "Persistence and Disintegration of Primary Group Attitudes as Reflected in Advertising Appeals." *Iowa.*

Gwendolyn Crass, "A Study of the Personalities of an Occupational Group: Laboratory Technicians." *Southern Methodist University.*

James Simpson Crawford, A.B. Missouri, 1939. "An Attempt To Verify Certain Parts of a Theory of Criminal Behavior." *Missouri.*

Ruth Crowell, B.A. North Carolina, 1937. "Administration of National Labor Relations Act in North Carolina." *North Carolina.*

Joseph T. D'Amico, B.A. Syracuse, 1939. "Assimilation among the Second Generation Italians of Canastota, New York." *Syracuse.*

Timothy Danaher, A.B. Indiana, 1939. "The Concepts 'Organization' and 'Disorganization.' " *Indiana.*

Martha Ilma Dannels, B.S. Colorado State College. "Assistance by Legally Responsible Relatives to Applicants for Old Age Assistance in Iowa." *Iowa State College.*

Owen Davison, B.A. DePauw, 1937. "Analysis of Population Conditions of Laurel Homes, Before and After (a Metropolitan Housing Area)." *Cincinnati.*

Margaret Day, B.A. Nebraska, 1932. "The Settlement Boys' and Girls' Work Job." *Northwestern.*

Jesse W. Dees, Jr., B.A. Illinois Wesleyan, 1936. "The Effect of Recent Modern Relief Policies on Shelters for Homeless Men." *Northwestern.*

Kathrun Putnam DePuy, B.A. Carleton, 1928. "A Study of a Playground in Relation to the Area It Is Designed To Serve." *Northwestern.*

Richard Dewey, A.B. Wooster College, 1936. "Relationship between Sociology and Social Work." *Oberlin.*

W. G. Dickins, A.B. Cincinnati, 1937. "Importance of Occupation as Compared with Age and Residence in Marital Selection." *Michigan.*

Emerson G. Doell, A.B. Rochester, 1930. "Personality and Prison Culture." *University of Buffalo.*

Eleanor Dolch, B.A. Illinois, 1937. "The Social Structure of a College Dormitory." *Iowa.*

Lloyd Doughty, B.S. Wayne University, 1926; M.A. Detroit, 1933. "Socialized Medicine in an American Neighborhood in Detroit, Michigan." *Michigan State.*

John G. Doukas, A.B. Dartmouth, 1937. "An Estimate of the Adequacy of the Public Health Facilities in Keene, New Hampshire." *New Hampshire.*

Bruce Downey, B.A. North Carolina, 1938. "Aspects of Roanoke Farm, Inc." *North Carolina.*

Frank E. Dugas, B.S. Illinois, 1934. "Elements of Solidarity and Conflict in a Community of Foreign Extraction." *Illinois.*

Louise Lewis Duncan, B.A. Illinois, 1927. "Day Nurseries in Chicago." *Northwestern.*

W. Woodard Dunlap, B.S. Kent State, 1938. "Leisure Time and Extracurricular Activities in Relation to Scholastic Success of University Students." *Kent State.*

Volney Faw, A.B. La Verne College, 1935. "The Chicago Daily Tribune and Its Control." *Chicago.*

Max Feder, B.S. Minnesota, 1922. "The Recent Jewish Emigré in America." *New York University.*

Ashton Ferguson, West Virginia State College, 1938. "Anti-Semitism from 1933 to 1939: A Study of a Social Epidemic." *Fisk.*

David Fisher, B.A. McGill, 1939. "Montreal Regional Industrial Pattern as Compared with That of Toronto." *McGill.*

Sidney Fishman, B.S. Dana College, 1934. "The Adjustment of the Newspaper to Radio News Broadcasting." *New York University.*

Mildred Fraser, A.B. Wilson College, 1927. "A Follow-Up Study of Fifty White Male Juvenile Delinquents Appearing before the District of Columbia Juvenile Court, January–June, 1934." *Catholic University.*

Alfred Friedli, A.B. Central Wesleyan, 1919. "Mobility and Success of High School Students." *Washington University.*

Hiram J. Friedsam, A.B. Baylor, 1939. "The Time-Cost Concept in Human Ecology." *Texas.*

Ruth Gallagher, B.S. Cornell, 1939. "Technique of the Life History." *Cornell.*

Frances M. Giles, A.B. Utah, 1927. "A Survey of Nursing and Nursing Education in Utah." *Utah.*

Rosalynd Gold, B.A. McGill, 1939. "Occupational Selection and Adjustment in the Jewish Group in Montreal." *McGill.*

Y. Goto, B.A. University of Hawaii, 1927. "Acculturation among Japanese Farmers in Hawaii." *University of Hawaii.*

Dean Hales, B.A. Augustana. "Definition of Old Age." *Iowa State College.*

Hondon Hargrove, B.S. Wilberforce University, 1938. "A Study of Those Factors Operative in the Rise and Development of National Sentiment in Mexico." *Fisk.*

Donald B. Harris, A.B. University of Missouri, 1939. "Growth and Decline of Incorporated Villages in Missouri, 1900–1930." *Missouri.*

Paul K. Hatt, B.A. Linfield College, 1936. "Social Attitudes in Anti-Semitism." *Washington.*

Earnest Everett Hawk, B.Sc.Ed. Ohio State, 1936. "A Study of Franklin County Divorce Cases in Comparison with Marriages as to Ages of Couples Concerned." *Ohio State.*

Sister Mary Edward Healy, B.S. Minnesota, 1928. "Man and Large-Scale Production in the Automobile Industry." *Catholic University.*

David Henderson, A.B. Westminster, 1938. "Post-graduation Adjustments of Honor Students Subsidized by the Allegheny County Civic Association." *Pittsburgh.*

Donald C. Herrington, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan University, 1928. "The Bi-cultural Factor and the Individual Personality." *Kansas.*

L. E. Hewitt, A.B. Hillsdale College, 1937. "Delinquency in Wayne County during Prosperity and Depression." *Michigan.*

Milton E. Hills, B.A. Tulane, 1939. "The Novel of the Deep South: An Essay in the Sociology of Literature." *Tulane.*

Joseph Holaday, B.S. Oregon, 1929. "Social and Economic Selection of Students in the Oregon Institutions of Higher Learning." *Oregon.*

Wilson P. Hubert, B.A. Morehouse College, 1934. "The Development of Nationalism in Catalonia, Spain." *Fisk.*

Mary Ella Hudgins, A.B. Wisconsin, 1938. "The Measurement of Social Maturity." *George Washington University.*

Edna Hudler, Ph.B. Chicago, 1916. "A Behavioristic Study of Social Change as Exemplified in the Russian Revolution." *Washington University.*

Frances Humphrey, A.B. George Washington University, 1937. "Community Survey of Recreational and Vocational Opportunities for Boys and Girls of the Ages 16 and 17 in the District of Columbia." *George Washington University.*

Roy Hutchins, B.S. Wilmington College, Ohio. "Kentucky Hill County Migrants in Hamilton, Ohio." *Miami University.*

Julius A. Jahn, B.A. Minnesota, 1938. "A Control Group Analysis of Differences in Morale and Adjustment of W.P.A. Workers and Direct Relief Clients in St. Paul, 1939." *Minnesota.*

Genelle Jenkins, A.B. Nebraska Wesleyan, 1938. "A Laboratory Analysis of Archaeological Materials Found in Holt and Knox County Sites." *Nebraska.*

Lawrence C. Johnson, B.A. Iowa State, 1939. "Social Factors in the Development of Functional Psychoses in Prison Confinement." *Iowa.*

Eleanor B. Julian, B.S. Massachusetts State College, 1938. "The Writ of Habeas Corpus." *Massachusetts State College.*

Louis J. Kazienko, B.A. New Hampshire, 1938. "An Examination of the Adequacy of the Recreational Programs of Concord, New Hampshire." *New Hampshire.*

Forrest Kellogg, B.A. Simpson College, 1932. "Conservatism as Related to the Age Structure of Population." *Iowa.*

Walter Kemball, B.A. McGill, 1932. "A Natural History of Montreal." *McGill.*

Clara Kenard, B.A. Tougaloo College, 1938. "Comparison of Creoles and Acadians of Louisiana." *Fisk.*

Lucien Keys, B.A. Cincinnati, 1939. "Social Classes among the Negro Population of Cincinnati." *Cincinnati.*

Helen Harriman Kiepe, B.A. Oregon, 1936. "The Status of the Attitude Concept in the Experimental Study of Social Action." *Oregon.*

Selma L. Klein, B.A. Tulane, 1935. "The Creole and Anglo-American in New Orleans: A Study in Ethnic Interaction." *Tulane.*

Barbara A. Klose, A.B. North Central College, 1939. "Social Mobility and the Ideas of a Group of American Workers: A Study in the Existential Basis of Knowledge." *Illinois.*

Herbert M. Krauss, A.B. Beloit, 1937. "Minorities in Lorain." *Oberlin.*

Tommy L. Kubach, Jr., B.S. Missouri, 1939. "Parole Procedure in Missouri." *Missouri.*

Wivina Kuefler, A.B. College of St. Benedict, 1939. "A Study of Child Life in White Families on the W.P.A. in Washington, D.C." *Catholic University.*

Berenice Lapin, A.B. Wellesley, 1933. "Economic Opportunity and the Distribution of Physicians." *Chicago.*

Anastasia Leightizer, A.B. Francis Xavier University, 1938. "Comparison of Regulation of Marketing in Agricultural Products by the Federal Government of Canada and the United States." *Clark.*

Pearl Jacobs Lieff, B.A. McGill, 1937. "The Urbanization of the French-Canadian Parish." *McGill.*

Arthur Lindsay, B.A. Washington, 1936. "Washington State Old Age Pension Union: A Political Pressure Group." *Washington.*

Ned Linegar, B.A. Miami, 1936. "A Study of Leisure Time Uses of University of Cincinnati Undergraduates." *Cincinnati.*

J. B. Lloyd. "A Social Study of a Small Rural Village." *A. & M. College of Texas.*

Inez Ludwig, A.B. Utah, 1928. "A Social Survey of the Chesterfield Community." *Utah.*

Kathryn Lyon, A.B. Kentucky Wesleyan College, 1935. "Juvenile Delinquency in Clark County, Kentucky." *Kentucky.*

Richard John MacCornack, A.B. Dartmouth, 1937. "Sterilization of Criminals and Defectives." *Colorado.*

Fatima Massaquoi, B.A. Lane College, 1938. "Nationalist Movement in West Africa." *Fisk.*

Wendell Mayfield, B.A. Missouri, 1938. "The Illinois Parole System." *Iowa.*

Frederick Richmond McBrien, A.B. Dartmouth, 1939. "Scapegoats as a Social Mechanism." *Maryland.*

A. J. McCaffrey, B.S. New Hampshire, 1936. "A Course in the Social Process of Human Living." *New Hampshire.*

R. F. McClellan, A.B. Notre Dame, 1934. "Analysis of Juvenile Court Cases in Knoxville." *University of Tennessee.*

Margaret L. McDonald, A.B. McGill, 1938. "La jeunesse ouvrière catholique." *Chicago.*

William Russell McIntyre, B.S. Northwestern, 1939. "Treatment and Role of the Aged in Non-literate Societies." *Northwestern.*

Lillian McKinney, B.A. Wisconsin, 1929. "The Growth and Development of the Y.W.C.A. Studied through Application of the Wiese-Becker System of Sociological Analysis." *Wisconsin.*

Frederick J. Meine, A.B. Newark, 1935. "Reading and Listening to News among Young People." *New York University.*

Ina R. Melenek, B.A. American International College, 1939. "Juvenile Delinquency in Durham, North Carolina." *Duke.*

Dorothy Pursley Messerly, B.A. Vassar, 1935. "The Dependent Child in Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania State.*

Jacob Meyerowitz, A.B. New York University, 1938. "Trade Unions and Legislation." *New York University.*

Carrol Milton Mickey, A.B. Kansas, 1936. "Factors in the Growth of Mutual Property Insurance." *Kansas.*

Bessie A. Miller, B.A. Juniata College, 1937. "Propinquity as a Factor in Marital Selection in Altoona, Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania State.*

Vera Miller, A.B. Chicago, 1938. "A Sociological Study of the Diphtheria Antitoxin: Its Invention, Its Introduction and Diffusion in the United States and the Resistance to Its Adoption." *Chicago.*

Mhyra S. Minnis, A.B. Oberlin, 1939. "Relationship between Sociology and Medicine." *Oberlin.*

Louis Monferino, Jr., B.A. Stanford, 1927. "Training and Background of Social Workers in Los Angeles County." *Stanford.*

Paul M. Moore, B.A. Bethany, 1937. "Some Aspects of State Activity in Child Welfare." *Northwestern.*

Helen Morean, B.S. Kent State, 1939. "The Sociology of a Deviant Group." *Kent State.*

Ruth Moss, B.A. Cincinnati, 1939. "The Croatian Community of Cincinnati." *Cincinnati.*

Paul Munger, B.S. Ohio State, 1939. "Cultural Influence on Certain Basic Behavior Patterns in Different Societies." *Ohio State.*

Carl H. Napier. "A Study of the Childless Divorcee." *Southern Methodist University.*

Charles K. Nichols, B.A. Colgate, 1937. "Juvenile Delinquency in Rural Areas in New York State." *Syracuse.*

Richard O'Hare, A.B. St. Meinrad Seminary, 1936. "Fertility of the Graduates of a Southern Catholic High School." *Catholic University.*

John S. Page, B.A. Kent University, 1935. "A Comparison of Youths Employed by the N.Y.A. in N.Y. State N.Y.A. District No. 12 with Those Youths Selected from This Same Group Whose Families Possess a Definite Relief History Prior to 1929." *Syracuse.*

Hillard E. Park, A.B. Ball State Teachers College, 1935. "An Analysis of Social Studies in the High Schools of Indiana." *Indiana.*

Alfred P. Parsell, B.A. Syracuse, 1938. "The Ukiah Valley Pomo: A Geographic Historical Sketch." *Syracuse.*

J. L. Pellerin, B.S. New Hampshire, 1927. "A Proposed Course in Education for Wise Consumership for High School Pupils." *New Hampshire.*

Nannie B. Peterson, B.A. Tougaloo College, 1938. "Reading Interests of Children." *Fisk.*

Mary E. Phipps, B.S. Boston, 1933. "Typical Personality Conflicts Experienced by Women during Their First Year in College." *New Hampshire.*

Albert Pierce, A.B. Bates College, 1939. "The Utilization of Humanistic Sciences in Practical Social Procedures." *Iowa.*

Helen Poindexter, A.B. Marshall College, 1935. "A Study of the Federal Industrial Institution for Women at Alderson, West Virginia." *Iowa.*

Maurine Polan, B.A. Milton College, 1935. "A Statistical Study of Divorce in Dane County, 1935–1939." *Wisconsin.*

Iva Jewel Ragsdale, B.A. Texas, 1937. "A Sociological Analysis of Public Health in Colorado Municipalities." *Colorado.*

Carl Rasche, B.S. Elmhurst, 1939. "A Research into the Agreements and Differences between the Theory of Boy Scout Work and the Theory of Professional Group Work and Recreation as Set Forth in the Department of Sociology of Northwestern University." *Northwestern.*

James E. Raynes, B.A. Stanford, 1939. "Effects of Impact of White Culture on an Indian Group." *Stanford.*

Phyllis F. Reamer, B.S. Illinois, 1935. "A Sub-regional Analysis of Counties of Nine States Comprising the Northwestern Major Region, on the Basis of Selected Socio-economic Factors." *Illinois.*

John Patrick Regan, B.S. Villanova College, 1930. "An Analysis of Sociological Curricula in American Universities." *Pittsburgh.*

John Reidy, A.B. St. Meinrad Seminary. "A Survey and Comparative Study of Introductory Sociology Textbooks Used in Catholic Colleges." *Catholic University.*

Carl N. Reynolds, B.A. Stanford, 1939. "Study of Lone Ranch Indian Mound." *Stanford.*

Leo Roback, B.A. McGill, 1939. "National Catholic Labor Unions in Canada." *McGill.*

Louise F. Robertson, A.B. Florida State College for Women, 1935. "Negro Scholastic Achievement and Selective Migration." *Missouri.*

Jack Leighton Rugh, B.S. Ohio State University, 1936. "A Sociological Analysis of Migratory Agricultural Labor Problems in California." *Ohio State University.*

Marguerite Runk, A.B. Kent State, 1939. "Life Patterns of Childless Wives of Professional Men." *Kent State.*

Harvey Clarence Russell, B.S. Kentucky State Industrial College, 1939. "Differential Association in Relation to Negro Delinquency." *Indiana.*

John Robert Russell, B.S. Indiana, 1938. "Differential Association and the Development of Systematic Criminal Behavior." *Indiana.*

Helen Sattler, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1939. "Beauty Shops in Cleveland." *Oberlin.*

J. B. Saunders, A.B. St. Augustine, 1938. "Solidarity of Negro Families on Relief in Detroit." *Michigan.*

William J. Scally, A.B. St. Mary's Seminary, 1936. "The Social Thought of James Cardinal Gibbons." *Catholic University.*

George Ferdinand Schnack, B.A. Stanford, 1939. "Subjective Factors in the Migration of Spanish from Hawaii to California." *Stanford.*

Ralph Ayers Schofield, A.B. Indiana, 1938. "A Sociological Approach to the Study of Alcoholism." *Indiana.*

Clarence C. Schrag, A.B. Washington State College, 1939. "A Study of Primitive Punishment." *Nebraska.*

Sister Agnes Claire Schroll, O.S.B., A.B. Mount Scholastica College, 1933. "The Social Effects of Large Scale Farming." *Catholic University.*

Meinte Schuurmans, A.B. Hope College, 1922. "The Church as a Social Control Factor in the Holland Community at Manhattan, Montana." *Michigan State.*

Mary Shannon. "A Study of Domestic Negro Maids in Dallas." *Southern Methodist University.*

Peter R. Shy, B.A. Paine College, 1921. "Indian Nationalism in South Africa, and Its Relations to Indian Nationalism in India." *Fisk.*

Eleanor Silker, B.S. Minnesota, 1926. "A Study of the Juvenile Delinquents in Four Mesabi Iron Range Towns." *Minnesota.*

Lillian Tobe Simon, A.B. University of Tennessee, 1933. "The Care and Treatment of Delinquent Women in Knoxville." *University of Tennessee.*

Erwin Smigel, B.A. North Carolina, 1939. "Life Adjustments of Unmarried Young Persons of Marriageable Ages." *North Carolina.*

Ellin Smith-Mvachek, B.S. Colorado State College of A. & M. Arts, 1935. "Community Recreation in the Small Cities of Colorado." *Colorado.*

Dora B. Somerville, B.S. Ursuline College, 1939. "A Study of a Group of Negro Children Living in an Alley." *Catholic University.*

Garth Sorenson, A.B. Utah, 1939. "A Study of the Temperamental Characteristics of Utah State Prisoners." *Utah.*

Morris Sorenson, B.S. Brigham Young University, 1939. "A History of the Utah Poor Law." *Utah.*

John R. de Sousa, A.B. Franklin College, Indiana, 1938. "Effect of the Depression on Age of Marriage." *Miami University.*

Nola Stark, A.B. Kansas, 1936. "Proposed Social Legislation in Political Platforms." *Kentucky.*

Andrew Judson Sturtevant, B.A. Stanford, 1939. "Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1880–1940." *Stanford.*

Willis A. Sutton, B.A. North Carolina, 1938. "The Attitudes of Southern Youth toward Work." *North Carolina.*

Samuel Suwol, B.A. Oregon, 1933. "Reactions of Circuit and County Judges in Oregon to the Mothers' Aid and Adoption Legislation, 1935–39." *Oregon.*

Frank Taylor, A.B. Milligan College, 1938. "An Analysis and Comparison of the Unemployment Compensation Programs of Tennessee and Massachusetts." *Clark University.*

Anne S. Tilghman, A.B. Winthrop College, 1937. "Development of the Self-help Exchange in Washington, D.C." *George Washington University.*

Burlock Charles Thompson, A.B. New York University, 1939. "The Influence of the French Revolution on the Population Trends of That Period in France." *New York University.*

Williametta Thompson, B.A. Syracuse, 1935. "Study of Changes in Mores in the United States as Reflected in Magazines since 1900." *Syracuse.*

Wallace F. Toronto, A.B. Utah, 1935. "A Social Psychological Interpretation of the Czechoslovakian Crises of 1938." *Utah.*

Melvin M. Tumin, B.A. Wisconsin, 1939. "Operationalism, Psychoanalysis, and Field Theory: A Methodological Inquiry." *Wisconsin.*

Bryce Twitty, "A Sociological Analysis of the Group Hospitalization Movement." *Southern Methodist.*

Otto D. Unruh, A.B. Kansas, 1928. "Schisms of the Russian Mennonites of Harvey, McPherson and Reno Counties, Kansas." *Kansas.*

Edwin Emerson Waite, Jr., B.S. Middlebury College. "Social Factors in Negro Business Enterprise." *Duke.*

Troy P. Wakefield. "A Study of an Isolated Village in Texas." *A. & M. College of Texas.*

Helen Walker, B.Mus.Ed. DePaul, 1928. "A Study in Group Work To Determine the Effect of Games on the Academic Grade Average of Twenty-six Children Given Two Thirty Minute Periods of Play a Week during the Period from October 17, 1938 to June, 1939." *Northwestern.*

Marvin Walker, B.A. William Jewell College, 1939. "Analysis of Establishment, Disappearance, and Change of Location of Protestant Churches in Cincinnati since 1900." *Cincinnati.*

Patricia Wallace, B.A. University of Hawaii, 1932. "The Role of the Family in the Lives of Some Girl Delinquents in Honolulu." *University of Hawaii.*

Vera J. Wantman, A.B. New York University, 1939. "Low Cost Housing: A Case Study of the Problem in Worcester, Massachusetts." *Clark.*

Woodrow W. Wasson, B.A. Vanderbilt, 1939. "Mobility of Adult Offenders in Tennessee." *Vanderbilt.*

Lillian Dropkin Weber, B.S.Ed. Virginia, 1938. "A Critical Study of the Theories of Several Pioneer Sociologists." *Virginia.*

Anne T. West, A.B. George Washington University, 1937. "Success or Failure of a Selected Group of Patients Discharged from St. Elisabeth's (Mental) Hospital, 1926–1936." *George Washington University.*

Maisie Wetzel, B.S. Oregon, 1932. "Health Coordinating Councils for State System of Higher Education in Oregon." *Oregon.*

William E. Willey, B.S. Utah, 1938. "Adjustments of the Public School System of Utah to Recent Changes in Population." *Utah.*

Lois Williams, B.A. Reed College, 1916. "The Application of Specific Group Principles and Techniques to an Administration Problem in the Public Educational System of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil." *Northwestern.*

Arthemise Wilson, A.B. Xavier University, 1938. "Changing Attitudes of the Negro toward the Race Problem during the Past 29 Years." *Catholic University.*

Jean Wilson, A.B. Iowa State, 1937. "Institutional Demands on the Adolescent." *Iowa.*

W. L. Wilson, A.B. University of Tennessee, 1937. "The Scopes Trial: A Study in Social Cultivation." *University of Tennessee.*

Brendan Wolf, A.B. St. Joseph's College, 1932. "A Study of the Social Significance of the Franciscan Tertiary Movement." *Catholic University.*

George W. Woody, B.A. Virginia State, 1938. "The Natural History of a Slum Area." *Fisk.*

Kennett William Yeager, A.B. Pittsburgh, 1938. "A Study of the Organization and Activities of the Good Will Societies of America." *Pittsburgh.*

Trezevant P. Yeatman, B.A. North Carolina, 1937. "The Youth Group in the South: An Analysis of Population Trends in Relation to the Youth Problem." *North Carolina.*

John Paul Yoder, B.A. Goshen College, 1934. "An Amish Community." *Pennsylvania State.*

George R. Youngs, A.B. Calvin College, 1932. "Marital Counseling in the Lansing Community." *Michigan State College.*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

In the interest of encouraging presentation of divergent views, the editor invites comments on the articles and the book reviews appearing in the *Journal.*

SCIENTIFIC SOCIAL SURVEYS AND RESEARCH

The author does not wish to take issue with Clark Tibbitts, the reviewer of the above volume,[1] because of his particular judgment of the book, no matter how unscientific that judgment may be. Obviously every reviewer is entitled to his point of view. The author wishes, however, to take issue because the reviewer has apparently read most carelessly or has only sampled certain pages, yet he has tried to be authoritative and generalize on the basis of superficial consideration. For example, Professor Tibbitts states that "no mention whatever is made of the painstaking studies of Dorothy Thomas." We wish to call to his attention pages 137 and 557 (exclusive of the mention of her work as co-author with W. I. Thomas). Had Professor Tibbitts taken the trouble to check his hasty statements with the Author's Index, he would have spared himself many misrepresentations. He also states that "no mention whatever is made of data recorded by means of registration as a source of material for research." If he had read chapter xiv, he would have found a very practical discussion (by Dr. Calvin F. Schmid) of vital and social rates and the application of registration data to research problems. The content of that entire chapter, with the exception of its title, had completely escaped him.

The reviewer maintains that the author of *Scientific Social Surveys and Research* had "tried to do it all in a hurry." Again had Professor Tibbitts read the book he would have found numerous and extensive excerpts from the author's studies carried on for more than sixteen years. All of her publications (some forty articles and four books) are merely byproducts of the above work on surveys and research. The reviewer was in such haste in reading the book and in writing the review that he did not even notice that the author had done exactly the thing which he recommends: she restricted herself to a discussion of the case method and left the application of statistics to case analysis to Professor Calvin F. Schmid, who is a recognized authority in the field of statistics and research.

Professor Tibbitts was able to count only sixty pages (chap. xi) devoted to quantitative techniques. Why didn't he look as well at chapters xii, xiii, and xiv, "Graphic Presentation," "Sociometric Scales," and "The Ecological Method in Social Research"? These chapters, together with the one on "Sta-

[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, XLV (1940), 807–10.

tistical Concepts and Techniques," comprise one-fourth of the 619-page volume. One who has written an elementary text of any kind has been confronted with the serious problem of available space and selection of data. Professor Tibbitts suggests that the discussion on quantitative analysis is so concise (although he admits that it "is very clear") that it might have been omitted entirely. One wonders what he would have written had a discussion on this subject been omitted entirely from such a text? He also points out that "there are no chapters on the psychological and the cultural methods." Had he examined carefully as much as the title-page of the book, he would have realized that the author's aim was to write *An Introduction to the Background, Content, Methods, and Analysis of Social Studies*, which is the subtitle of the volume. How logical is it to deal with psychological methods and not with concise quantitative methods in an introductory text? However, we wish to call to his attention pages 21–25, 34–38, 227–28, and 495–97, referring to psychological data, to studies in social attitudes, and in public opinion, etc., and to pages 123–25, 413–77, and 581–85 on studies of culture groups, culture areas, social institutions.

Professor Tibbitts maintains that the discussion of the case methods is an outspoken defense of it. Obviously he saw the single-page discussion of "the values of case data in social studies." Why did he fail to see the three-page discussion of "the limitations of the case-study method" (pp. 249–51)? The author of the book even quoted from Read Bain's vigorous attack of the case-study method.

The above and numerous other omissions committed by the reviewer in a hasty examination of the book make the criticisms largely irrelevant. The author was astonished that the reviewer did not find the real limitations of the volume which are only too apparent to one scientifically trained in research and pedagogy and experienced in the practical aspects of field studies.

PAULINE V. YOUNG

University of Southern California

REJOINDER

A common human trait seems to be a belief that those who do not value highly our endeavors have been exposed insufficiently to them. This trait the reviewer shares with the author; to him it is incredible that anyone who read the review with its many specific page and chapter references ranging throughout the book could hurl the accusation of hasty or superficial reading. However, the accusation is so serious a one to make against a reviewer that he deems it necessary, even at the risk of confessing weak absorptive power, to state that he bought the book within a fortnight of its publication, that he read it immediately, that he tried during the summer and again in the fall to adapt it to class use, and that he read all of it once again and most of it twice while writing the review. The review itself was written four times between September

and November, each revision being shorter than the preceding. Many specific examples which I had noted for inclusion were omitted but enough remained to show that I did more than thumb the pages. The *Journal* imposed no space restrictions, but I have noticed that few reviews extend beyond two pages; the present one covers three.

My complete sentence with reference to the work of Dorothy Thomas is: "In connection with her [Dr. Young's] discussion of methods of controlled observation no mention whatever is made of the painstaking studies of Dorothy Thomas, etc." This sentence is correct. Dr. Young's reference to page 137 is to an item in a list of questions and suggestions for further study and her reference to page 557 is to a listing in the Bibliography. Neither constitutes a discussion. My similar comment on registration is too concise. Pages 391–93 do contain general references, under the heading "Units and Indexes," to the adequacy of data collected by means of registration and otherwise. Pages 395–402 discuss allocation and the selection of proper bases for calculation or vital rates. I still believe that the book does not contain a discussion of the advantages and limitations of data collected by means of registration from the methodological viewpoint, as it appropriately does in the case of schedule, interview, questionnaire, and observation. "Registration" does not appear in the Index.

Two of my points—one of them the chief point—seem to have been misunderstood by the author. In a very general way she recognized the statistical method in the parts of the book she herself wrote. She also included three chapters on techniques and one on application of statistics in a particular field written by a statistician. Yet there is no chapter on the statistical method parallel to those on the case-study and historical methods, and that is where the limitation and confusion lie. The other point is that use of the term "method" along with the terms "case study," "historical" and "ecological" renders the term meaningless. Case study and historical are methods in the sense of being collections of techniques used in the discovery of knowledge in any field. Ecological, on the other hand, refers to a field of research or a body of subject matter. Students of ecology employ the case-study and the statistical methods in their work just as do students of social psychology, culture, etc. Thus one may talk about methods used in ecology but not about the ecological method. And if one is showing the application of methods in sociology, why not include all of the major fields?

What the reviewer thinks he would do in handling statistical techniques per se in a work of this type would be to refer the student to any one of many texts, the shortest of which he knows being Thurstone's *Fundamentals of Statistics*. This elementary book requires 237 pages to cover what Dr. Schmid treated in 60 pages. Graphic presentation and sociometric scales are not discussed by Thurstone; had they been, his text would probably have reached 300 pages.

CLARK TIBBITTS

University of Michigan

RODERICK DUNCAN McKENZIE: 1885–1940

Roderick Duncan McKenzie was born February 3, 1885, in Carman, Manitoba, and died at Ann Arbor, Michigan, May 3, 1940. He was educated in the Winnipeg schools, the University of Manitoba (A.B., 1912), and the University of Chicago (Ph.D., 1920). During 1912–13 he taught economics at Manitoba Agricultural College. He was an instructor and later assistant professor in economics and sociology at Ohio State University, 1915–19; associate professor of sociology at the University of West Virginia, 1919–20; and professor of sociology, University of Washington, 1920–30. In 1930 he became professor and chairman of the department of sociology of the University of Michigan. He taught three summer sessions at the University of Chicago and one at Stanford University.

During 1924–25 Dr. McKenzie was a member of the central executive committee of the Pacific Coast Survey of Race Relations and was a regional director for the state of Washington. He was a member of the research committee of the Institute of Public Relations and wrote *Oriental Exclusion* for the 1927 meeting of that body in Honolulu.

Early in his career he became fascinated with the possibility of working out a broad science of human ecology. In 1923 he published *The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in Columbus, Ohio.* In a trip around the world in 1925–26, under the Kahn Foundation Fellowship for the Foreign Travel of American Teachers, he formulated hypotheses of an ecological character, which were published in his *L'Evolution économique du monde.* As principal investigator on urban trends for President Hoover's Committee on Recent Social Trends, he wrote chapter ix of *Recent Social Trends* and a separate monograph, entitled *The Metropolitan Community.* The last seven years of his life were devoted to a manuscript in which it was his aim to set forth the principles of human ecology in a systematic way.

Dr. McKenzie was second vice-president of the American Sociological Society in 1932–33 and a charter member of the Sociological Research Association. He was consulting editor of *Sociology and Social Research*, advisory editor of the *American Journal of Sociology*, and was active on research committees of the Social Science Research Council. In 1934 he was elected corresponding member of the Masaryk Sociological Society of Czechoslovakia.

ROBERT C. ANGELL

University of Michigan

NEWS AND NOTES

RESEARCH NEWS

Social Science Research Council.—The Council has announced eighty-five awards, totaling more than $95,000 for the academic year 1940–41, which will provide for study and research in the fields of economics, political science, sociology, statistics, political, social, and economic history, cultural anthropology, social psychology, geography, and related disciplines.

Twelve of the awards, carrying a basic stipend of from $1,800 to $2,500, plus travel allowances, cover postdoctoral research-training fellowships to men and women under thirty-five years with the Ph.D. degree or its equivalent. These fellowships are granted for the purpose of enlarging the research training and equipment of promising young social scientists through advanced study and field experience.

Seventeen appointments are predoctoral field fellowships which carry a basic stipend of $1,800. The recipients are graduate students under thirty years of age who have completed all the requirements for the Ph.D. degree except the thesis. These fellowships are intended to supplement formal academic study by opportunity for direct contact with the materials of social science not available in the classroom or library.

The remaining fifty-six awards are research grants-in-aid, averaging about $600 each, designed to assist mature scholars in the completion of research projects already well under way. Eight of these appointments were made through a special fund specifically granted for the purpose of assisting and encouraging the research of social science faculties in the South. Of the total number only six appointees will engage in foreign travel—one to China, one to Great Britain, one to Guatemala, one to Bolivia, one to Brazil and Argentina, and one to the British West Indies.

Awards of particular interest to readers of the *Journal* are as follows:

POSTDOCTORAL RESEARCH-TRAINING FELLOWS

Harry Alpert, sociology, College of the City of New York; for training in field methods and techniques of urban sociological research.

Kingsley Davis, sociology, Pennsylvania State College; for training in the study of population structure.

John C. Eberhart, psychology, Northwestern University; for advanced training in social psychological factors in politics.

Edward Adamson Hoebel, sociology, New York University; for advanced training in sociological jurisprudence.

Francis W. Irwin, psychology, University of Pennsylvania; for advanced training in social psychology.

Henry Odbert, psychology, Dartmouth College; for advanced training in social psychology.

Omer C. Stewart, University of California; for advanced training and field experience in studying the conditioning of children in primitive cultures.

PREDOCTORAL FIELD FELLOWS

David Bailey Carpenter, sociology, University of Washington; for field training in an area characterized by community insecurity and the problem of stranded populations in the Pacific Northwest.

Louis Guttman, statistics, University of Minnesota; for field training in the application of selected types of mathematical rationale to sociological data.

Benjamin D. Paul, anthropology, University of Chicago; for field training in a nonoccidental community in Guatemala.

Paul Wallin, sociology, University of Chicago; for field training in the study of methods in psychiatry and psychoanalysis.

GRANT-IN-AID APPOINTEES

Anton T. Boisen, Chicago Theological Seminary; for a study of the Holy Roller cults in the United States.

Ruth Bunzel, Columbia University; for a study of the individual in Zuni culture.

Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., sociology, Cornell University; for a study of premarital factors in marital adjustments.

Margaret Wooster Curti, Teachers College; for a comparative study of the intelligence and abilities of white and colored children in Jamaica, British West Indies.

Mildred Fairchild, sociology, Bryn Mawr College; for an analysis of the principles of the trade-union movement in the United States.

Alfred Irving Hallowell, anthropology, University of Pennsylvania; for a study of the psychological significance of cultural variables in human behavior in an aboriginal hunting people in Manitoba.

Rudolph Heberle, sociology, Louisiana State University; for study of the industrial and occupational structure of the population of Louisiana.

Lisbeth Hellersberg, psychology, Vocational Service for Juniors; for a study of the effect of environmental influences on maturation.

Clyde Kluckhohn, anthropology, Harvard University; for a study of cultural development in Navajo children.

Kathryn E. Maxfield, Research Council for Blind Children; for a study of the social development of the preschool visually handicapped child.

Robert K. Merton, sociology, Tulane University, for a study of Negro-white relations in New Orleans.

Lois Barclay Murphy, psychology, Sarah Lawrence College; for a study of the assimilation of culture by preschool children.

Fritz Leonhard Redlich, economics, Mercer University; for a history of American business leaders.

Edward Holland Spicer, anthropology, University of Arizona; for a study of the social factors contributing to the segregation of Yaquis in Arizona.

William I. Thomas; sociology, for a study of Jewish behavior based on life-histories and personality documents.

Herbert von Beckerath, economics, Duke University; for a study of the problems of economics and politics in the present crisis of occidental civilization.

Livingston Welch, psychology, Hunter College; for a study of the genetic development of the higher processes of human thinking.

Charles Nelson Winslow, psychology, Brooklyn College; for a study of competition, co-operation, and altruism in animal behavior.

Edgar Zilsel, Institute of Social Research; for an analysis of society, technology, and economy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

SOUTHERN GRANT-IN-AID APPOINTEES

Wayne Dennis, psychology, University of Virginia; for a study of child development in the pueblo of Cochiti.

Ira deA. Reid, sociology, Atlanta University; for a study of the adjustment of the British West Indian immigrants to the United States.

Edgar A. Schuler, sociology, Louisiana State University; for a study of ecological patterns and processes in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Julius Rosenwald Fund.—Fellowship awards of particular interest to sociologists are: Eric Williams, Howard University, for studies in the rise of capitalism in Europe and America and the institution of slavery; Comer Vann Woodward, University of Florida, for historical research and the writing of *The Origins of the New South, 1880–1913;* James C. Peterson,

Jackson, Mississippi, for a study of the casual and seasonal agricultural worker in a southern rural-urban area, at the University of Minnesota; Ellene Ransom, Ward-Belmont Junior College, for a study of the Utopian movement in southern literature before 1900, at Vanderbilt University; Mark Hanna Watkins, Fisk University, for studies in linguistics, in Liberia, West Africa; Marion Vera Cuthbert, National Board of the Y.W.C.A., for a study of Negro college women and their position in American life, at Teachers College, Columbia University; W. Allison Davis, Dillard University, for continuation of studies in anthropology, at the University of Chicago, reappointment; J. C. Hill, Richmond, Virginia, for study of agricultural laborers versus low-level tenants in the farm economy of the South, at Columbia University; John Hope, II, Spelman College and Atlanta University, for a study of consumption habits and credit practices among low-income families in the South, at the University of Chicago; William J. Trent, Jr., Public Works Administration, for an analysis of occupational trends and opportunities among Negroes in northern cities, at the University of Pennsylvania; Dan Rutledge Vining, University of Arkansas, for a continuation of an empirical study of the economic organization of a southern region, at the University of Chicago, reappointment; Vera Chandler, Ettrick, Virginia, for studies in sociology and child welfare, at the University of Minnesota; L. C. Florant, New York City, for a study of the recent population movements among Negroes, at Columbia University; Hylan G. Lewis, Howard University, for continuation of a study of the social differentiation in the Negro community, with special reference to an analysis of the Negro middle class, reappointment; and Estelle H. Scott, Fisk University, for studies in sociology and social work at the University of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania School of Social Work.

Guggenheim Foundation.—Fellowships have been granted for the coming academic year to Hans Kohn, Smith College, to complete a study on the history of nationalism; to Alfred I. Hallowell, University of Pennsylvania, to write a book on personality in primitive communities; to Luther S. Cressman, University of Oregon, to study prehistoric cultures in Oregon and the Southwest, and to E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University, for a study of the Negro family in the West Indies and Brazil.

Milbank Memorial Fund.—Since its establishment in 1905 by Mrs. Elizabeth Milbank Anderson, the Fund has expended over eleven million dollars for grants and projects of a philanthropic nature. Of this some public health work absorbed over seven million dollars, while social wel-

fare received over one and a half million dollars, and education and research were aided in amounts of over one million dollars. Indicative of the scope and continuity of the Fund's interest in demographic studies is its support of the Office of Population Research, which it had established in Princeton University in 1936. The Office has initiated the teaching of demography at the University and co-operating with the Population Association of America publishes *Population Index,* an international bibliography of scientific work in that field. It is now engaged in analyzing unpublished data from the 1930 Federal Census concerning fertility of groups classified by economic status, color, nativity, and residence.

Rockefeller Foundation.—A report of the Foundation's activities during 1939 by Raymond B. Fosdick revealed that a disbursement in excess of $2,000,000 had been made in the field of the social sciences, of which $105,000 was granted to the Social Science Research Council for general administrative expenses over the next three and a half years. Unusual disbursements were made to the London School of Economics—£12,500, the Dutch Economical Institute—$18,000, and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs—$30,000, because of wartime loss of income from tuitions to these institutions.

Population Association of America.—The eighth annual meeting of the Population Association was held at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, May 1–2, simultaneously with the meeting of the Institute for Research in Social Science, which met from April 30 through March 4. The theme of the Population Association meeting was "Current Research in Population" with papers by William H. Allan, "Incidence of Hereditary Defects"; Louis I. Dublin, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, "Current versus Generation Life Tables"; Margaret J. Hagood, University of North Carolina, "Difficulties in Studying Attitudes Relating to Fertility among Farm Mothers in the South"; Philip M. Hauser, Bureau of the Census, "Economic Differentials in Neonatal and Infant Mortality"; A. J. Jaffe, Bureau of the Census, "Differentials in Fertility in Early America"; Donald S. Klaiss, University of North Carolina, "A Preliminary Study of the Effectiveness of the North Carolina Prevenceptive Program"; Frank Lorimer, Population Association, "The Economics of Families with Varying Numbers of Children"; A. J. Lotka, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, "The Trend of the Birth Rate by Age of Mother and Order of Birth"; Arne Skaug, "International Migrations and the Formation of an International Labor Market"; Warren S. Thompson, Scripps Foundation, "Fertility Differentials in Butler County, Ohio";

P. K. Whelpton, Scripps Foundation, "Trends and Differentials in Prolificacy Distribution." One session was devoted to a joint meeting with the Institute on the subject "Balanced Regional Economy," with papers by Frank P. Graham, president, University of North Carolina, on "A General Framework of a Balanced South"; William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago, "Regionalization of the South;" H. R. Tolley, "Agricultural Reconstruction and Development."

The officers elected for the coming year are: president, T. J. Woofter, Jr., Bureau of Agricultural Economics; first vice-president, Raymond Pearl, Johns Hopkins University; second vice-president, Samuel Stouffer, University of Chicago; treasurer, Frederick Osborn, New York City; secretary, Conrad Taeuber, Bureau of Agricultural Economics; and other members of the board of directors are: Clyde V. Kiser, Milbank Memorial Fund; C. E. Lively, University of Missouri; Frank Lorimer, Population Association; and J. J. Spengler, Duke University.

University of North Carolina.—A University Conference on Population Research, Regional Research, and the Measurement of Regional Development—a continuing series of university lectures and seminars—was held April 30–May 4, under the auspices of the Institute for Research in Social Science. The Conference features also the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, which held its sessions May 1 and 2.

The sessions of the Institute were devoted to the following subjects: research on southern population; general structure of southern regional industry; resources and land utilization; regional problem of population, education, and economy; race and regional culture; and functional aspects of the region and subregion for research and planning. Among those participating in the sessions were W. E. Cole, University of Tennessee; O. D. Duncan, Oklahoma A. & M. College; Paul Foreman, University of Mississippi; Rudolph Heberle, Louisiana State University; Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University; Guy B. Johnson, University of North Carolina; E. C. Lindemann, New York School for Social Work; W. F. Ogburn, University of Chicago; Carl Rosenquist, University of Texas; W. S. Thompson, Scripps Foundation; Leon Truesdell, Bureau of the Census; Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina; B. O. Williams, Clemson College; and T. J. Woofter, Jr., Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.—Released in the April, 1940, issue of the *Survey of Current Business* were estimates of income payments to individuals, by states, for the years 1929 through 1938, prepared by

the National Income Division. This Division has also made progress with revisions of estimates of national income for the years 1929 through 1938 and their extension for 1939. These figures were released in the June, 1940, issue of the *Survey*, and a bulletin reporting data in more detail and incorporating some analysis and brief explanations of sources and methods will be issued during the summer. A survey of gross and net debt in the United States for the years 1929 through 1939 is being completed and was released in the June, 1940, issue of the *Survey*, to be followed by a bulletin on this subject. A bulletin on monthly income payments in the United States, 1929–40, has gone to press.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor.—Using a modified list of commodities and weights as determined by the 1934–36 family-expenditures study, the quarterly cost-of-living index has been revised back to 1935. The monthly food-cost index, which enters into the general cost-of-living figures, has been similarly revised. The indexes are now presented on a new base period, the average of the five years 1935–39. A description of the revision is to be presented in the July issue of the *Monthly Labor Review.*

Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board.—The Division of Public Assistance Research has been requested by the American Public Welfare Association to collect data on administrative expense from the nineteen large cities participating in the intercity exchange of current data on general relief. In response to an inquiry from the American Public Welfare Association, fourteen cities have already indicated their desire to participate in this co-operative enterprise. The first report will cover the six-month period ending June 30, 1940.

Central Statistical Board.—In order to forestall the independent submission of a large number of unco-ordinated projects relating to the Census, the Board has created an interdepartmental committee to prepare recommendations on a W.P.A. project based on Census material. The committee is obtaining suggestions regarding tabulations of earlier Census data and computations based on present or past Census data, which are needed for research and administrative purposes but which cannot be made by the Census Bureau. The committee will examine each proposal from the standpoint of the value of results, the availability of the basic Census data to be used, and the suitability of the proposals to W.P.A. requirements. It will endeavor to co-ordinate them into a single, large project.

Members of the committee are: P. K. Whelpton, Central Statistical Board, chairman; Calvert L. Dedrick, Bureau of the Census; E. Dana Durand, United States Tariff Commission; Howard B. Myers, Work Projects Administration; and Paul Webbink, Social Science Research Council. John J. Corcoran, Jr., of the staff of the Board is serving as secretary of the committee.

The Central Statistical Board has issued a fourth edition of the *Directory of Federal Statistical Agencies.* A limited number of copies are available upon request.

After the expiration, July 25, 1940, of the present statutory powers of the Central Statistical Board, its work of statistical co-ordination will be carried on within the Bureau of the Budget by a division to be known as the Division of Statistical Standards. A draft report covering the activities of the Central Statistical Board during the fiscal year 1939 has been prepared. A few copies will be mimeographed and made available on request to interested persons.

Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor.—At the request of the Bureau of the Census, the Children's Bureau is preparing suggested plans for tabulations that may be made by the states of the information to be obtained from the medical items of the standard stillbirth certificate and the optional section of the standard live-birth certificate (1940 revision). Thirty-three states have adopted all or part of the medical items recommended for live births, and twenty-one have adopted the standard certificate for stillbirths. Additional states have reported that they expect to include the medical items in their certificate forms. The states that tabulate the information in accordance with the plan being developed will make available a new body of statistical fact with respect to conditions underlying pregnancy and childbirth.

NOTES

American Scientific Congress and Inter-American Statistical Institute.—The eighth American Scientific Congress, which met in Washington, May 10–21, and included for the first time a statistical section, was the locus of the founding of the Inter-American Statistical Institute by sixteen members of the International Statistical Institute. Responsibility for the completion of organization has been intrusted to the committee on arrangements for the twenty-fifth session of the International Institute, consisting of Stuart A. Rice, chairman, Raymond Pearl, Walter F. Willcox, and H. L. Dunn, secretary.

The committee on arrangements requested the secretary of state to

communicate to officers of the International Statistical Institute in Belgium and Holland, via the American legations in those countries, the offer by the American membership of any possible assistance, including the temporary removal of the permanent office to the United States.

The secretary of agriculture, Henry A. Wallace, presided over a session of the Congress devoted to populations of the new world. Papers were contributed to this symposium by Raymond Pearl, Johns Hopkins University; Alejandro Bunge, Buenos Aires; Roberto Simonsen, São Paulo; Jorge Mardones Restat, Santiago; and Alberto Léon, Mexico City. Discussed at two sessions were chapters submitted from the twenty-one American republics for the inter-American statistical compendium now in preparation. Fifteen resolutions recommended by the section pertaining to the improvement of statistics in the Western Hemisphere were adopted by the Congress in plenary session. The next meeting of the Congress will be held in 1943 in Havana.

Mid-West Sociological Society.—At the fourth annual meeting held April 18–20 at Des Moines, Iowa, the following officers were elected: president, Clyde W. Hart, University of Iowa; vice-presidents, E. T. Hiller, University of Illinois, and C. D. Clark, University of Kansas; secretary-treasurer, Lloyd V. Ballard, Beloit College. Members of the executive committee are: Claude E. Arnett, Kansas State Teachers College; Howard Becker, University of Wisconsin; E. Glenn Callen, Nebraska Wesleyan; W. K. Kumlein, South Dakota State College; L. O. Lantis, North Dakota State Teachers College; Ernest Mannheim, University of Kansas City; Harriet R. Mowrer, Evanston; Alfred Severson, Drake University; R. B. Tozier, Winona State Teachers College; and Leslie D. Zeleny, St. Cloud Teachers College.

Ohio Valley Sociological Society.—The annual meeting of the Society was held at Columbus, April 26–27. Papers on various aspects of social organization and social control were delivered by Francis J. Friedel, University of Dayton; Kingsley Davis, Pennsylvania State College; C. J. Bushnell, University of Toledo; and A. B. Hollingshead, Indiana University; and various aspects of social psychology were considered in the presentations of John F. Cuber, Kent State University; L. Guy Brown, Oberlin College; C. H. Schettler, Western Reserve University; and Frederick G. Detweiler, Denison University. Officers elected for the year 1940–41 are: president, C. R. Hoffer, Michigan State College; vice-president, A. B. Hollingshead, Indiana University; secretary-treasurer, John F. Cuber, Kent State University; and editor of the *Ohio Valley Sociologist*, F. E. Lumley, Ohio State University.

Southern Sociological Society.—The fifth annual meeting of the Society was held April 5–6 at Knoxville, Tennessee. Among the papers presented were three of demographic and regional significance: "Sociological Analysis and Population Research," Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky; "Social Reorganization Following Migration," John B. Holt, Department of Agriculture; and "Bulgarians and Southern Whites in Contrast," Irwin T. Sanders, Alabama College. A section devoted to "Social Effects of Federal Action Programs in the South" included papers by W. E. B. Du Bois, Atlanta University, on "The Meaning of Federal Action Programs on Community Life in the South," A. D. Beittel, Guilford College, on "The National Youth Administration in the South," and Alonzo G. Moron, University Homes, Atlanta, on "Slum Clearance from the Community Point of View." At a session on race relations in the South, short papers were presented by Leonard Bloom, Kent State University; Edgar T. Thompson, Duke University; E. Franklin Frazier and W. O. Brown, Howard University. The evening session was devoted to addresses by Edwin R. Embree, Julius Rosenwald Fund, on "Education and the Good South," and M. L. Wilson, Department of Agriculture, on "The Democratic Processes and the Formulation of Agricultural Policy." Officers elected for the year 1940–41 were: president, B. O. Williams, Clemson College; first vice-president, Dorothy Dickens, Mississippi State College; second vice-president, Roy M. Brown, University of North Carolina; and secretary-treasurer, Coyle E. Moore, Florida State College for Women.

Southwestern Sociological Society.—The Society and its affiliated student section met in Dallas, Texas, March 22–23. Thirteen prepared papers covering a wide range of topics, from social theory to the progress of sociology in the Southwest, were presented in the five sessions of the two-day meeting. The student section of the Society under the leadership of Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, Texas State College for Women, had two sessions in which original research papers by students were presented. Officers elected for the year 1940–41 are: president, O. E. Baker, Hardin-Simmons University; vice-president, W. H. Metzler, University of Arkansas; secretary-treasurer, Joseph K. Johnson, East Texas State Teachers College.

Social Science Research Conference of the Pacific Coast.—The tenth annual meeting of the Conference was held at Asilomar, California, March 21–23, on the general topic "Present Stresses between Japan and the United States." Officers elected for the year 1940–41 were: president,

J. F. Steiner, University of Washington; vice-president, E. A. Cottrell, Stanford University; secretary-treasurer, S. C. May, University of California; and program chairman, A. G. Coons, Claremont College.

Society for Social Research.—The nineteenth annual summer institute of the Society will be held at the University of Chicago, August 16–17. A program may be obtained by writing the secretary of the Society, 1126 East Fifty-ninth Street, Chicago.

Central New York Sociologists.—At a meeting of sociologists from nearby colleges held at Cornell University on April 19 George A. Lundberg, Bennington College, who was the principal speaker, delivered a paper on "Measurement in Sociology." The group plans to meet this fall at Colgate University.

Canadian Political Science Association.—The annual meeting of the Association was held in London, Ontario, May 23–25, in conjunction with the meeting of the Canadian Historical Association. Of sociological interest was a paper by Charles W. Hart, University of Toronto, on "The Relevance of Studies of Individual Behaviour to Sociology."

National Conference on Family Relations.—The midwest regional meeting of the Conference was held at Cincinnati, May 20–21, on the subject of "The Family as an Environment for Personality Development." Among papers of particular interest to sociologists were the following: "Family Organization and Mental Problems," Thomas V. Moore, Catholic University of America; "The Family and the Recovery of the Patient," A. A. Low, Illinois Psychiatric Institute; "A Mental Hygiene Program for Rural Communities," William S. Sadler, W. K. Kellogg Foundation; "The Individual in His Family," Abraham Kardiner, New York City; "Ten Golden Rules for Good Parenthood," Arthur J. Todd, Northwestern University; "The Family as the Basic Unit," Sidney E. Goldstein; and "Psychological and Cultural Factors in Marital Happiness," David Slight, University of Chicago.

"The Conservation of the Family" will be the theme of the first meeting of the Michigan State Conference on Family Relations to be held at East Lansing, July 20. Among papers to be delivered at the general sessions are "Current Organization and Techniques in Premarital Counseling and Family Adjustment," by E. W. Mowrer, Northwestern University, and "The American Family—Success or Failure," by E. W. Burgess, University of Chicago. Round tables will be devoted to the following

topics: "Typical Problems Encountered by the Family Agency,""The Maternal Health Clinic and the Court," and "Education for Marriage and Family Life." Further information can be obtained from Ernest B. Harper, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.

The Pacific Northwest Conference on Family Relations was held at the University of Washington, May 3 and 4. Most of the sessions were round-table conferences on the following subjects: "The Economic Basis of Family Life"; Education for Marriage and Family Living"; "Marriage and Family Counseling"; and "Marriage and Family Research."

The California State Conference on Family Relations will hold its annual meeting at the University of California, Los Angeles, July 19–21. Ernest R. Groves, University of North Carolina, will address the Conference and take leadership in the discussions. For further information write Dr. Nadina R. Kavinoky, 1911½ Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles.

The New England Regional Conference, which is a joint project with the Harvard summer school, will bear the title "A New England Conference on Tomorrow's Children" and will take place July 24–26 at Harvard University. Inquiries may be addressed to Carle C. Zimmerman, Harvard University.

New York State Conference on Marriage and the Family.—A meeting held in New York City, April 12–13, was devoted to three main topics: "Youth and Marriage," "Personality Adjustment in the Changing Family of Today," and "The Interpretation of Social Movements in Terms of Family Welfare and Family Progress." Among the addresses of interest to sociologists were the following: "Youth and Marriage," by E. W. Burgess; "The Adjustment of Personalities in Family Relationships," by Adolf Meyer; "Divergent Social Attitudes of Husbands and Wives," by Abraham Myerson; "A Clinical Approach to Early Marriage Adjustments," by Emily Mudd; and "The Family as the Threshold to Democracy," by James S. Plant, Essex County Juvenile Clinic.

Conference on Conservation of Marriage and the Family.—The sixth annual Conference was held April 9–12 at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, under the auspices of the University of North Carolina and Duke University. The proceedings of the Conference were devoted to group discussions on the following subjects: teaching of marriage, the relation of religion and social work to marriage and the family, legal and moral backgrounds of marriage and family life. In addition to the discussion groups, papers were read on "Criteria of Success in Marriage," E. W. Burgess, University of Chicago; "Marriage Maladjustments, Their Causes and Treatment,"

Robert L. Dickinson; "The Venereal Diseases with Emphasis on Those Less Known than Syphilis and Gonorrhea," Bayard Carter, Duke University Medical School.

White House Conference on Children in a Democracy.—The general report of the White House Conference held January 19 has been published under the title *Children in a Democracy* and may be procured from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., at the price of twenty cents.

National Conference of Social Work.—The Conference met at Grand Rapids, Michigan, May 26–June 1. Among the sessions of particular interest to sociologists were those of the committee on interstate migration at which papers were presented by Nels Anderson, Work Projects Administration, who discussed the current migration problem, and T. J. Woofter, Jr., Farm Security Administration, who considered migration problems of the near future.

Among the associate and special groups there was a session held by the Committee on Social Relations, American Association of Personal Finance Companies, whose meeting was devoted to a consideration of the modern conceptions of thrift, credit, and debt.

Under the auspices of the Birth Control Federation of America William E. Cole, University of Tennessee, presented a paper on social philosophy of family planning. Jane M. Hoey, New York City, was elected president for the coming year, and Shelby M. Harrison, Russell Sage Foundation, was nominated president for the following year.

Central States Probation and Parole Association.—The seventh annual conference of the Association was held in Chicago, April 21–25. Addresses at general sessions were made by Edwin H. Sutherland, Indiana University, on "The White-Collar Criminal"; by R. Clyde White, University of Chicago, on "The Indeterminate Sentence"; by L. J. Carr, University of Michigan, on "State Program for Prevention of Delinquency"; and by Joseph Meegan, Back-of-the-Yard Neighborhood Council, on "Organizing a Community Council." Among papers presented at sectional meetings were "The Variation of Sentences Imposed upon Offenders by Judges in Relation to Parole," F. E. Haynes, University of Iowa; "Salesmanship and Rehabilitation," Raymond Groff, Illinois State Penitentiary; "Differences in Some Classification Disciplines: A Description and Suggestions," Richard Garrison, Indiana Reformatory; and "Organizing an Area for Prevention of Delinquency," Fred Romano, Chicago Area Project.

American Catholic Sociological Review.—The first number of this new quarterly journal of the American Catholic Sociological Society was published last March. The *Review* is intended to further the exchange of knowledge and to promote research among Catholic sociologists and to further the aim of the Society in offering a medium to scholars in the department of sociology consistent with fundamental truth. It is expected that the *Review* will publish the papers of the annual conference of the Society as well as research articles and book reviews. Communications regarding the *Review* may be directed to Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois.

Human Fertility.—Beginning with the first issue in 1940, this is the new name of the *Journal of Contraception,* renamed to give emphasis to the positive aspects of birth control.

American Youth Commission.—Howard Y. McClusky, professor of educational psychology at the University of Michigan, has been appointed associate director of the Commission to direct rural projects and to assist in the general administration of the program of the Commission.

Le Play House.—A distinctive technique in education for use with children who have been moved from their usual residence to new surroundings has been evolved in the form of a series of three *Discovery* broadsheets, bearing the subtitles "Nature," "Local History," and "The Present." This technique is designed to exploit the resources of a novel environment for educational purposes. The broadsheets may be obtained from Le Play House Press, Albert Road, Malvern, England, at one shilling threepence for the set of three or sixpence each.

National Probation Association.—The Association has published *Trends in Crime Treatment,* with contributions by Ira S. Wile, New York City; David Dressler, State Division of Parole, Albany; Marjorie W. Lenz, Erie County Probation Department, Buffalo; William M. Maltbie, Supreme Court of Errors, Connecticut; Justin Miller, United States Court of Appeals, Washington, D.C.; Alice Scott Nutt, United States Children's Bureau; and Helen D. Pigeon, International Association of Policewomen.

National Resources Planning Board.—Dexter M. Keeser, president, Reed College, has been appointed member of the Science Committee of the Board as a designee from the Social Science Research Council.

Osborne Association.—Volume II of the *Handbook of American Institutions for Delinquent Juveniles,* which was recently published, is a report of

studies made by W. B. Cox of the Association and G. C. Minard, New York University, with the assistance of Joseph A. Shelley, of the Association, on six state training schools in Kentucky and Tennessee. When completed, the survey will include every federal and state institution for juvenile delinquents in the county.

Social Science Research Council.—Complete sets of *Social Science Abstracts* for the four years from 1929 to 1932, inclusive, during which it was published, may be obtained from the Social Science Research Council upon payment of express and handling charges. These charges, to be paid at the time the request is made, amount to $1.00 anywhere in the United States except California, Oregon, and Washington, where the amount will be $1.50. For Canada the charge will be $3.00, and for other foreign countries, $4.00. Communications should be addressed to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York City.

Butler University.—During the summer session William G. Mather, Franklin College, is offering courses in anthropology, rural sociology, and the family.

University of Chicago.—Jacob Viner has been designated as Morton D. Hull Distinguished Service Professor of Economics succeeding Charles E. Merriam, who became professor emeritus at the end of the Spring Quarter.

John Dollard, Yale University, spoke on "A Behavioristic Theory of Imitation," on May 24, at the annual banquet of the Sociology Club, an organization of graduate and undergraduate students.

Claflin University.—A paper by E. H. Fitchett on "The Traditions of the Free Negro in Charleston, South Carolina," was awarded a prize of fifty dollars by the *Journal of Negro History* as the second best manuscript received during the year 1939. This paper was presented before the Society for Social Research, University of Chicago, in August, 1939, and was subsequently published by the *Journal of Negro History.*

Colgate University.—Farrar and Rinehart have recently published *Your Marriage: A Guide to Happiness*, by Norman E. Himes.

Columbia University.—Edward L. Thorndike, educational psychologist and author of the intelligence test bearing his name, will retire on July 1 as professor of education, Teachers College.

D. Appleton-Century Company has published *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, edited by Ralph Linton.

Dryden Press has published *War and the Family* by Willard Waller, as an addendum to his *The Family: A Dynamic Interpretation.*

Among gifts to the University recently announced by President Butler was a donation of one thousand dollars by Florian Znaniecki, University of Illinois, for a sociological investigation of Polish refugees, to be executed under the direction of Theodore Abel.

Cornell University.—W. O. Brown, Howard University, is offering a course on the family during the summer session.

Harvard University.—During the summer session Max Lerner, Williams College, is giving informal talks on American events and is interpreting foreign affairs.

Ellsworth Huntington, Yale University, is offering courses on climate and man, and nature and man in Asia.

Howard University.—Samuel M. Strong, who has done graduate work at the University of Chicago, has been appointed instructor in sociology to teach social psychology, the family, and history of sociology during the coming academic year. Mr. Strong will handle most of the courses of E. Franklin Frazier, who will be out of residence and engaging in research among the Negroes of the West Indies and Latin America.

Marietta College.—Laile Eubank is now on leave to complete an assignment with the International Labor Office in Washington. Mrs. R. G. Moss, University of Cincinnati, is substituting for her.

University of Michigan.—During the summer session courses in national trends and social psychology are being offered by Howard B. Woolston, University of Washington, and in social control, and fields and methods, by L. L. Bernard, Washington University. Visiting teachers with posts elsewhere in the state are: Calvin Schmid, University of Washington, who will give courses in introductory sociology and population at Mount Pleasant; Harold Gibbard, Brown University, who will offer courses in ecology and community problems at an education workshop in Decatur; Stuart Lottier, Detroit, who will give courses in group behavior at the University Fresh Air Camp, Patterson Lake.

Michigan State College.—John W. Barger, Texas A. and M. College, is offering a course in sociology and rural life during the summer session.

University of Minnesota.—During the summer session Everett V. Stonequist, Skidmore College, is giving courses in social behavior, criminology, race, and race relations.

New York University.—Frederic M. Thrasher has been elected president of the American Friends of Turkey, succeeding Admiral Mark Bristol.

University of North Carolina.—During this summer Howard W. Odum, who was recently elected a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, will lecture on regionalism at Eastern Washington College of Education, Reed and Peabody Colleges, and the Universities of Washington, Idaho, Utah, and Tennessee and will make commencement addresses at the Mississippi State College for Women and at Reed College.

Rupert B. Vance is teaching during the first summer term at the North Carolina College for Negroes and in the second summer session of the Y.M.C.A. Graduate School at Blue Ridge, North Carolina. Professor Vance also gave a series of lectures June 17–19 at the University of Alabama.

Harold D. Meyer is teaching at the New York University during the current summer session.

The Family and Its Social Function by Ernest R. Groves was recently released by J. B. Lippincott Company.

Ohio State University.—Under the auspices of the School of Home Economics an institute on home living will be held July 25–August 3 to acquaint teachers and administrators with the problems in home and family life. Paul Popenoe, Institute of Family Relations, Los Angeles, will be one of the principal speakers.

University of Omaha.—Zora Lasch, who has received the doctoral degree from Bryn Mawr College, and Ann Zaloha, who has received the Master's degree from Northwestern University, have been appointed assistant instructors in sociology.

University of Pennsylvania.—In observance of its two-hundredth anniversary, the University will hold a bicentennial conference, September 16–20. The provisional program includes sections on the fine arts, humanities, religion, and the medical, natural, and social sciences. Addresses at the latter section will be given by Sir William Henry Beveridge, Oxford University; Herbert Hoover; Hu Shih, Chinese Ambassador to the

United States; and Wesley C. Mitchell, Columbia University. Among others participating in the social science symposiums are Carl Kelsey, University of Pennsylvania; Simon S. Kuznets, University of Pennsylvania; Mark A. May, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University; Joseph H. Willits, Rockefeller Foundation; and Louis Wirth, University of Chicago.

The King of Sweden has conferred upon Thorsten Sellin the Order of the North Star.

St. Lawrence University.—Edward M. Foltin, criminologist and Czechoslovakian refugee, is conducting a course in criminology during the summer session.

University of Toledo.—Ersel E. LeMasters, who has been an assistant in sociology at Ohio State University, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology and social work.

Tulane University.—Nicholas J. Demerath, Harvard University and Radcliffe College, has been appointed instructor in sociology.

Washington State College.—McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., has announced for early publication *Rural Life in Process* by Paul H. Landis.

University of Wisconsin.—At a dinner on June 1 a portrait of Edward Alsworth Ross was unveiled. Professor Ross, who has retired from active teaching, has been elected national chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, succeeding Harry S. Ward, Union Theological Seminary.

Hans Gerth, who has been teaching at the University of Illinois, has been appointed acting assistant professor of social psychology for the next two years.

Yale University.—Selden Daskam Bacon, recently of Pennsylvania State College, has joined the staff as instructor in sociology.

During the current academic year the speakers before the Sociology Club have been P. A. Sorokin, Harvard University, on "Cultural and Social Dynamics"; Alfred M. Lee, New York University, "Propaganda for War"; and Clarence King, New York School of Social Work, "Community Organization."

PERSONAL

Robert C. Binkley, Western Reserve University, died April 11, 1940, at Cleveland. He was chairman of the Joint Committee on Materials for Research of the Social Science Research Council and of the American Council of Learned Associates, which was highly successful in developing new publication methods.

John Atkinson Hobson, economist, authority on gold, wages, prices and foreign trade, and author of *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, died at Hampstead, England, at the age of eighty.

D. Appleton–Century Company has announced for publication, September 1, *Contemporary Social Theory*, edited by Harry Elmer Barnes, Howard Becker, and Frances Becker.

J. B. Lippincott Company has announced for early publication a revised edition of *Introductory Sociology* by Sutherland and Woodward.

J. Paul Reed has announced the publication of *Kokutai: A Study of Certain Sacred and Secular Aspects of Japanese Nationalism.* Copies may be obtained at $1.50 each from Dr. Reed, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida.

Imre Ferenczi, formerly of the University of Budapest, and more recently technical advisor on migration and population questions, International Labor Office, Geneva, will be available for lectures in the United States during the academic year 1940–41.

BOOK REVIEWS

Management and the Worker. By F. J. ROETHLISBERGER and WILLIAM J. DICKSON. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939. Pp. xxiv+615. $4.50.

The Western Electric Company and the industrial research department of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration cooperated in the research which *Management and the Worker* reports. Elton Mayo, in the Preface (p. xiv), says that but for an endowment by the Rockefeller Foundation, Harvard University could not have permitted so many men to participate in the inquiry over a period of twelve years.

The study began in 1927 and for the first few years consisted of an attempt to measure the effect of such working conditions as rest pauses, wage incentives, and shorter hours on fatigue and monotony. It seems obvious that what consumed years to discover should have been clear at the outset if the investigators had acquainted themselves with the experience of others before they began their experiment. The authors conclude that the investigators

> were trying to maintain a controlled experiment in which they could test for the effects of single variables while holding all other factors constant. . . . . By Period XIII it had become evident that in human situations not only was it practically impossible to keep all other factors constant but trying to do so in itself introduced the biggest change of all; in other words, the investigators had not been studying an ordinary shop situation but a socially contrived situation of their own making [p. 183].

The "socially contrived situation" refers to the segregation of five girls who worked in a special room with special supervision and working conditions and with special privileges. To the writer of this review it seems as though anyone even in the kindergarten stage of industrial knowledge would have recognized the impossibility of controlling variables in studying human beings. It seems equally self-evident to anyone with any experience in industrial personnel work that social and personal factors greatly influence a worker's attitude toward his work and his productive efficiency. The elaborate charts indicating production curves of five segregated workers mean little or nothing because the effect of various factors in relation to outside episodes cannot be estimated and

because the sample is inadequate. It is noteworthy that the subject of production was not emphasized in connection with the mica splitters' experiment, which did not demonstrate an increase in output. To attempt to get at physical and social influences on production and efficiency by asking such vague questions as "How about the amount of vegetables you now eat?" "How about the amount of fruit you now eat?" "Do you like freedom to talk?" "Do you like additional money?" does not add anything to scientific inquiry.

The question "Which do you like better, a man or a woman supervisor?" brought an almost unanimous vote for "a man," which, considering the fact that it was put to only five girls and a man was supervising the investigation, has doubtful significance. On page 245 the authors remark that men comment more than women about advancement. They explain this on the ground that "woman . . . . is not by tradition the breadwinner of the family," that her main interest is "an easy job, not too fatiguing, in pleasant surroundings, sufficiently well paid to support herself or to contribute something to the income of her parents or husband." We would commend to the authors the findings of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor concerning pin-money women workers.

To the uninitiated in the field of industry the elaborate setup of research methods and laboratory conditions, the measurement of blood pressure and counting of pulse, the charts and tables and mathematical formulas present an imposing picture. To the initiated the detailed reports of interviews with workers seem naïve. Any intelligent person who has worked on a factory floor day in and day out for years knows far better what to salt down and what to emphasize in the daily conversation of workers, just as a woman who is married knows when her husband is showing bad temper because he drank too much the night before or because she has really done something to irritate him. The authors use such erudite terms as "socio-reality." A reviewer in a recent issue of an English industrial welfare journal complains of "the jargon and windy pseudo-scientific divagation which mars so much American Literature dealing with industrial welfare and efficiency."

We do not minimize the importance of getting at "what's on the worker's mind." But in the years when the interviewing experiment was conducted at Western Electric (1928–31) we wonder whether the time could not have been more profitably spent educating foremen and other supervisers to elicit and handle complaints instead of calling in outsiders to do it. Frederick Taylor was right when he insisted upon

management doing everything it can do to improve plant and personnel before any time studies are taken. Analogously, we insist that in 1927 enough was known about autocratic foremanship, about freedom to talk at work, about rest periods and about a good many other things (concerning which workers complained to Harvard interviewers) to have made it important for the Western Electric Company to build on the experience of other companies instead of "discovering" the obvious. In many organizations good management automatically eliminates many of the grievances the workers carried to the Harvard interviewers. To take years to find out that employee attitudes and the "total situation" are important and that workers appreciate human and kindly interest in their personal affairs seems absurd to any garden variety of industrial personnel worker. In all seriousness the authors state: "Some variations in output seemed to be closely associated with the workers' personal situations outside the shop" (p. 161). I would refer these gentlemen to an article on "The Relation of Home Conditions to Industrial Efficiency" published eleven years before 1927 (May, 1916) in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.*

Elton Mayo, in the Preface, asks "How can humanity's capacity for spontaneous cooperation be restored?" We cannot see in this book an answer to that question. We would like to refer Mr. Mayo and his colloborators to a book which seems to us to point far more significantly to the answer. It is *Organized Labor and Production* by an industrial engineer, Morris Llewellyn Cooke, and a labor organizer, Philip Murray, and it spells out simply and clearly the effects of union-management cooperation. It does not stop with "two-way communication" from management to worker and from worker to management as does this book, but it shows what can be done by management taking labor into its confidence and working shoulder to shoulder on operational processes and industrial policies at every level of production and supervision. In all the more than six hundred pages describing the Western Electric experiment, costing hundreds of thousands of dollars and supported by some of the wealthiest groups of this country, no reference is made to organized labor except a short statement, unindexed, that it was so seldom mentioned by any workers that it was not considered sufficiently important to discuss.

From 1933 to 1936 the Western Electric Company paid out $25,825.76 for espionage.[1] The interviewers who engaged in "counseling" service

[1] *Report of the [U.S. Senate] Committee on Education and Labor* (2d sess., 75th Cong., Report No. 46., Part 3 [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937], p. 88).

subsequent to the interviewing experiment of 1928–31 surely must have had some echoes of dissatisfaction due to lack of recognition of unions. We know of no instance where spies have been employed without some fear of unionism on the part of management. We wonder whether the interviewers have the proper technique for revealing the causes of what Mr. Mayo terms "futile strife and hatreds." We are also surprised that in twenty thousand interviews the workers are reported to have "criticised the company in no instance."

Big business has a way of inveighing against government expenditure. Some day a study should be made of "Researches in the Obvious Financed by Big Business." But maybe that too will turn out to be a set of tables and charts and mathematical formulas to prove what we already know. In any case the originator of the Western Electric experiment, Elton Mayo, modestly states that the authors of *Management and the Worker* do not claim that the enlightenment the many collaborators of the scheme got from their researches was "either very extensive or very profound." With this I am in complete agreement. That what they learned was "novel and unexpected" seems to me an acknowledgement of inexperience in the field of industrial practice.

MARY B. GILSON

Chapel Hill

Religion in Primitive Society. By WILSON D. WALLIS. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1939. Pp. ix+388. $3.50.

The present book will, no doubt, be useful as an encyclopedia of various subjects connected with primitive religion. It is written very much in the style of the Classical British School of Anthropology. The problem is divided into isolated sections, and data from various ethnographic areas are then severally collected as documentary evidence. Thus a student wishing to acquire information regarding "sacred places," "sacred objects," "sacred trees," "sacred animals," and "sacred persons" will be able to look up one of the eponymous chapters, and he will learn a great deal directly and profit even more from the excellent bibliographic references.

There is some doubt, however, whether it might not have been better to provide the book with a somewhat more developed theoretical frame of reference. The merely topical assortment of data does not leave us always quite convinced that all facts assembled are strictly comparable; nor yet adequately defined. Take, for instance, "sacred objects": to deal with "fetish," "idol," "medicine bundle," "ceremonial dress" and include even

the "name" in the collection, seems of doubtful value. Professor Wallis would no doubt agree that the sanctity of an object is derived from the belief in what the object represents, from the role it plays in ritual, from the ethical influences which radiate from such an object. The mystical substance of the Eucharist, or the full significance of the *churinga*, cannot be understood except through the study of the sacred traditions of the Christians or the Aranda; the ritual of the mass, or of the totemic ceremony; the ethical significance of the communion, or of the contact with the sacred bull-roarer.

In dealing, therefore, with any sacred substance, or ritual implement, it seems best not to dwell on the form and the handling of the subject merely, but to give full accounts of how the sacred is approached by prayer and sacrifice, by sacrament and good living. The nature of the object then becomes fully defined by the way in which human beings manipulate it; by the manner in which their hopes, their fears, their ambitions, and their doubts are woven around a shaped piece of matter. To cut across the various ties by which myth, sacrament, prayer, the implement, and ethical values are connected, and to collect isolated data is less profitable than the description of integral realities of religious life. The main reason for this function, or relational treatment of phenomena, to which modern anthropology is gradually becoming committed, is that very often cultural identity is best defined not by the process of cutting or severing, but by the place which a belief, practice, or object occupies within a religious system. In many cases the grouping of isolated items leads to the assemblying of somewhat heterogeneous data. The sanctity of the name, for instance, treated on the same level as that of other sacred objects seems to confuse the issue. The utterance of a name is not an object but an act. The sanctity of a name is a problem which requires a somewhat elaborate linguistic approach as well as a full analysis of symbolism in order to elucidate what is comparable between a "name," a "medicine bundle," or an "idol."

Professor Wallis, however, fully recognizes that his book deals but little with "the manner in which the religious life is socialized . . . . the manner in which a group organizes and utilizes the instrumentalities of the religious life. Nor is there any account of the manner in which the religious life actually functions, with, so to say, all the parts in place" (p. 300). Since the author frankly admits the limitations of the book, it is not for the reviewer to dwell on them any further.

The theoretical contents of the volume, in so far as they are elaborated, amount to the recognition that there is a distinction between the natural

and the supernatural. Hence, "religion . . . . includes things, persons, times, places, and events which partake of the holy or sacred. The world of the devotee consists of two realms—the sacred and the profane" (p. 2). Following this general definition of religion, the author then gives a description of the various sacred realities, then a description of the godheads in primitive communities, three chapters on ritual and one chapter on prayer. The very brief theoretical introduction to the last-named chapter raises many a query in the light of linguistics as well as of analytic sociology. "Prayers of primitive people are seldom clear-cut and distinct from magic or observance of ceremony, and are seldom a prominent phase of religious life" (p. 134). With this it is difficult to agree unless we fail to make any distinction between religion and magic, a distinction on which the present book is almost completely silent. A comparative discussion of the two phenomena would reveal a differential character as between magic and religion, and show that spell and prayer can be sharply distinguished—a fact clearly recognized by Frazer, Marett, and Mauss. It seems to me also to beg the question to maintain that certain objects—the sun, the earth, the skies, the moon—are not anthropomorphically conceived while prayers are addressed to them. It would seem more correct to say that the very fact that a prayer, that is a personal appeal as from one sentient and reasonable being to another, when directed to any supernaturally conceived entity, transforms this entity into an anthropomorphic being.

The chapter on supernatural sanctions would be more interesting, and its abundance of material more valuable, if we had a clearer definition of the ethical factor in religion. Instead, we read at the end of this chapter that "in most preliterate cultures religion has few ethical implications" (p. 205). Yet it might be questioned whether any religious sanction to a rule of conduct is not ethical in substance, especially when the rule in question is socially beneficient, that is, involves the consideration of the welfare of one by regulating the conduct of another. But, indeed, it is difficult to discuss the ethical aspect of religion in a work which leaves outside its scope the relations of belief to ritual and of mythological background to dogma; and, above all, fails to come to grips with the social influences of religion.

Within these limitations, the book will be very useful for those anthropologists and students of social science who want a readily accessible compendium on the phenomenological side of the more concrete and tangible facts of primitive belief and practice. It is written in a clear, simple style; it shows a conscientious and competent scholarship in the

collection of data; it is illuminating on many of the partial problems of primitive religion; and, even in its omissions and limitations, it will prove suggestive and constructive to the modern student of the comparative science of religion, who is intent on the sociological and functional treatment of faith, ritual, and ethics.

BRONISLAW MALINOWSKI

University of London

A History of Economic Thought. By ERICH ROLL. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. 430. $3.00.

In this book the professor of economics and commerce of the University College of Hull has provided another summary of the pattern of theories and ideas on economics, from the Old Testament writings down to the economists of the last generation. The main topics are those of any such manual—the ancients, the medieval churchmen, the mercantilists, the "classical school," and the successors of the classicals in well-recognized lines of filiation. But this does not mean that it is "just another book" in a familiar class. Like most works in the field of intellectual history, this one has been written not primarily to gratify pure historical curiosity but rather as a means or aid for teaching "sound doctrine" in relation to modern problems. The relative importance of these two objectives—objective history and indoctrination—and the kind of doctrine inculcated are among the most important questions in connection with any such book. Emphasis on objectivity tends to make a book uninspired, at least if it is not a work of downright genius, while the opposite emphasis runs into the difficulty that the particular doctrines preached by the author will not suit a large part of his main clientele—his professional colleagues.

In the reviewer's judgment, however, the value of a history of economic thought for teaching purposes depends more on its intellectual and scholarly qualities than on any of these matters of point of view. False interpretation is easily corrected in the classroom and is even pedagogically useful—as a "bad example." We think highly of Professor Roll's book, in spite of the fact that it both leans strongly toward the side of "preaching" and in spite of the fact that the doctrine preached is fantastically wrong! The book is written around the central purpose of rehabilitating the labor theory of value, i.e., Ricardo and more especially Marx, and also the other main tenets of "scientific" socialism. To Marx himself the author devotes a chapter of forty-six pages; the only other single figure who receives a comparable amount of attention is Adam Smith, who gets two-thirds as

much space. Ricardo is given half as much, but much of the discussion of his work consists of comparison with Marx. The themes of the development of "capitalism"—which is treated dialectically, and commonly personified—and the importance of apologetic for, or attack on, institutions, at the current stage of capitalistic evolution, in the work of theoretical writers, as well as the concept of the "surplus," are central for the bulk of the discussion.

All this is to the reviewer both interesting and puzzling. To explain Marx is indeed very much to the point. For he is certainly the thinker who above all others worked out the classical (Ricardian) theory to its logical conclusions, disconcerting as these were to the more orthodox liberal economists, who tried to ride two horses in opposite directions by following both the economic theories of Ricardo and his political position. And Professor Roll defends Marx very ingeniously. The puzzle is that anyone with a fair understanding of modern economic analysis, such as Professor Roll clearly seems to have, should attempt any defense of either Marx or Ricardo as an economic theorist. The phenomenon presented argues strongly that minds work on different principles and that truth is an individual matter. In Professor Roll's own treatment of the labor-cost theory of value, the reviewer has been able to find just one reference which indicates any recognition of the problem of measuring labor, i.e., reducing the different kinds to some common denominator—though labor is regularly referred to in quantitative terms, as any such theory, of course, requires. This single case is a parenthetic mention of "effort—measurable in time units . . . ." (p. 368). As to how any competent intelligence can think of effort, or labor, of innumerable kinds of persons working at innumerable kinds of tasks, as measured by time units, "I pass!" It seems as obvious as any proposition can be that the only working common denominator of different kinds of work is its value, which is derived from the value of the result. There would be no point to following this "confusion" through the book, even if space allowed; but one more instance is especially interesting. This is the statement that Senior "admitted the productivity of capital under the term 'abstinence' " (p. 343). The relation between pain and productivity is simply a complete mystery. Perplexity is increased by the fact that in its general intellectual, scholarly, and literary quality, Professor Roll's book is perhaps the best performance so far in its field, or especially among recent attempts.

FRANK H. KNIGHT

University of Chicago

Christianity and Morals. By EDWARD WESTERMARCK. New York: Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xiii+427. $5.00.

This last book by Professor Westermarck might well have been entitled "The Warfare of Christianity against Morality." It does not, however, make the mistake of confusing the teachings of Jesus with historical Christianity or with the church. On the contrary, the author strives to show that the mistakes in the church were rooted in the teachings of Jesus and Paul.

The book well illustrates Westermarck's scientific method. It is the documentary method as used by the rank and file of historians. There is little or no attempt at interpretation except of the superficial sort, that is, merely to connect events and traditions. There is no attempt to place the Christian movement in a general view of social evolution or to make a comparative evaluation of Christianity with other great religions. He would probably say that this would be out of place in a scientific, historical survey of the relations of Christianity and morality.

Professor Westermarck does not hesitate to intrude into the field of philosophy to serve his own purposes, for he presents a very definite theory of the sense of moral obligation. It is the well-known theory which he espoused in his work on *Ethical Relativity* (1932). According to this theory, moral judgments are based upon subjective emotions, which necessarily vary in different individuals. Moral disapproval is a kind of resentment, according to Westermarck, while moral approval is a retributive, kindly emotion, and there is, therefore, no objective standard for judging conduct. All value judgments are necessarily emotional, and although he says that "society is the birthplace of the moral consciousness," he scouts the idea of an ethics based upon scientific facts. Westermarck's own ethical theory is far from clear if judged by this book, though it is evidently some form of hedonistic humanitarianism; but he says very emphatically that moral judgments cannot possibly possess that universality which is characteristic of scientific truth.

Westermarck accepts the results of the higher criticism of the New Testament and even agrees with those who hold that the gospels yield us little more than a whisper of the voice of Jesus. Nevertheless he holds that this is not important for the study which he has undertaken, because the teachings attributed to Jesus are in the gospels and are the source of the Christian tradition, whose influence on morals he examines. He holds that the principle of divine reward and punishment is the keystone to Jesus' ethical teaching. The ethics of Jesus, accordingly, are not only hedonism but egoistic hedonism, promising rewards for good behavior

and punishment for evil behavior. He finds these ethical teachings, as recorded in the gospels, full of contradictions. The doctrine of an inclusive, absolute love toward all men is not peculiar to Jesus. It was stated much earlier by Buddha and by many other religious and moral teachers. Moreover, Jesus plainly taught, according to Westermarck, that only a few could be saved. No general and inclusive humanitarianism can be attributed to Christ.

When it comes to the historical church and its relation to moral ideals, the record is a dreary one. The early Christians were pacifists, but their pacifism was given up in the fourth century when the church came into political power. More and more, the church became a mere instrument of the state, and wars of all sorts were upheld. The regard for human life which characterized the early church sank to an utter disregard when it came to the lives of heretics and infidels. The church supported slavery and the economic exploitation of one class by another. Its tolerance and regard for the truth were limited by its own dogmas. By advocating asceticism it cast a shadow over normal human relations. In almost every phase of life it failed to support high moral ideals.

Such is the argument of this book by one of the most respected founders of comparative sociology writing in the English language. It is an old argument, and it is difficult to understand why Professor Westermarck wrote the book, unless it was to validate some of the statements which he had made in his earlier books. His conclusions were almost necessitated by his methods, which in general lacked an adequate evolutionary point of view and which overemphasized the value of documentary historical evidence. The larger historical setting of Christianity in human evolution, and even the historical background of Jesus' teachings, are neglected. Nevertheless, the book is challenging to those who take a too easy view of the much-debated question which it discusses. The reviewer would not leave the impression that Dr. Westermarck is to be classed with those who take a merely antagonistic and negative attitude toward religion and toward the Christian movement. On the contrary, he gives the impression of writing with a distinctly religious background in his own mind. Strangely enough, the book ends with a personal theological statement: "To me it seems that all believers in a righteous God, who has implanted a moral consciousness in the human mind, have to admit that no religious doctrines which conflict with its principles can have a divine revelation as its source."

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

Duke University

Indians of the Americas. By EDWIN R. EMBREE. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1939. Pp. xi+260. $2.75.

Indians of the Americas is an introduction to our Indian problem, the solution of which requires a general understanding of the ways of life of our aboriginal population. For the author, who has studied problems of racial and cultural adjustment in the East Indies and in our own South, such adjustment is not merely a question of tolerance; he feels there are positive gains involved in the living-together of diverse peoples with different patterns of life.

After a prologue which describes the discovery of the New World as the natives might have seen it, Mr. Embree presents the Indian world in terms of a series of selected examples which illustrates the great range and variation to be found in New World cultures. Here, in order, are the classic cultures of Maya, Aztec, and Inca with their variant achievements in art, science, and government clearly outlined. Following these come the Sioux, Iroquois, and Pueblo peoples, their stories told in varied ways to emphasize their cultural specializations. These summaries are accurate, excellently illustrated, and more readable than the technical monographs on which they are based, though no summary can quite catch the full flavor of a culture.

The most interesting sections, to the reviewer, are those which concern the Indians in relation to the modern world. The story of the Taos Indian who went to Carlisle and his experiences on his return to the pueblo is far more effective in illustrating the results of our attempts to assimilate the Indian than any amount of abstract discussion. Our present Indian policy promises a new era in Indian-white relations. The reviewer hopes that Mr. Embree may sometime consider this policy at greater length and chart its effects in their full complexity.

FRED EGGAN

University of Chicago

William Penn as Social Philosopher. By EDWIN CORBYN OBERT BEATTY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. xiii+338. $3.50.

This scholarly work is the first adequate statement of the philosophy of William Penn. The author is no uncritical hero-worshiper but, with admirable objectivity combined with sympathetic insight, creates out of the vast welter of material a convincing moral and spiritual portrait. This is done for the most part by apposite citations from Penn's voluminous writings. Penn's dream of a Quaker utopia in the wilds of America, his

work as founder and governor, patriotic imperialist, pacifist, crusader for religious toleration, country gentleman, champion of property, educator, and humanitarian are sketched as phases of the many-sided activities of one of the most interesting figures of the seventeenth century. Not the least interesting phase of this spiritual biography is the story of the various compromises between the heaven-storming idealism of the Quaker with his "Inner Light" and the social realities. Penn was a pragmatic Englishman, and one searches in vain in his writings for a logically consistent philosophy. His contemporaries, the Puritan priests, appealed to fine-spun casuistical rationalizations in their efforts to reconcile an impossible theology with life. Penn's guide was his humanitarian impulses. He would have sympathized with Pascal's famous dictum, "Le Cœur à ses raisons que la raison ne connait pas."

JOHN M. MECKLIN

Dartmouth College

The Rise of Integral Nationalism in France: With Special Reference to the Ideas and Activities of Charles Maurras. By WILLIAM C. BUTHMAN. ("Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law," No. 455.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. 355. $4.00.

The March of Fascism. By STEPHEN RAUSHENBUSH. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939. Pp. 355. $3.00.

To the movement which held both the vulgarities of the Action française and the poetic inspirations of a Barrès, W. C. Buthman has devoted a valuable study. This is a substantial account of the political background and of some of the forerunners and contributors as well as of the principal apostles themselves, especially of the life and intellectual career of Maurras. The interlacing of the turbulent activities of the Third Republic with the growth of traditionalism and antidemocratic theory in literature and politics is delineated with a wealth of material. The story is carried down to the beginning of the last war, although in his somewhat groping conclusion the author also suggests the connection of integral nationalism and fascism. One may regret that he fails to bring out Sorel's role or, in systematic fashion, the social underpinnings of the Action française. The study seems most significant for the light it sheds on the aesthetic element in traditionalist nationalism and on the peculiar function of regionalism in this authoritarian movement.

From this elaborate but ineffectual laboratory of militant nationalism there is but one step to fascism. Stephen Raushenbush handles this topic

from the vantage point of the student of American politics. While he is keenly aware of the strength of American traditional democracy, he also recognizes the danger spots it has in common with others. To be helpful, a comparison should be made "between ourselves to-day and the once democratic nations of Europe, before they surrendered to Fascism. From their fever chart we can learn, to some extent, at what points our own goes above normal" (p. 3). An introductory chapter which gives the author's shrewd diagnosis of weaknesses in the American fabric is followed by one on the fascist compensations for the loss of liberty, by others on the churches under fascism, on the uses of racial persecution, on the impact of fascism upon the east of Europe, on the stages of fascism's growth in Italy and Germany, and on the making of the anti-Nazi dictatorship in Austria. A concluding chapter is devoted to the "Best Defense" which is mainly found to lie in the promotion of a social program that can successfully rival the fascists' appealing but hollow offers of a fuller life. This is one of the best-balanced statements of our present knowledge of fascism. No iron-clad monistic interpretation is attempted, but an urbane realism marshals the multiplicity of motives and interests into a manageable historical pattern.

WOLFGANG H. KRAUS

Smith College

The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century. By PERRY MILLER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xi+528. $3.25.

This formidable volume, the first instalment of a history of the New England mind, is a monument to the scholarship and industry of its author. It has quite definite affiliations with what Charles Francis Adams calls the "filial piety" school of historians, the creators of the myth that the seventeenth-century Puritan priests were a race of demigods whose virtues, like some mystical primitive mana, pervade not only New England but the entire nation. John Cotton, politician and timeserver, is called "a stern old Puritan." The arid speculations of federal theology provided "the deductions which were later to furnish the political wisdom of a Locke and Jefferson." New Englanders are thus singularly disloyal to their ancestors in their stubborn rejection of Jeffersonianism. "The colonial parsons" were the intellectual comrades of Descartes and Bacon. Roger Williams, the most original thinker of seventeenth-century New England, whose ideas alone survived and became part of the great American tradition, is dismissed with four casual references. He does not fit into the myth. The trial and beating of the Baptist Holmes, the terrific

maulings of the Quakers, four of whom were hanged, are ignored together with the protests against these high-handed acts of the priests, which led finally to a revolt described by Brooks Adams in his *The Emancipation of Massachusetts*. One has the feeling that the real mind of seventeenth-century New England is not touched. What the author gives us is a sketch of a decadent Puritan theology.

This may be due in part to the author's method. He deals with the vast body of Puritan theology, both English and American, "as though it were the product of a single intelligence." His frequent and lengthy citations, therefore, are not documented. This serves effectually to divorce the book from the social setting and imbues it with an atmosphere of unreality that makes it heavy reading. Not until chapter xii, an interesting discussion of the Puritan sermon, and the following chapters on the economic and social implications of the doctrine of the covenant, does the reader feel that his feet are on the ground. The Index of the book is inadequate.

JOHN M. MECKLIN

Dartmouth College

Industrial Geography. By CHARLES E. LANDON. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. xxxviii+811. $4.00.

Economic Geography. By WILLIAM H. CARTER and RICHARD E. DODGE. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1939. Pp. xi+564. $3.75.

Landon, in his splendid Preface to *Industrial Geography*, raised the hopes of the reviewer that here was a good advanced text with subject matter and theoretical propositions knit together into a functional unity and properly interpreted in the light of the data presented. To the uninitiated industrial geography is a special field of economic geography in that the latter is concerned with explaining the relations between the physical environment and man's economic activities, whereas the former only seeks to show how the extractive and manufacturing industries are connected with the location of natural resources. The aim of the book—to explain the physical basis of economic specialization for each country of the world—is not achieved for several reasons, among them being: poor organization of data, confusion in statement, repetition, too many meaningless illustrations, and poorly executed maps (e.g., the map of Alaska, p. 362, shows the Alaska Railroad's Fairbank's terminal, but the other ends in the wilderness without Seward appearing on the map). Emphasis is placed on physiography without showing the relationship of

physiographic features to physical resources and economic organization. For instance, the Tyne and Aire gaps in the Pennines are mentioned as being important, but no evidence as to why or how is given. Furthermore, Landon explains the rise of Britain as a world-power solely on geographic grounds; her ecological position in the North Atlantic with respect to world-trade routes and world-organization apparently never entered into his thinking. Unfortunately, the plan, the aim, and the Preface are the only good things about the text.

Carter and Dodge, by way of contrast, have written a readable, clear, and withal a good introductory text in economic geography. The book is organized around the concept of how world-distribution of commodities needed in modern industry and commerce influences manufacturing, commerce, and demography. Clear and concise descriptions of the physical environment, climate, soil, physiography, and geological structure for each region of the world are given, and their relations to economic activities are noted. Human ecologists will find much of interest in this book, for it faces the problem of explaining how the localization of production and specialization in a region are related to the resources of that and other interdependent regions within the competitive-co-operative area organized by the market. Good use is made of maps and illustrations; in fact, the pictures, maps, charts, and diagrams add considerably to the clarity of the work. This book should at least be consulted by the ecologically minded sociologist.

A. B. HOLLINGSHEAD

Indiana University

The Southern Poor-White from Lubberland to Tobacco Road. By SHIELDS MCILWAINE. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939. Pp. xxv+274. $2.50.

This book, in which "the author tries to tell the social story of the poor-whites and then to show its literary treatment in different periods," is one to which the social scientist is tempted to apply only the ambiguous and vague adjective "interesting." For it is interesting to compare William Byrd's eighteenth-century statement ("Thus did these Wretches live in a dirty State of Nature, and were mere Adamites, Innocence only excepted") with a speech of Erskine Caldwell's most famous character during the present decade ("I used to be a powerful sinful man in my time. I reckon I was at one time the most sinful man in the whole country. Now, take them Peabody children over across the field. I reckon clear

near about all of them is half mine, one way or the other"). And it is also interesting to observe simultaneously both the changes and the continuity in the existence of these lower-class, rural people during the two centuries in which the social structure of their society has been drastically altered.

Professor McIlwaine succeeds in suggesting the social forces which have affected poor-whites and in giving his reader a feeling for the literature which at various times has maligned, ignored, romanticized, idealized, and simply portrayed them. This volume, however, would be valuable as well as interesting if the author had made his analysis more systematic from almost any point of view. Sometimes he shows that a literary description is a reflection of the actual social conditions of a set of characters; frequently he contends (especially in the case of northern writers) that a novel's approach has been affected by the bias of the writer; and in other places he infers that the ideas or the style of a writer have influenced one of his successors. Just what is the relation between literature and society? Then, since Professor McIlwaine very definitely possesses certain private standards of literary criticism and rather specific attitudes toward poor-whites and Negroes, and since he pursues all traces of what he considers "propaganda" in the literature like a member of the secret police in certain European countries, it would be important to know more about his own private social and literary philosophy. Merely to state that "the method employed is social interpretation in narrative form rather than the conventional argument and analysis of literary history" does not seem to be sufficient. The volume, therefore, is scholarly, entertaining, and subjective; but it is not scientific inasmuch as the examination of so many interesting particulars reveals no general principles either for social science or for literature.

LEONARD W. DOOB

Yale University

Types, Levels, and Irregularities of Response to a Nursery School Situation of Forty Children Observed with Special Reference to the Home Environment. By ELEANOR SLATER with the assistance of RUTH BECKWITH and LUCILLE BEHNKE. ("Studies from the Center for Research in Child Health and Development, Harvard University," Vol. IV, No. 2.) Washington, D.C.: Society for Research in Child Development, National Research Council, 1939. Pp. 148. $1.25.

This is a study of the reaction pattern of young children to a given social environment. Six variables in the patterning were observed and recorded: (1) changes of activity, (2) contacts with materials, (3) words

spoken, (4) minutes spent in watching, (5) contacts with children, and (6) contacts with adults.

On this basis three distinct types of pattern were separated out: one of heightened activity called "accelerated," one called "inhibited" characterized by nonparticipant watching, and a third type of alternation between the other two extremes. Children with the lower I.Q.'s tended to be of the accelerated type, while the more intelligent ones showed greater inhibition. Case-history evidence indicated that the alternating pattern was the result of certain home conditions such as the illness of the mother, excessive parental solicitude, economic disaster, or other emotional uncertainty. When these factors were relieved, the children tended to revert to one of the two basic patterns. The full explanation of these phenomena lies in the field of social analysis and must be a challenge to the sociologist.

JESSIE R. RUNNER

Iowa City, Iowa

Research and Statistical Methodology, Books and Reviews, 1933–1938. Edited by OSCAR KRISEN BUROS. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1938. Pp. vi+100. $1.35.

This comprehensively annotated bibliography of statistical volumes published during the years 1933–38, inclusive, includes books on research methodology not only in social science but in such varied fields as education, geology, and medicine, as well as treatises on statistical methods as such. Altogether some two hundred volumes are included.

The editor has culled the review section of the various scientific journals and digested these reviews. Thus for each book listed as many as a half-dozen or more reviews will be presented in abstract form. A classified index to the books and an index of titles makes the use of this volume very simple.

The number of books which regularly appear is so large that it is almost impossible for any one individual to attempt to keep up with the output. Through the use of this book, however, the student is enabled to distinguish between the more and less pertinent books.

A. J. JAFFE

Bureau of the Census

Some Thoughts on the Economics of Public Education. By R. H. TAWNEY. ("L. T. Hobhouse Memorial Trust Lectures," No. 8.) Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1938. Pp. 45. $0.75.

Drawing upon a wide range of available facts, Mr. Tawney presents in an interesting way the history of English publicly supported education. But the main concern of his lecture is to assess the costs of education and then to ask searching questions about what the public gets for its money and what it could get for more money spent on schooling. Mr. Tawney does not believe that a point of diminishing returns has been reached in such expenditure. He gives several reasons for his belief. The one on which he lays most emphasis and for which he adduces the most formidable array of facts is the continued great dependence of educational and vocational opportunities upon parental income. This dependence, he contends, limits that mobility of intelligence which is necessary to full use of the country's human resources.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

The First Negro Medical Society. By W. MONTAGUE COBB. Washington: Associated Publishers, 1939. Pp. ix+159. $2.15.

More than a brief historical sketch, this work is at once an indictment and a plea—an indictment of an order where professional aims and ideals are perverted by exigencies of the color line and a plea (reinforced by evidence of competency and professional efficiency) for a full measure of recognition and status. The derived organizational forms of a minority group are "parallel" in only a limited sense. Without pervasive prestige and lacking economic and political control, such forms necessarily exhibit warped characteristics.

The professional of a minority group is caught up in a maze of influences. Cut to an individualistic pattern and reacting to professional lore and tradition, yet the differentiated functionary must often bear the cross of his racial group. In this realm, also, race consciousness and practical circumstance serve often to confuse goals; e.g., does the minority functionary want "parity" or "assimilation"?

Of interest to the sociologist is the fact that this work opens another theme of interest to the student of race and culture—the role, the organization, and the defensive maneuvering of the minority professional.

HYLAN LEWIS

Howard University

Education for Christian Marriage. Edited by A. S. NASH. New York: Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xvi+304. $2.50.

This symposium by several theologians and psychologists, specialists in law and education, and a physician will be of interest to sociologists as an attempt to narrow the lag between current sex practices and family patterns, on the one hand, and religious pronouncements, on the other. Two phases of this approach are (1) increased acceptance of current usage with respect to contraception, purpose of coitus, role of husband and of wife, etc., and (2) formulation of principles (rather than rules) of conduct so that conformity and violation are practically impossible to define and are left largely to the conscience of the believer. In this approach an effort is made to compromise the difference between theological dogma and social relativism.

As in the usual "marriage-advice" book, this volume contains a section on the anatomical differences of the sexes and also two sections on psychogenesis. The treatment of personality rests upon a psychoanalytic framework couched somewhat in the parlance of the pulpit.

ROBERT F. WINCH

Chicago

Studies in Income and Wealth, Vol. I. By the CONFERENCE ON RESEARCH IN NATIONAL INCOME AND WEALTH. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1937. Pp. xviii+348. $2.50.

The National Bureau of Economic Research serves statistical research purposes which naturally raise problems of methodology. The present volume is a symposium of essays and related discussions on some vital problems of methodology in measuring national income; problems of "wealth" measurement may have been left for discussion in a second volume. The contributions deal at great length with such elementary concepts as that of the national income itself (by M. A. Copeland) and of the different methods of its measurement (Clark Warburton), with inventory valuations (Simon Kuznets), net versus gross income (Carl Shoup), etc. Most of the learned and illuminating contributions overlook or underestimate the fact that concepts like that of the national income may be arbitrarily defined according to the purpose for which they are constructed. And the entire volume seems to ignore the further fact that specific biases such as for policy purposes enter into the arbitrary definition of such concepts. Much of the discussion might be abbreviated if

these "human" elements involved in the scientific approach would be properly understood and acknowledged.

MELCHIOR PALYI

Chicago

National Income and Capital Formation, 1919–1935: A Preliminary Report. By SIMON KUZNETS. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1938. Pp. x+86. $1.50.

As the title indicates, this is an interim report on rearranging a vast volume of statistical material. As the author states in the Foreword, "The measures of national income constitute a complete revision of the estimates for 1919–28 by W. I. King (*National Income and Its Purchasing Power*), and their continuation through 1935. In utilizing the estimates prepared by the Department of Commerce in cooperation with the National Bureau for 1929–32, as revised and brought up to date by the former agency, we were permitted access to unpublished details." The burden of original compilation has been carried largely by that agency.

A detailed report on sources and methods is withheld for future publication. The summary tables of the present volume are introduced and interconnected by the discussion of some of the underlying concepts. Perhaps the most interesting single analysis is the one emphasizing (pp. 34–35) the distinction between consumers' outlay, capital formation, and additions to the stock of wealth. The last category is the broadest but is impractical for purposes of measurement, owing to lack of data. The author's approach follows traditional lines in defining "capital formation" in the sense of the sum of changes in stocks of commodities plus net change in claims against foreign countries. Of course, this method of adding apparently incommensurable quantities is merely a device to overcome the difficulty in measuring in direct terms the elements involved.

MELCHIOR PALYI

Chicago

The Secret of Childhood. By MARIA MONTESSORI. Translated by BARBARA B. CARTER. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1939. Pp. xi+286. $2.50.

This book presents an extremely well-written, clear description of those educational problems of the young child which have always been of interest to Miss Montessori. Although the material is not new and might well have been written years ago, the book contains many good, commonsense deductions and suggestions. The author continually emphasizes the

need for the consideration of children as individuals who have definite psychological functions which can be studied only by sympathetic observers. She makes an interesting point when she states that most adults study children in accordance with their own viewpoints and consider children merely as miniature reflections of adults. Instead, she considers adults as reflections of children. She emphasizes especially the importance of genetic psychology.

There is one inherent difficulty in evaluating a book which is translated, namely, the difficulty of understanding the peculiar terms which are employed. For example, the author mentions many times that adults should be careful in studying the spiritual development of the child and his soul. Whether this reflects the author's archaic knowledge of psychology or whether it is merely an idiomatic expression employed in Italian, the reviewer does not know. She employs many religious ideas and symbols in her explanation of child behavior, and this again may be due to expressions of the culture in which the author lives rather than an indication of her psychological viewpoints. On page 131 she states, "That which the teacher must seek is to be able to see the child as Jesus saw him. It is with this endeavor, thus defined and delimited, that we wish to deal." The reviewer knows of books written sometime during the middle of the nineteenth century in which ideas and attitudes of this type were used, but they would not be considered as scientific treatises.

In general, the book will make excellent reading for many parents, especially those who have little knowledge of the recent work in the fields of psychology and child development. The serious student or research worker in the fields of psychology and education will be rather intolerant of the author because of the elementary way in which the material is presented and because of the peculiar expressions which she uses.

MANDEL SHERMAN

University of Chicago

Love Problems of Adolescence. By OLIVER M. BUTTERFIELD. ("Teachers College Contributions to Education," No. 768.) New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1939. Pp. viii+212. $2.25.

This book is an exception to many scientifically intended studies of adolescence which, statistically valid though they may be, leave the reader blank as to the nature of the living adolescent. The data, a record of the anonymous questions asked by some fourteen hundred adolescents in discussion group meetings, are struck directly from the center of their in-

terest. Furthermore, the author, as counselor, has had the courage to record his answers to the questions, together with those of other authorities in the field. The result is a valuable book for those who wish to know the adolescent as a person rather than as a statistic.

To the sociologist, however, it is the unwritten implications of the data which are of interest. The questions can almost without exception be referred to a revolutionary period in the boy-girl relationship, in which the prerogatives and duties of the one sex in its interaction with the other are changing so rapidly that there are no rules or precedents which can be safely followed. In their distress the adolescents of thirteen to twenty-five turn in increasing numbers to the discussion groups where new folkways and mores are in a process of dynamic formation. The explanation of the whole phenomenon probably lies in the new status of girls, following a generation after the new status of women.

JESSIE R. RUNNER

Iowa City, Iowa

The Struggle for Imperial Unity (1868–1895). By J. E. TYLER. ("Royal Empire Studies," No. 16.) London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1938. Pp. viii+219. $5.00.

A skilful writer can prove what he will about imperialism (as about Americanism) if he is free to define his term as he pleases and to select those elements which are to constitute its essence. But the innocent reader will be misled unless he keeps the definition in mind when he considers the writer's conclusions. Mr. Tyler is primarily concerned with the imperialism which stresses the association of the colonies of settlement with the mother-country—an association which has ripened into the British Commonwealth of Nations. He is concerned hardly at all with the other imperialism which leads to the domination over less powerful peoples against their will. During the period which he reviews the emphasis placed on closer union between self-governing communities in the British Empire steadily increased and formed one of the forces which shaped political history. Mr. Tyler points out how this new force was related to the growing demand for social reform, to the wish to migrate without the sacrifice of political allegiance, to the revolts against free trade under the slogan "fair trade," and to military and naval policy. His book is thus a contribution to the history of the period.

The second half of the book is devoted to the history of the movement toward imperial federation, with the explanation that federation must be understood as meaning little more than closer unity, leaving quite vague

the institutional form which that unity was to take. Mr. Tyler's contention appears in his final sentence, "Nor is it to abuse one's knowledge of what was to happen after 1895 to claim that the general character which this system [the balance of British and colonial interests] would assume was apparent well before Joseph Chamberlain went to the Colonial Office." The book is so exactly what it purports to be that further comment is needless.

H. F. ANGUS

University of British Columbia

Social and Economic History of Germany from William II to Hitler, 1888–1938: A Comparative Study. By W. F. BRUCK. Cardiff: University Press Board (Oxford University Press), 1938. Pp. xv+292. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Starting as a backward semifeudal agricultural country, Germany went into debt in the period of the 1850's and 1860's, repaid it in the 1870's and 1880's, and built up from about 1890 on a seven billion gold dollar volume of foreign investments, third only to the British and French creditor positions before the World War. In the period of some twenty-five years previous to that war she showed the fastest rate of industrial growth of any country, with the possible exception of the United States; she developed from a purely Continental country to the owner of the second largest seafaring fleet; her industrial concentration process was paralleled only in the United States.

What factors determined this tremendous growth and its character? How was it interrelated with the scientific development of Germany, with her governmental system and armaments, with the defeat of free trade under Bismarck and then under Wilhelm in spite of the Caprivi "incident"? What was the role of the particular type of entrepreneurs and of aggressive financiers which Germany produced? How did the growth of democracy in Germany and of the labor movement as well as of social policies affect those developments? How were they in turn compatible with the country's imperialistic tendencies leading eventually into catastrophe?

Such are some of the questions one would expect to find treated in a book with the above title. The reader will find, however, that even the facts with reference to those questions are scarcely sketched. The naïveté with which the author approaches a vitally important phase of modern economic history without apparent awareness of any of the major problems involved is astonishing. Ponderous and wordy discussions on methodology, on the theory of monopoly, on sociological literature, etc.—none

of which has much relevance to the problems of Germany's economic history—constitute the main content of the book. In addition, it bristles with distorted pictures and errors of omission and of misrepresentation, especially on such "technical" matters as foreign trade, money, and banking. The limitations of the author's approach are well illustrated by the bibliographic notes (pp. 273–87) which also include some statistical tables, and which indicate his lack of acquaintance with the overwhelming volume of literature on Germany's development in the period under review.

MELCHIOR PALYI

Chicago

You Might Like Socialism: A Way of Life for Modern Man. By CORLISS LAMONT. New York: Modern Age Books, 1939. Pp. viii+308. $0.95.

The book is apparently addressed to those who are unfamiliar with the main premises and promises of socialism. If so, publishing it under the Modern Age imprint is indeed trying to convert the already converted. Another failing of the book is foreseen by Mr. Lamont himself when in the Preface he writes: "It is quite possible that by the time this study is published, events, which move so swiftly these days, will have swept ahead, contradicting me on one point or another." The book went to press on August 18, 1939, a few days before the Moscow-Berlin Pact, a month before the march of the Red army into eastern Poland, and three and one-half months before the invasion of Finland. Mr. Lamont writes not of imperialistic England and France fighting or preparing to fight imperialistic Nazi Germany but of "democratic Capitalisms . . . . planning . . . . armed self-defence" against fascist aggression (p. 65). In his chapter v, "The Road to Peace," he argues for co-operation of these democratic capitalisms with the peaceful socialism of the Soviet Union, for "socialism proceeds to the permanent outlawry of war" (p. 185). Since the book was written, Mr. Lamont has argued that Soviet socialism still means peace.

The main interest of this book, however, is not in the errors of the pre-Pact judgment or in the brilliant dialectics of the post-Pact period. These are familiar enough from countless books and articles by communists and fellow-travelers of middle-class origin. What interests us most is Lamont himself, or rather the causes that brought this scion of one of America's foremost upper-class banking families to his faith of socialism and his co-operation with the communists. Recognizing this interest and its legitimacy, Mr. Lamont devotes the very first chapter to the question,

"Why Members of the Upper Class Go Left." This is too brief to be wholly satisfactory, and the occasional later references to the same subject (see, e.g., p. 252) are too scant to give a rounded picture. A painstaking study of the rest of the book is thus necessary, with this quest in mind: where and how, in his seemingly impersonal and scientific plea for socialism, the hidden personal element can be found; to what past or present characteristic failing or merit of Mr. Lamont's own social stratum it may be traced. To a sociologist or psychologist in search of an A.M. thesis subject, or of a mere term-paper topic, such an investigation is earnestly suggested.

ALBERT PARRY

New York City

Russia without Illusions. By PAT SLOAN. New York: Modern Age Books, 1939. Pp. x+243. $0.75.

A sympathetic account of Russia and her social system is given here by a young English teacher who lived and traveled in the republic at various times in the present decade. The main point of his approach is that, if you take the Soviet system without undue illusions, you are bound to remain undisillusioned. Compare the Russians' social achievements with the lags and injustices of Western society, but do not expect a complete and immediate utopia; there are sins and ills in Russia, but they are temporary rather than permanent; judged by a code all its own, but to which toilers and intellectuals of the West would do well to subscribe, Russia is still the world's moral top—despite the bad price paid for the good experiment. And once you agree with the author, the price paid seems quite reasonable, and not at all bad. Thus runs this sincere apologia for the Soviet of today; thus emerges Mr. Sloan's honest but largely wishful blueprint of Russia's tomorrow.

ALBERT PARRY

New York City

Der deutsche Dichter um die Jahrhundertwende und seine Abgelöstheit von der Gesellschaft. By HANS WILHELM ROSENHAUPT. ("Sprache und Dichtung, Forschungen zur Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft," Heft 66.) Leipzig: Paul Haupt, 1939. Pp. 287. Fr. 9.00.

Dr. Rosenhaupt approaches literature with the aim of ascertaining how the social forces influence the writer and how his reactions thereto act upon society. He hopes thus to bridge the gap between the psychological and the sociological interpretations of literature.

The investigation is confined to German literature since 1890, and in particular to the outstanding figures of that epoch: Rilke, George, Hofmannsthal, Thomas Mann, and Gerhart Hauptmann. The sociological situation of these writers is marked by their dissociation from their social group—the middle class. The literary movement is characterized by the increasing trend toward reality, which had started with the naturalists in the early eighties.

The more the poet turns toward reality, the more he becomes conscious of the abyss which separates him from society. This interaction results in the phenomenon which Rosenhaupt defines as *Abgelöstheit*, an isolation which the poet painfully conceives as a separation from his mission. The writer becomes aware of this isolation either through self-criticism, feeling alien to his surroundings and deploring his loneliness, or through social criticism, placing himself outside his social group and passing judgment upon it.

On the basis of this isolation Rosenhaupt explains the instability of modern German writers and the resulting unreality of their poetical world. He analyzes this unsteadiness and obtains psychological situations such as *Unfestigkeit*, *Vektorlosigkeit*, and *Stückhaftigkeit*. From these structural circumstances he derives typical solutions of life which are discussed under the headings: "Inseldasein," "Wandererdasein," and "Geistigendasein."

Methodologically, Rosenhaupt bases his essay upon the findings of the psychologists Max Wertheimer, Wolfgang Köhler, Kurt Lewin, and Sigmund Freud as well as upon the sociological works of Karl Mannheim. The author supports and documents his theses with an abundance of literary facts. This work is to be considered as a broad outline for the sociological interpretation of modern German literature and ought to stimulate the literary historian as well as the sociologist to a more detailed investigation of this fertile field of literary research.

OTTO WIRTH

Indiana University Extension Division

Youth in European Labor Camps. By KENNETH HOLLAND. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1939. Pp. xiii+303. $2.50.

The author made two extended visits to European countries between 1931 and 1936 to find out what is being done in each country regarding work camps, how these camps are operated, and the purposes for which they were established. It appears that some form of work camp is found

in every European country, ranging from types of voluntary camps in the democratic countries to compulsory camps in dictator countries.

Most uniform of reasons for establishing work camps for youth is to give young men—and in a few cases, women—an opportunity to learn about work. The educational objectives differ and vary from free discussion to regimented rote. Holland reports that the individual initiative and spontaneity of youth in camps tends to diminish as over-all educational objectives are imposed by the state. Extreme illustrations are the training centers of England and the National Socialist camps of Germany. The work camp offers the state an excellent agency for discipline and propaganda and are accordingly being used in the dictator countries.

The work camp also offers an ideal opportunity for training in habits of work, but it would appear that not much progress has been made in using the camps for the purpose of teaching skills. Not even Germany has made as much progress in this field as the opportunities offer. The labor of the youth is used mainly in making roads, draining marshes, reforestation, and clearing land. Some two hundred pictures showing youth of all nations at work are very informing. The work is obviously of a very amateur character as to management as well as operation: shovels everywhere, digging with shovels, marching with shovels, saluting with shovels—even leaning on shovels. The C.C.C. pictures do show some variation; in fact, one is forced to the conclusion that there is little that our own C.C.C. program can learn from European experiments.

The reader is left with the conclusion that, whatever the youth camps are in Europe at the present writing, there is a lively interest in them and that they will not unlikely become permanent agencies of most countries. Unfortunately, the writer has said nothing about the efficiency or unit costs of the work done in these camps, and that must be the final test of their worth for training, morale, and utility.

NELS ANDERSON

Washington, D.C.

Studies in the Psychology of Art, Vol. III. Edited by N. C. MEIER. ("Psychological Monographs," Vol. LI, No. 5.) Columbus, Ohio, 1939. Pp. 158.

This volume completes a ten-year investigation (conducted at the University of Iowa under the supervision of Professor Meier) of the genesis and nature of artistic capacity and aesthetic appreciation. Included are: (*a*) three reports of researches upon factors in aesthetic perception; (*b*) two concerned with preferences and aesthetic judgment;

(*c*) four bearing upon creative imagination—the first directly, requiring constructions by the members of the groups studied; the other three indirectly, by investigating insight into the significance of constructions supplied by the experimenter or of actual art works, largely abstract or semiabstract paintings; and (*d*) one study of "the effect of lectures on art principles upon art production at the fifth and sixth grade levels."

In this last study both aesthetic judgment and quality of aesthetic production showed no change attributable to the instruction given. The author suggests this is due to the immaturity of the subjects, while the editor says, "The thesis here examined affects the question as to whether information alone (lectures on art, and art principles) not followed up by effective practice and review or not coordinated in any direct manner can result in learning progress. The evidence seems clear . . . . that coordination must occur if effective learning is to take place, at best at this level—but it strongly suggests that the conclusion need not be limited to any level."

A final chapter gives the editor's "mature conclusions on the nature of artistic aptitude as the outcome of all data, published and unpublished, obtained in the ten years." These conclusions, in addition to their immediate interest, are of general importance because of their bearing upon the nature-nurture controversy. Meier offers a new theory of artistic aptitude, which he views as resting upon the possession of six factors: "manual skill or craftsman ability, energy output and perseveration in its discharge, general and aesthetic intelligence, perceptual facility, creative imagination, and aesthetic judgment." These are to be taken not as independent variables but as recognizable functions which overlap considerably, are interlinked in the process of acquisition of actual artistic aptitude, and may, as the result of a later technical factor-analysis (the methods developed by Thurstone *et al.*), perhaps be redefined more precisely. The first three of the factors refer primarily to heredity; the others, principally to acquired nature. The difference is one of degree; both inheritance and learning have to be taken into account in all cases. In the discussion of these factors fresh evidence is offered for the importance of craftsman ancestry, the "heredity involved" being "simply that of social selection in a consistent direction. Morphological characters alone are involved; the individuals come from stock that is well adapted for work requiring fine eye-hand coordinations," etc. The six factors are treated successively, and their adoption defended, and, in the reviewer's opinion, well justified, by new evidence or by reference to the various earlier studies of this series. While the separate researches are of some-

what uneven interest and appeal chiefly to the psychologist or technical art student, Meier's general discussion, though based definitely upon the research data, is quite clear and readable by itself and can therefore be recommended to the sociologist who may not be a specialist in the field of art.

C. E. KELLOGG

McGill University

Educators Present Arms: The Use of the Schools and Colleges as Agents of War Propaganda, 1914–1918. By C. H. HAMLIN. Copyright by author, 1939. Pp. 47. $0.50.

While containing a certain amount of interesting materials this study exhibits a number of shortcomings which are still rather frequent in the literature on propaganda. It has the character of a mere narration, and there is no attempt to relate the data presented to general social science hypotheses. No precise methods have been employed, it seems, to assure the representativeness of these data. Most attention is paid to such aspects of propaganda as its media, its organization, and its personnel, while the analysis of contents is interspersed in a rather random fashion. Many of the terms used to refer to content features are highly ambiguous and present the disadvantage of possessing strong preferential associations (cf., e.g., the classification, on p. 25, of educational journals into those which became "rabid" as against those which remained "sane"). It is regrettable that the industrious author has refrained from using analytic tools.

N. C. LEITES

University of Chicago

Minor Mental Maladjustments in Normal People. By J. E. WALLACE WALLIN. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1939. Pp. viii+298. $3.00.

If there is no sharp boundary between sanity and insanity, the student of abnormal behavior will be interested in such seemingly trivial weaknesses as that shown by the boy who must avoid the cracks in the sidewalk or that shown by the person who has compulsions to perform acts exactly six times; by the person with unreasonable fears of darkness, thunder, snakes, or audiences; and by persons with other comparatively light dreads, obsessions, and idiosyncrasies. When we see such behavior

in others, we commonly regard it as eccentric, though it may seem much more natural to the person performing it. There is, then, a particular value in autobiographic material on this class of behavior, as it makes the traits more understandable against the setting of the personality.

During some years of teaching, Dr. Wallin has collected from his students reports of their own minor mental troubles of which nearly three hundred are presented here, each in the subject's own words. The statements vary from a few lines to several pages in length and cover about all the slight difficulties that seem to be common. They are grouped into chapters, which contain introductory discussions, lists of suggestive questions, and bibliographies. No school of thought is specially emphasized, and, except where the subjects have themselves tried to explain their traits, there is little analysis. This fact probably makes the book more useful than otherwise, as it allows the student freedom to try his own explanations. There is hardly a case in the book which is not fascinating, and there are probably few readers who will not find themselves reflected in some of the cases.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

McGill University

Government Publicity: Its Practice in Federal Administration. By JAMES L. MCCAMY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xv+275. $2.50.

This excellent study gives a detailed picture of a number of relevant aspects of contemporary federal administrative publicity. Its organs are considered with reference to their structure (organization, personnel, place in the administrative whole) as well as to their function (objectives, planning methods, subject matters treated, media employed, distribution methods, and attempts to ascertain results). The conclusion is reached that this governmental activity (1) does not have the effect of giving "undue" influence to the executive and (2) does succeed in augmenting the public's relevant information on current policies. It may be hoped that the author will add to his valuable contribution a more intensive analysis of representative items of federal administrative publicity with a view to ascertaining the significant differences between the symbol "techniques" it employs and those employed by other agencies.

N. C. LEITES

University of Chicago

ABSTRACTS OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

The persons who have aided in the preparation of the material for this issue are: Hubert Bonner, Robert Dubin, Shotaro F. Miyamoto, Erich Rosenthal, and Shirley A. Star. The numerals and letters appearing after each abstract correspond to the items in the following scheme of classification:

I. THEORETICAL SOCIOLOGY
- *a*) Sociological Theory
- *b*) History of Sociology
- *c*) Methods of Research
- *d*) The Teaching of Sociology

II. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY
- *a*) Human Nature and Personality
- *b*) Collective Behavior

III. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
- *a*) The Family
- *b*) Ethnic and Racial Groups
- *c*) Social Stratification
- *d*) The Church and Religion
- *e*) The State and Political Process
- *f*) The School and Education
- *g*) Economic Institutions
- *h*) Voluntary Associations

IV. POPULATION AND HUMAN ECOLOGY
- *a*) Demography
- *b*) Ecology
- *c*) The Rural and the Urban Community

V. DISORGANIZATION
- *a*) Personal Disorganization
- *b*) Social Disorganization

299. Die Dynamik der künftigen Bevölkerungsentwicklung in Deutschland [The Dynamics of the Future Development of the Population in Germany].—R. von Mises' attack upon our pessimistic view regarding the decline of the birth rate is not justified. Statistical computation shows a net reproduction rate of −9.24 per cent for 1927. The rate of decrease for the same year is 3.37 per cent. As soon as it becomes stationary, the population will decrease according to the series

$$e^{rt}, r < 0 .$$

The predictions are conditional and are not prophecies. Since infant mortality and mortality in the younger and middle-age groups cannot be much lower, the probability of population increase is rather low. Since from the year 1936 on the number of persons in the most fertile age groups which so far has steadily increased will decrease, the increase in the number of old people will not compensate for the decrease of the fertility base of the German people.—**Friedrich Burgdoerfer,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv,* XXII (1932), 161–79. (IV*a*.) E. R.

300. Der Rückgang der Geburtenziffern in Deutschland und seine mathematische Formulierung [The Mathematical Formulation of the Decline of the German Birth Rate].—The slow decrease in the birth rate since 1875 in all European countries has developed into a rapid decline since the beginning of the twentieth century. Since the German birth rate declined during the last decade of the nineteenth century as much as that of the French during the whole of that century, an investigation of the German birth rate since 1890 shows interesting results. The curve of decline between 1890 and 1914 is best described by a parabolic equation of the second degree:

$$y = 34.8 - 0.4x - 0.025x^2 .$$

The computed curve fits the actual data to within a hundredth. The German birth rate decreased at an annual rate of 1.5 in 1905, 2.5 in 1910, and 3.5 in 1914. A solution of the equation shows that in 1932 the birth rate should have been zero. Since such a result is impossible, the point at which the decline stops—the point of inflection where the convex downward curve changes into a concave downward curve—becomes very important. The disturbance caused by the war of 1914–18 makes the use of the data for such a construction impossible. If one takes the data from 1900 to 1931 and fits a straight line with the least-square method, one finds that, with the exception of the irregularities of the war and immediate post-war periods, one straight line with the slope −0.65 describes the German birth rate for the whole thirty-year period to within exactly two one-hundredths. (The picture is similar to that of the American birth rate during and after the depression.) The fact that the actual data for 1928 and 1929 lie above the computed line might indicate that from now on the birth rate will no longer decline.—**Liebmann Hersch,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv,* XXII (1932), 179–90. (I*c*, IV*a*.) E. R.

301. **Meldepflicht für Fehlgeburten? [Should a Report on Miscarriages Be Enforced?].**—The decline of the birth rate through the urbanization of attitudes poses the question whether the number of miscarriages and abortions have increased with the decreasing birth rate. In the dispute over the heavy sentences against abortion imposed by the penal code, far more accurate data are necessary on the actual number of abortions. Such data would give us a clear index of the existing will to reproduce and an insight into the causes of one of the foremost social problems. The indirect method of collecting data from the morbidity and death statistics (puerperal fever, etc.) is unsatisfactory. Urban data for those social classes that enjoy health insurance indicate that from forty to fifty abortions occur to a hundred births. Since the threat of severe punishment for the pregnant women and the physicians are the main reason for the concealment of abortions, an anonymous report of abortions by physicians, nurses, and midwives is recommended. Sample studies in large cities should be made with the co-operation of physicians in order to secure complete data.—**Helmut Storch,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv,* XXII (1932), 191–211. (IV*a*.) E. R.

302. **Entwicklung und Methoden der landwirtschaftlichen Verschuldungsstatistik [Development and Methods of Statistics on Agricultural Indebtedness].**—Agricultural statistics have been concerned mainly with the collection of such external data as size of farm land, the number of livestock, and the extent of damage by hail. Only recently have more intimate investigations into the conditions of German agriculture been initiated. One result of this is the extension of statistics on indebtedness. Since most of the peasants do not practice bookkeeping, statements about their financial situation are difficult to obtain. During the last one hundred years it was possible to have data on mortgages but not on personal debts, so that a true picture of the financial situation of the farm has been impossible to obtain. Since indebtedness is not necessarily a bad sign, the existing statistics have not been significant. As early as the end of the nineteenth century the state of Baden made a more intensive sample study which it repeated in the twentieth. Communities which appeared to be typical were selected for this investigation. Through the co-operation of banks and of co-operatives, personal debts were investigated and checked by local experts and by statisticians.—**Ernst Schlosser,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv,* XXII (1932), 229–41. (I*c*.) E. R.

303. **Das Individuelle in der Statistik [The Individual Case in Statistics].**—Statistics of the individual case seems to be a contradiction in itself, since statistics is opposed to the individual case. A new aspect of the problem consists in the repeated statistical observation of the same cases but preserving their individuality. Instead of enumerating only the present circumstances of the enumerated persons, one should ask questions about their past. In this way vertical mobility, for instance, could be traced. Instead of asking the same questions at each census, it would be much more interesting to add to the existing information new events in a person's life on a card like that of the Dutch system. Such a procedure would give much better information, for example, on migration. A similar procedure in the manufacturer's census would show the growth of an industrial enterprise, its length of life, etc. In the classification of the data it is im-

portant to avoid the concept of "all other" groups and to develop homogeneous groups. The complex reality, however, cannot be classified in such a clear-cut way. If one can collect data from the whole universe, one may avoid taking samples. Instead of taking samples which might or might not give a representative picture of a situation, one should analyze the extreme cases and extreme groups and thus find the reasons for the uniqueness, i.e., the deviation from the average. This is not a recommendation of Le Play's individual case study, a method which seems to have passed for good.—**Arnold Schwarz,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv,* XXII (1932), 322–33. (I*c.*) E. R.

304. **Zur Statistik der Selbstmordhandlung [Suicide Statistics].**—While statistical reports generally record only completed suicides, the statistical bureau of Vienna collects data on suicide attempts as well. The data are rather comprehensive, for the excellent first-aid association of the city reports cases that do not require hospitalization. There is a definite increase over the pre-war period of suicide attempts among both juvenile and adult females, and the rate is higher for females than for males. The suicide attempts of the females are, however, less serious than those of the males. With increasing age the seriousness, i.e., the completed suicide, increases. The period of greatest frequency for female suicide attempts is between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five years. More than one-third of the female suicide attempts of from fifteen to twenty years of age are maidservants. The increase of female suicide attempts after the war is greater among married than among single women, which suggests the possible association of suicide with unhappy marriage. A breakdown of the data according to religion reveals that the Catholics have the highest number of suicide attempts but the lowest number of completed ones, while the Protestants have the lowest number of attempts but the highest number of suicides; and that the degree of seriousness increases from Catholics to Jews to Freethinkers to Protestants.—**Sigismund Peller,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv,* XXII (1932), 343–64. (V*a.*) E. R.

305. **Die Strasse [The Road].**—The road was invented at the cultural level where man began to settle down and cultivate the land. These roads were not yet paved. The army roads in Asia Minor, Greece, and the Roman Empire, however, were paved and served conquering armies. Napoleon was the last to build roads strategically according to the ancient model. The invention of the railroad made for the decay of the European road system. The road has gained its importance through the automobile. In Germany the roads are classified into high roads (army roads), community roads (connecting one village with the next one), and community streets serving only local purposes. This classification indicates the government agency responsible for the upkeep of the roads. The German automobile tax does not cover the huge cost of construction and upkeep of the road system. The largest number and most serious accidents happen between the different types of vehicles: between automobiles and bicycles and between automobiles and horse-drawn wagons. Efforts to reduce the number of accidents have been made by the construction of bicycle roads. The great increase of traffic as shown by censuses at regular intervals shows that the roads should be made wider.—**Hellmuth Wolff,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv,* XXII (1932), 364–86. (III*e.*) E. R.

306. **Organization und Tätigkeit der internationalen Statistik [Organization and Activities of International Statistics].**—Since the beginning of the twentieth century the cultivation of uniform international statistics suffered severely from the establishment of various institutes whose activities frequently overlap and do not produce comparable data and results. The first, the Institut international de statistique, founded in 1865, is an independent scientific association with a limited membership of two hundred. Its main concern is the study of methods of making data comparable, the suggestion of investigations to government agencies, and the creation of sampling and evaluation techniques. At its biennial congresses three sections are formed, namely, those of demography, economics, and social statistics. It publishes a bulletin. The Institut international d'agriculture was organized in Rome in 1905 for the prevention of wild speculations in agricultural products by providing the market with reliable predictions and thereby stabilizing the price of agricultural products. The Institut collects and distributes uniform international data. Its biennial conferences discuss the economic,

technological, and social conditions of agriculture throughout the world. The League of Nations has three agencies which collect and publish data. The economics and finance research department publishes data on the economic situation in all countries. The communication and transit research bureau publishes data on international traffic and tries to unify the existing national statistics. The hygiene research department collects and publishes data on health and epidemics and reports on new techniques in the field of population statistics. The Institut international de co-operation intellectuelle, in close co-operation with the League of Nations, collects data on the conditions of the professional groups throughout the world. The International Labour Office, a creation of the Treaty of Versailles, has the task of improving the conditions and increasing the protection of labor by international agreements. It tries to introduce improved statistical techniques in order to secure homogeneous data and to collect special information concerning such problems as real wages, unemployment, etc. The Bureau international statistique commerciale in Brussels collects the official published data on business in various countries and publishes them in its bulletin. The International Chamber of Commerce, founded in Paris in 1920, also collects data on prices, production, labor market, etc. Although it has very often been suggested, a desirable planning and coordination of fields of the various agencies has not yet been achieved.—**Wilhelm Henninger,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv,* XXII (1932), 422–42. (III*h.*) E. R.

307. **Modern Population Trends.**—A coming population decline, as indicated by the declining net reproduction rates of most countries, is not likely to be halted. An improvement in the condition of the people is not likely to restimulate the birth rate. Something must be done directly to meet the cost of the upbringing and education of children, both of which are constantly increasing and which may be regarded as a true cause of the decline in reproduction. Family endowment, if it is to succeed, must be large enough to exceed the conventional expenses of a child so that some improvement in the provision for the whole family would be made by having another child. If the decline continues unabated, the following economic effects can be expected: (1) net loss in per capita production; (2) increasing burden in the maintenance of the old; (3) reduced mobility of labor; (4) development of deserted and derelict areas; and (5) intensification of unemployment.—**R. F. Harrod,** *Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society, Session 1938–39,* March 1, 1939, pp. 1–20. (IV*a.*) S. A. S.

308. **Some Notes on the Optimum Size of Population.**—The task of finding the optimum of population is the most difficult problem of demographic study. A large school has adopted the criterion of standard of living for the determination of the optimum population. Fairchild, for example, believes that the standard of living is a function of the "stage of the arts," land, and population, so that it is possible to find one definite ratio among them which produces the maximum of comfort. Such an optimum of population is concerned exclusively with the optimum from the point of view of the individual and ignores that of the community or of the state as a whole which may be in conflict with it. The population policy of the state must be inspired by the ideal of its own optimum, and some sort of compromise must be worked out between it and the individual optimum, so that problems of national security, economic transition, and quality of population as well as individual happiness are provided for.—**H. A. Sonnabend,** *Indiana Sociological Review,* I (1933), 291–99. (IV*a.*) S. A. S.

309. **German Sociology (1918–1933).**—German sociology is the product of one of the greatest social dissolutions and reorganizations, accompanied by the highest form of self-consciousness and self-criticism. It owes three debts to the process of disintegration and change of the last fourteen years, which have led to three approaches to every problem: (1) considering each isolated objective factor as part of the changing totality of society; (2) placing each spiritual phenomenon and idea in its relation to a concrete social situation; and (3) seeing in every mental attitude and in every form of human behavior the adaptation of the unconscious to new situations. The preparatory trends of thought which are the mental equipment of the German sociologist are: (1) the capacity for constructive thought dating back to Hegel; (2) the political realism derived from Marx; and (3) the capacity for sympathetic intuition and interpretation found in the sociological works of Dilthey and Simmel. The most surprising even in the recent

development of sociology has been the way in which *Wissenssoziologie* has described the differences in human thought among different groups at different times. The sociology of culture has sought to deal with the problem of historical evolution of forms of life and types of inner experience. Political sociology has studied political phenomena in their relation to social events in general. German sociology anticipated English and American sociology in that it was forced by the social crises to pay attention to problems which the rest of the world faced later; and, being the first, German sociology devised methods for the observation and interpretation of complex general situations.—**Karl Mannheim,** *Politica,* I (1934), 12–33. (*Ib.*) S. A. S.

310. **Dictatorships.**—The concept of dictatorship has been variously defined, but it will be useful to construct the concept out of three elements: the political, the technological, and the historical. Thus, that government is a dictatorship which is autocratic, works through dictation, and in which the governed still remember a less autocratic or less illiberal former system. Autocracy refers to a government whose power is independent of the consent of the governed; dictation refers to the techniques of prevention and suppression by violence and terror and of imposing opinions by propaganda. The political element makes it possible to distinguish dictatorships from democracies, the technical element from liberalism, and the historical element from absolutism. It is possible to classify dictatorships politically into personal and collective, and socially by the nature of the supporting group.—**Herman Kantorowicz,** *Politica,* II (1935), 470–88. (*Ia,* III*e.*) S. A. S.

311. **Types of Cultural Responses.**—The problem of China, however multifarious and complicated on first sight, is in reality one of cultural conflict and control. The sharp contrasts between responses of China and Japan to similar situations of cultural conflict may offer insight into problems of cultural control. Three factors contributed most to Japan's successful Westernization: (1) the existence of a powerful ruling class oriented toward modernization; (2) a highly trained military caste capable of adopting the Western methods of warfare necessary to support power politics; and (3) a heritage of centralized and stable political framework enabling unified social change. In China effective leadership was totally lacking because her hereditary aristocracy was constantly being democratized by a civilian bureaucracy recruited from the people. Great leaders there were, but they lacked the power to effect needed social reform. As to the mastery of Western military methods, the adjustment was most difficult for a China accustomed to long periods of peaceful reign and trained in the pacifistic philosophy of Confucianism and Buddhism. Finally, in China we find a type of cultural response that may be called "diffused penetration," or "diffused assimilation," as contrasted to the centralized control of change in Japan. The ruling dynasty in China was an alien race which by the nineteenth century was corrupt and weak, and a process of decentralization and provincial autonomy was marked. When culture conflict takes place in such vastly different historical backgrounds, there are as many types of adjustments as there are cultures.—**Hu Shih,** *Chinese Social and Political Science Review,* XVII (1934), 529–52. (III*e.*) S. F. M.

312. **The Analysis of Chinese Rural Population.**—In 1930 a house-to-house census was taken in the well-known Ting Hsien experiment areas by the social survey department of the Chinese Mass Education Movement. The sample included 5,255 families in sixty-five villages with a total number of 30,642 persons. The average of 5.8 persons per family is probably typical for North China. The male head, his spouse, and his unmarried children constitute only 53.6 per cent of the total family population, the remainder being married children and other relatives. The sex ratio of the total population is 106.2, but in the age groupings of fifteen to nineteen and twenty to twenty-four the ratio rises to 113.3 and 112, respectively. This is caused undoubtedly by the mortality of women at childbirth and by the sufferings of daughters-in-law caused by other members of the family. Married people constitute 58.5 per cent of the population, and, of this group, an unusually high proportion are below fifteen years of age. Of the males, 1.31 per cent married at the age of ten or less, and the largest proportion, 40.08 per cent, between the ages of ten to fifteen. Of the females, on the other hand, 68.93 per cent married between the ages of fifteen and nineteen. Of the 5,255 families, 5,193 own their

own houses, 22 rent their homes, and 40 have homes borrowed from relatives. Of the population above six years of age, 83 per cent have had no schooling, and among those with some training 73 per cent have school education within the limit of lower primary schools.—**Franklin C. H. Lee,** *Chinese Social and Political Science Review,* XIX (1935), 22–44. (IV*a.*) S. F. M.

313. **China and the Age of Enlightenment in Europe.**—The travel literature about China, developed in Europe after the explorations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was important in influencing the Age of Enlightenment in Europe. The French Deists, introduced to ancient Chinese history by Leibnitz and Voltaire, made a comparative chronology of Chinese dates with the flood story in the Bible and came to question the authenticity of Christian doctrines. This destruction was a factor in paving the way for the theory of the slow evolution of society through a vast period of time. The Deists likewise were impressed by the Chinese separation of morality from theology, and their cult of natural religion probably owed much to the Chinese theory of social morality. In the economics of the Physiocrats, too, we find the impress of Chinese culture. Quesnay found in the great oriental civilization the principle of agriculture as the most vital part of the corporate life of the nation, and his theory of legal despotism came from the fact that in China a system of absolute monarchy seemed to be in accord with the agricultural form of the nation's political economy.—**Arnold H. Rowbotham,** *Chinese Social and Political Science Review,* XIX (1935), 170–201. (I*b.*) S. F. M.

314. **The Ideologies of the T'ai P'ing Insurrection.**—The extensive T'ai P'ing rebellion in China that rose and fell in the middle of the nineteenth century had at its inception a fairly distinct cleavage between its religious and political aims. The religious ideas, a hybrid of Christian and indigenous thought, not only were definitely revolutionary but were counter to the wholly indigenous political aim of re-establishing the traditional Chinese form of government, in which the religious prerogative of the emperor to worship is an important political power. The inconsistencies were resolved by the installation of religious leaders in positions of political power, and in the process both religious and political ideologies were altered, though the former tended to remain more intact. The avowed purpose of the T'ai P'ings was no longer to re-establish the Ming Dynasty but rather to set up an entirely theocratic regime. The complete binding of the religion to the political movement was assurance that the extinction of the rebellion would mean the demise of the religion.—**Charles C. Stelle,** *Chinese Social and Political Science Review,* XX (1936), 140–49. (III*e.*) S. F. M.

315. **La Psychologie collective du raisonnement [The Social Psychology of Reasoning].**—While the logic of sentiment and belief compels us to realize that there is no watertight compartment separating intelligence from feeling, there is a valid distinction between "intellectual" reasoning and "passional" reasoning. Intellectual reasoning is characterized by the fact that it is based on the principle of formal logic and that its propositions accordingly are universally valid. Passional reasoning is mental activity conditioned by and based on the social life of the individual; its roots are in the social milieu. The latter has limited validity; its premises and conclusions are always specific judgments which hold only for individuals in the social group in which they have their origin. Men differ in their methods of reasoning and apply these methods differently from one another in different communities. There are thus as many forms of logic as there are distinct societies. This does not mean, however, that individual thinking is like that in the tower of Babel or in a madhouse. Every partial logic has a social origin. Each is differentiated from a more inclusive logic which expresses itself in the language and the concrete life of the community according to the division of groups in a society. Reasoning from this point of view is neither a mere subjective experience, as "psychologistic" logic would have us believe, nor an abstract relation between a thinker and an object, as metaphysics seems to contend, but a concrete social activity.—**Maurice Halbwachs,** *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung,* VII (1938), 357–75. (I*a.*) H. B.

316. **Ein graphischer Exhibitionist [A Graphic Exhibitionist].**—A male artist, forty-one years old and married, presents an interesting case of autoerotism. His marriage was sexually inadequate. He was arrested for scattering obscene drawings depicting

female autoerotism on the city streets. He experienced sexual stimulation and satisfaction from the belief that the drawings would be picked up by women. He also sent drawings to women who had advertised for positions in the newspapers. It was not necessary for him to know the women, and he made no effort to get in contact with them. His sexual satisfaction came solely from the imagined female excitement over seeing his drawings and reading the verses attached to them.—**Hauke,** *Kriminalistik*, XIII (1939), 222–23. (II*a*.) H. B.

317. **Der Brillenräuber [The Glasses Thief].**—A man forty years of age has for many years been strangely attracted to women wearing glasses. If they failed to respond to him, he experienced sexual excitement accompanied by compulsions to snatch their glasses off their faces. The act of tearing them off relieved his sexual tension. For a period of two years he frequently lay in wait on streets at night for young women wearing glasses. After snatching the glasses, he would either throw them into the fire or place them on the streetcar track. As he listened to them being ground to pieces under the trolley wheels he experienced considerable sadistic pleasure. His attraction to glasses was a sexual fetishism and their destruction an expression of repressed sadism.—**F. Meixner,** *Kriminalistik*, XIII (1939), 223–24. (II*a*.) H. B.

318. **The Role of Intelligence in the Social Process.**—The triumphs of intellect in the physical sciences have predisposed social scientists to visualize its complete reign in all departments of thought and activity. But the proper sphere of intellect is static experiences, for to abstract and classify as it does, its subject matter must be completely dead. The three great principles of science—uniformity of nature, causality, and objectivity—are meaningless with reference to living things. Hence, the striving for objectivity in the study of social life is a joke. Our knowledge of life can come only from within. One of the processes by which we make explicit and increase our understanding of life is through talk. All practical judgments, in the final analysis, are dominated by feeling, and the function of talk is to define and to make understandable these feelings. Intelligence plays a subordinate part. We need not be concerned about the goal of life, for ends in human life are forever indeterminable, and the significant thing is the expression of our present feelings.—**E. J. Urwick,** *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, I (1935), 64–76. (I*a*.) S. F. M.

319. **Schreckensherrschaft und ihre Presse [The Reign of Terror and Its Press].**—This investigation, as a section out of the history of the press, considers the relationship between the agitational press and street terrorism. A distinction is made between total terrorism, in which the terrorists themselves take control of the state, and partial terrorism, in which a minority by means of intimidation incites the majority to terroristic action which they would not voluntarily undertake. In the American War of Independence it is clear from all evidence that the revolt was the work of a radical minority, particularly of Samuel Adams, who through his *Boston Gazette* created discontent in the Colonies. The press served the Reign of Terror by leading to the incitement of "organized mass fury" by intimidation of the populace and to organized resistance by frightening the majority into ill-advised action. As an example of absolute terrorism the French Revolution is incomparable. Here the Girondists, the terrorists, usurped power from their leaders, the Jacobins, who feared to start a revolutionary war. The condition leading to the outbreak of violence was fostered by the agitational press, and throughout the period of terrorism the press was used to keep the minds of the people inflamed.—**Kurt Baschwitz,** *International Review for Social History*, I (1936), 273–310. (II*b*.) S. F. M.

320. **Population Movements in Canada, 1921–31.**—In the decade 1921–31 a net rural-urban migration of about 437,000 occurred in Quebec (high birth rates) and the Maritime Provinces (decline in rural employment). For Canada as a whole, urban population expansion exceeded urban natural increase appreciably more than the excess rural population, representing a growth due to foreign immigration. A radical change has taken place in both the geographic and the urban-rural settlement of current foreign immigrants during the past decade. Net immigration was predominantly urban for

Canada as a whole (75 per cent). Both urban and rural immigrations were predominantly to eastern Canada despite a selective policy designed to produce contrary results. For every province both the rural and the urban net migration from abroad included a disproportionate percentage of males. The percentage of males was generally greater in the net rural migration than in the net urban migration. Females predominated in the net rural-urban surplus for every province and in the net migration of Canadian born to those of other countries (chiefly the United States). The median age of females leaving the farm was considerably below that of the males, the disparity being greater in the West, with its extensive agriculture and a large population of foreign extraction. The median age of females leaving Canada was two years higher than that of females going from rural districts to Canadian cities. Male foreign immigrants going to rural regions were on the average several years younger than those settling in the urban centers. The median age of the foreign-born males going to the cities was approximately equal to that of Canadian-born males going from country to city. In general, a migrating population is composed largely of young adults in the most productive ages.—**W. B. Hurd and J. C. Cameron,** *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* I (1935), 222–45. (IV*a.*) R. D.

321. The Concept of a National Interest.—The "Canada First" movement of the early 1870's represented the first intrusion of the intellectuals as such into the discussion of Canadian public problems. It was a revolt against the traditional techniques of the Liberal and Conservative politicians who maintained power and national cohesion by bribing sectional interests. In the last analysis this movement was the expression of Toronto sectionalism clothing itself in the garments of nationalism. Canadian academic researchers still conduct their studies from the standpoint of political forms—the problems of federalism, for example—and tend to ignore the basic economic forces which lie behind them. In this sense they are bound to reach the same impasse as the "Canada First" movement. The fundamental process in Canadian life has been the concentration of economic power and with it political power, to which a necessary prelude was a federal political structure. While the concepts of frontier and section in the past have proved fruitful in historical analysis, they are losing their relevancy in the existing situation. In the light of present conditions a new type of economic synthesis must be actively sought by the statesmen with the co-operation of the social scientist who may also play a leading role providing he is willing to forego the nineteenth-century conception of himself as an impartial investigator with no values and biases. If the problems are attacked realistically, it will result in a "trial philosophy of national interest," such as C. A. Beard has been advocating in the United States, and will lead to the formation of objectives such as may reasonably be attained by the Canadian people. The problem becomes the control of the monopolistic hold on the instruments of production. This might well result, as before, in the identification of national interest with that of a particular group and offers no guaranteed way to eliminate conflicts between different interest groups. It might, however, result in the release of new energies and opportunities as an alternative to the present depression.—**F. H. Underhill,** *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* I (1935), 396–408. (III*e.*) R. D.

322. Toward a Sociology of Sovereignty.—The theory of sovereignty is a development of modern times. It is based upon the essence of the modern idea of the state which is the conception of law as command. The important questions which arise concern the nature of command and the content of law. The function which a sovereign power performs is to provide security and maintain order. Thus such power must support the *status quo.* Every sovereign power is established on the basis of definite property relationships and, by its nature, must maintain these relationships. Class relations may change gradually, but the sovereign always maintains the original legal position of each class. In the last resort the sovereign is the instrument of the dominant class and, although allowed a large freedom of action, must nevertheless move within a definite predetermined orbit. As long as the sovereign acts within this sphere government is susceptible to the influences envisaged by the theory of popular sovereignty.—**B. Handler,** *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* II (1936), 424–30. (III*e.*) R. D.

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LAW IN PARETO'S SOCIOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

Law is not the subject matter of a separate chapter in Pareto's sociological treatise and is not mentioned by him as one of the factors of social equilibrium. Legal phenomena, especially positive law and legal theory, are, however, analyzed by him in different parts of his work and are interpreted in terms of logical actions, residues, and derivations. When systematized, these statements throw new light on the difficult problem of the relative distance of various legal phenomena from behavior tendencies and conditions underlying them.

I

Pareto's monumental work is a treatise on general sociology.[1] No theories of particular social phenomena are to be expected there, especially no sociological theory of law. But, if a general theory is valid, it must explain the totality of the facts belonging to its province.[2] Therefore, Pareto's sociological theory, if it is correct, must be applicable to law.

Pareto's attitude as regards what men say about law is that of skepticism. "For centuries people have quarelled about [the term law], and so far they have reached no agreement as to what [it means]. . . . . Should we try to add other definitions to the many al-

[1] The English translation entitled *The Mind and Society* (4 vols.; New York, 1935) is quoted in this paper; numbers in parentheses refer throughout to sections, not to pages.

[2] L. J. Henderson, *Pareto's General Sociology: A Physiologist's Interpretation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), p. 18.

ready given?" (368).[3] His answer is negative, and this for the following reason: "The search for the definition presupposes the existence of the thing for which a definition is sought" (371). But the very existence of law, in the commonly accepted sense of the word, is denied by Pareto.

Does this not negate any attempt to formulate a Paretian sociology of law? It does not, for the concept of existence in Pareto's work is an extremely narrow one. In his opinion, the experimental world consists of things and relations which can be perceived by sense organs and, commonly, can be measured. It is obvious that law does not belong to the number of such things and relations: legal behavior cannot be distinguished from the illegal or from the legally irrelevant one by means of sensorial perception. Yet, in his treatise, Pareto deals much with things and relations which do not "exist" in his sense but which nevertheless play a large part in social life—with ideas, abstractions, opinions, beliefs, sentiments, etc. His main task is to reduce such things and relations (to which philosophy generally ascribes "ideal" existence) to observable facts belonging to the world of "reality" (in his sense). A Paretian sociology of law must, therefore, be an attempt to discover the "real" background of the theories, opinions, and abstractions in which law is expressed.

The essence of such a sociology of law can be expressed in the following propositions: Men perform certain acts which are called legal; performing them, they manifest persistent or frequently recurring biopsychic states (sentiments) which are in mutual dependence with conditions under which men live. These acts are sometimes logical, sometimes nonlogical.[4] In so far as they are nonlogical, men "clothe them with logical or pseudo-logical reasoning." They do so because the need for logical explanation is one of the basic tendencies of human behavior. In this way concrete and abstract theories on law are created, the constant parts of which are "residues" and the

[3] A little earlier the great Russian scholar, L. Petrazhitsky, began with the same remark his *Introduction to the Study of Law and Ethics* (3d ed.; St. Petersburg, 1908), I, 11.

[4] "Logical," in the terminology of Pareto, is an act in which the objective end and the subjective purpose coincide (151).

variable parts of which are "derivations." From the "principles" thus formed men deduce their laws.[5]

Pareto is aware of the contrast between his assertion that certain conditions and psychic states produce positive law, legal activities and legal theories, and the doctrine according to which "theories" produce law and legal activities; he discusses the doctrines of Sir Henry Maine and of Fustel de Coulanges and concludes: "A family, or some ethnic group, occupies a piece of land, comes to own flocks, and so on. . . . . The fact of perpetuity of occupation, of possession, is in all probability antecedent to any abstract concept of law of inheritance."[6]

A complete sociological theory based on the principles just mentioned should consist of (1) a study of the conditions which are correlated with certain psychic states basic for law; (2) a study of such states; (3) a study of actions produced by such states; and (4) a study of theories by means of which the basic sentiments are logically or pseudologically explained. Not all these studies have been undertaken by Pareto; especially is a theory of "conditions" almost completely lacking. Therefore, the development of the theory must start with the study of basic sentiments.[7]

II

According to Pareto, we are unable to observe directly the basic sentiments, but do so by studying their manifestations in frequently recurring logical or pseudological explanations (residues). Among the numerous and manifold sentiments analyzed by Pareto the group-persistence tendency is important for the understanding of the persistence of a custom (and within custom Pareto obviously includes rules of customary law). It "may be due . . . . to its having found support in a force superior to any opposing force" (1001)—i.e., the force of group persistence. Not infrequently the person observing a given custom can give no other reason for his conduct than the fact that "that is what people do."

[5] Pareto, *op. cit.*, 169, 407, 798, in connection with 306, n. 2.

[6] *Ibid.*, 256.

[7] As regards conditions of my *Introduction to the Sociology of Law* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), pp. 121–23.

More specific for legal phenomena is the sentiment of resistance to alterations in social equilibrium. If the social equilibrium "is altered, or thought of as altered, the individual suffers, even if he is not directly affected by the alteration" (1208). Everything which is offensive to one's sentiments as they stand in the state of social equilibrium to which he is accustomed[8] is expressed in the words

> that thing is unjust [1210] . . . . regardless of the number of individuals directly affected [1214]. If a person departs from the uniform rule, his conduct seems to jar and produces, quite apart from any reasoning, a sense of discomfort in the persons associated with him. An effort is made to eliminate the jar, now by persuasion, more often by censure, more often still by force [1126].

It is a far-spread sentiment. It places alterations in insignificant matters (e.g., in wearing clothes different from those prescribed by common fashion) on a par with alterations in very important matters (1212). An empiric correlation between this sentiment and the instinct of self-preservation is asserted: they evolve in inverse ratio (1213–14).

Furthermore, there is a tendency to impose similarity in belief and behavior on others: there exists, in society, a requirement of uniformity, an inclination on the part of certain individuals to force their own "morality" (the term "legal conviction" could have been added) upon others (1715).

A peculiar sentiment is also of great importance: "The feeling that the violator of a rule . . . . suffers an alteration of integrity, and important [is] also the feeling that the integrity can be restored" (1239). Here we have to search for the source of criminal law (1313), for the restoration of personal integrity is always united with specific sentiments inspired by "deserved misfortunes," which are contrasted to those inspired by "undeserved misfortunes" (1972).[9] Finally,

> through a combination of the residue of equilibrium with the residues of group-persistence, compound residues of great social importance are built up, corresponding to vigorous and powerful sentiments of the type very vaguely designated by the term "ideal of justice." . . . . At bottom . . . . is a feeling, vague and instinctive to be sure, that it is a good thing that resistance to disturbances

[8] In this way a connection with the group-persistence tendency is pointed at.

[9] Cf. N. S. Timasheff, "The Retributive Structure of Punishment," *Journal of Criminal Law*, September, 1937, pp. 396–405.

of the social order should not stand in direct ratio to the number of individuals affected, but should have a considerable force independently of any such number [1216].

Pareto's classification of residues (and of basic sentiments) is, of course, "the spade work of a pioneer."[10] It is very probable that his analysis was not exhaustive and that a number of other basic sentiments should be added to his list. Furthermore, the very important question of the similarity of the basic sentiments in the mentality of different group members (or of their large majority) does not arise in Pareto's system—for the basic sentiments are considered as the constant element in society, and only their relative intensity and their distribution among social classes (especially as regards the ruling élite) is susceptible to change. Yet it is obvious that this similarity is due not only to the primary constancy of the sentiments, but also to the uninterrupted interaction of group members; in certain situations, relations of men to men or to things are not only coolly perceived, but are emotionally colored, and similar emotional currents which arise in all, or almost all, group members are mutually inducted and reinforced. This is, probably, the necessary condition for creating moral and legal "theories,"[11] and the explanation of the relative similarity of "theories" expressed at a given time, in a given society, especially of legal theories.[12]

III

The basic sentiments are manifested in acts. Legal activities may be logical or nonlogical. Pareto speaks of "a certain number of actions connected with legal activities" as belonging to the class of logical conduct (152). On the other hand, he mentions that legal rules determine the behavior of human beings and give rise, in greater or lesser number, to nonlogical actions.

In what cases are legal actions logical? One could assume that the activity of the legislator is a logical one; but Pareto is of a different

[10] Cf. Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[11] Cf. G. Gurvitch, *L'Expérience juridique et la philosophie pluraliste du droit* (Paris, 1935), pp. 79 ff.

[12] T. Parsons (*The Structure of Social Action* [New York, 1934], pp. 238 ff.) speaks of a "common system of ultimate ends."

opinion. For the idea that law is nothing else than a particular expression of basic sentiments makes him rather skeptical as regards the possibility of transforming society by means of legislation.

> Those who pass laws and get them enforced sometimes aim at modifying residues, but they often find that they have worked to no purpose. If they have force at their disposal, they may modify certain ties and create others, but only within certain limits. Even the despot encounters such ties. . . . . A despotic government is no more able than a free government to enforce measures that are in too violent a conflict with the residues functioning in its subjects [2096, n. 1].

The practical application of law, he further states,

> can be done only by influencing sentiments and interests; and it must not be forgotten that the derivations which will have to be used for that purpose are something altogether different from the logico-experimental reasonings that served to discover the law best suited for a given end. . . . . If . . . . one is in the position to influence interests and sentiments, to modify them, the modification may have, in addition to the effects desired, other effects that are not in the least intended [1864].

Summing up, it might be said that there is no identity between the objective ends of a legislative act and the subjective ends of the legislators, and this is typical for nonlogical conduct.

Is the activity of judges a logical one? It would be so if it comprised merely the construction of syllogisms with legal rules as major premises and "facts" as the minor ones. But Pareto asserts that judicial decisions in a great extent manifest sentiments of the judges (which they, obviously, share with other group members) and that reference to written law is an *ex post facto* explanation of a decision gained in another way.[13]

In Pareto's opinion a logical legal action is one committed in order to avoid a sanction (324). It can be inferred that an action committed in order to gain some positive profit from law (inasmuch as the correct technique is applied) is also logical, as well as the action of a lawyer when he drafts a legal document, etc.

[13] "Court decisions," he says, "depend largely upon interests and sentiments operative in a society at a given moment; and also upon individual whims and chance events; and but slightly, and sometimes not at all, upon codes or written law" (466). When making such statements Pareto might be considered as a precursor of American neorealists in jurisprudence.

It is noteworthy that every time a legal action is logical it plays merely a minor part in the system of legal phenomena. This means that logical legal activity is, for Pareto, secondary, whereas primary legal actions, those establishing new patterns of conduct, are nonlogical; such are, for instance, the actions the regular recurrence of which forms customary law (256).

IV

As legal activities primarily belong to the class of nonlogical conduct, derivations, i.e., changeable explanations of acts in which basic sentiments are manifested, must play an important role in law; and the first impression of reading Pareto's work could be that law is nothing but a bulk of derivations belonging to the different subclasses of his general classification. This would be wrong; in Pareto's system there is place not only for legal derivations but also for logical legal theories, as well as for constant elements of nonlogical theories (residues, according to his definition). A special classification of legal theories should take into consideration their "distance" from the basic sentiments.

The "theories" which stand closest to the basic sentiments consist in ascribing rights and duties to individuals, and in expressing their conduct in the terms of just and unjust, ought to be or ought not to be. There is no doubt that such ascriptions, in Pareto's mind, are merely nonlogical theories. He speaks of duty as "an indefinite somewhat mysterious entity" (1400) and stresses that "there is no such person as justice" (1216). Yet the terms "right," "duty," "ought to be," "justice" form the main conceptual scheme of law. Every legal theory must be expressed in these terms; if it cannot be so expressed, the theory is nonlegal. This means that the ascription of rights, duties, etc., forms the constant element in legal theories; inasmuch as these theories are nonlogical, this scheme might be termed "the legal residue.[14]

This is an important point. In the *communis opinio doctorum* the constancy of the main conceptual scheme of law is either considered as based on tradition or deduced from certain metaphysical concepts.

[14] Pareto does not use this term; it is natural to evolve it when trying to apply Pareto's general sociology to legal phenomena.

Pareto's sociology explains this constancy by the presence of a constant factor—the persistence of basic legal sentiments.

On the other hand, Pareto's approach to legal theories shows that he is not at all blind to legal or moral values as is sometimes asserted. What Pareto denies is the influence on human behavior of "ideal things" which would exist independently of men and be imposed on them. But he is full of understanding as regards the sentiments manifested by the recognition of ethical and legal values.[15]

On the other hand, the fact that Pareto treats the main conceptual scheme of law as a kind of nonlogical theory does not hinder him from recognizing that primary legal derivations may become the objects of logical theories. The science of "juridical construction" (jurisprudence) is, of course, a complex of logical theories (2011). Jurisprudence and "pure economics" are "the only social sciences that are today at all exact and well developed" (824). "The science of juridical constructions has . . . . the merit of requiring few principles; but it does not have the advantage of dealing with quantities" (825) as does pure economics.

Sometimes generalizations stated by jurisprudence become "juridical principles" and validity (or real existence) is ascribed to them by jurists and lawyers. This is nonlogical conduct. For such principles "are appealed to because there is nothing else to appeal to, once one has deserted the logico-experimental field, and because they have the great merit of proving anything one desires to prove" (2571).[16]

V

In the discussion of legal theories, Pareto does not draw a sufficient distinction between (1) facts of law (acts determined by the ascription of rights and duties depending on a set of normative patterns, i.e., on legal rules); (2) scientific investigation and systematization of such acts and rules; and (3) philosophical speculation about these

[15] For a further discussion cf. my *Introduction to the Sociology of Law*, p. 23.

[16] It is not necessarily so in every case. If juridical principles are used "in conflicts between private citizens in societies in which they are generally accepted" they "accord more or less with reality. . . . . The same is to be said of their application to international conflicts" (2572).

acts and rules and about the scientific statements concerning them.[17] More than this, underestimating the authoritative element in law, Pareto is unable correctly to distinguish between law and morality. He denies the validity of the "grossly empiric" definition of law according to which law consists of a body of norms that are sanctioned by a public authority. Pareto says:

> Such a definition is satisfactory enough for the practical purposes of lawyer and judge; but it does not have the slightest scientific value, since it assumes for criteria elements that are secondary and changeable. . . . . An action passes from law to morality or from morality to law according to the will or caprice of the legislator. The classification, therefore, may register such will or caprice, but not the intrinsic character of that act. Moreover, such a classification becomes useless when, as was the case in epochs remotely past, no public authority interferes to proclaim or enforce private law [398].

Pareto's approach to the question, while corresponding to modern trends in jurisprudence,[18] can be refuted by "observable facts" and logical inference from them, i.e., by his own methods. First, even if the acts of legislators would merely express their "will or caprice," they are socially determined acts, and the investigation of the conditions which influence the volume of legal regulation of life belongs to the basic problems of the sociology of law. Second, the criterion discussed is not at all "secondary": the part which a rule commonly plays in social equilibrium depends very much on its being a legal or a nonlegal one; in the first case, a transgression commonly provokes a reaction on the part of organized power-structures; in the second case, it frequently produces a nonorganized social reaction of variable intensity. Third, the case of the "epochs remotely past" would be relevant only if it would be proved that primitive social regulation was already law; and this cannot be proved, and Pareto, in another place, correctly recognizes the existence of undifferentiated social regulation from which law was only gradually separated by an "analytical process" (469).

[17] The differentiation in the text is an application, to the problem of law, of the conceptual scheme of the "dimensions of reality" (cf. J. F. Brown, *Psychology and Social Order* [New York, 1936], pp. 284–90).

[18] For instance, G. Gurvitch, *L'Idée du droit social* (Paris, 1931); R. Maunier, "Folklore juridique," *Archives de philosophie de droit et de sociologie juridique*, Nos. 3 and 4 (1937), pp. 7–20.

It would be easy to improve this part of Pareto's sociology of law. The dominance feeling and the correlated inferiority feelings belong to basic sentiments (manifested in residues). In certain circumstances[19] such residues enter into combination with the residues from which "legal theories" are derived. This combination is essential for law; only after it originated was law created, whereas previous to that there was only "undifferentiated social regulation." On the other hand, the heterogeneous things which Pareto speaks of as "legal theories" could be classified as follows: The main conceptual scheme of law (right-duty-ought) can be applied: (1) either to concrete situations—then it is a jural relation—or (2) to every situation which corresponds to certain symptoms—then it is a legal rule. In both cases one can express the desire or the interest that rights and duties should be ascribed to individuals in a certain way; this is legal conviction. Or one can express the knowledge (which can be correct or wrong) that rights and duties are, independently of one's desires and interests, ascribed to individuals in a certain way, and that this ascription will, very probably, provoke certain activities of powerful agencies; this is positive law.

Now the interpretation of "legal conviction" becomes easy. It is the sum of legal derivations which are neither selected and fixed by power-structures nor sophisticated by science or philosophy; they play an important part in the formation of positive law, as well as in the development of jurisprudence and in the development of the philosophy of law, for they are nearer to the residues than positive law, science, or philosophy. This legal conviction was what Pareto had in mind when speaking of the many laws among which "nobody is the judge" (376).

VI

Finally, the general problem may be discussed: What is the place of law in Pareto's social equilibrium? In Pareto's general formula of equilibrium (2060) no place is given to law; but no place is ascribed to economics, politics, religion, art, or any other "factor" commonly

[19] For instance, when the manifestations of the basic legal sentiments are too weak to secure social equilibrium, so that an additional support becomes necessary, and when, in addition to this, there is, on the part of power-structures, an objective interest to support such manifestations (cf. *Introduction to the Sociology of Law, passim*).

studied in sociological treatises.[20] Pareto's work is an original dissection of society, a research of its molecular and not of the molar elements.[21] Therefore, Pareto's silence on law, economics, etc., as elements in equilibrium is not at all equivalent to a negation of their importance. They all play their part, but only inasmuch as they manifest some basic sentiments; it is these sentiments (and not the theoretical superstructure on them) that secure social equilibrium.

The role of law in securing equilibrium is obvious. Criminal law inhibits drives to violate it and, if the inhibition is insufficient, reinforces the totality of basic sentiments. Civil law secures and, eventually, restores that distribution of goods and of services in which the social equilibrium is expressed. Constitutional law secures the distribution of dominance and submission within the social system. By many parts of modern "social law" the degree of co-operation attained in a given society is secured, etc. Current theories ascribe these functions to legal rules, to the activity of the judges, etc. For Pareto not the rules or decisions as such do this, but the basic sentiments manifested in them. In so far as rules and decisions are adequate to these sentiments, the legal mechanism works. If they are not adequate, especially if there is no longer common consent regarding them, the legal mechanism becomes fictitious (2572).

Such ideas are now current in jurisprudence, the philosophy of law, and the sociology of law. They are usually expressed, however, in a generalized and vague form. The situation may be improved and the nature of the reality of law exactly determined, if a conceptual scheme is applied based on the idea of the distance of various legal phenomena from the basic "sentiments" (behavior tendencies) and from the conditions underlying them. In this way some order could be introduced within the field of "legal conviction," so very much misused in modern science in order to ascribe validity to rules which exist only as wishes or desires of laymen or as theories in the minds of scholars.

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[20] The only exception is made for science: the state of knowledge belongs, in Pareto's doctrine, to the elements in social equilibrium.

[21] These terms are applied in the same sense as by E. Ch. Tolman, *Purposive Behavior in Animals and Men* (New York, 1932), pp. 1–22.

GERMAN FERTILITY TRENDS, 1933–39

CONRAD AND IRENE B. TAEUBER

ABSTRACT

National Socialist population theories and policies are an intensification of elements already present in German culture. The policies with reference to fertility involve direct financial aids intended to increase marriages and alleviate the economic burden of children; honors, privileges, and advancement to those with children; intensive propaganda; and the enforcement of the abortion law. The crude birth rate increased from 14.7 in 1933 to 19.7 in 1938; the increases were general for all birth orders and all durations of marriage. According to Burgdörfer, approximately one-third of the increase of legitimate births in the Old Reich, 1933–38, was due to the increase in marriages, while two-thirds was due to an actual increase in marital fertility. The fertility of marriages with loans was higher than that of marriages without loans. It is impossible to disentangle the effects of the various elements operating to produce the increase in fertility; a decline in the incidence of induced abortions was undoubtedly one of them. The policies have been equally efficacious in Austria. The German rate is still a controlled rate, however, and considerably below that desired to maintain the increment of males nineteen to twenty years of age at not less than the increment of 1930.

The development of industrial and urban civilization has been accompanied by a declining fertility which, beginning at different dates in different countries, has progressed to the stage where concern over the possibility of averting population decline has replaced fear of overpopulation in Western culture. On the one hand, we have studies of the effects of modern trends, generally pessimistic in tone, and of the modifications necessary in a mature capitalistic system if it is to function without the dynamic impetus of increasing numbers. On the other hand, there are both studies and national experiments in the pecuniary and other motivations required to secure adequate voluntary reproduction, or at least to prevent further decline. To date, Germany is the only country which has succeeded in appreciably raising its birth rate through deliberate national policies. The significance of the experience seems great enough to warrant a further brief analysis of the policies and achievements up to the late months of 1939.[1] The demographic structure

[1] For earlier discussions in American journals see P. K. Whelpton, "Why the Large Rise in the German Birth Rate?" *American Journal of Sociology*, XLI (November, 1935), 299–313; Frank H. Hankins, "German Policies for Increasing Births," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII (March, 1937), 630–52. See also *Population Index*, III (January, 1937), 4; III (April, 1937), 58–59; IV (April, 1938), 69–70; and V (April, 1939), 75–76.

and vital statistics of the belligerent countries will be affected profoundly by the present conflict; any discussion of trends in the next few years is purely conjectural. It seems probable, however, that the trends which began with the upswing of the German birth rate in the middle of 1933 will be interrupted, at least temporarily, if not definitely changed.

The German population theories and policies were not initiated by the National Socialist regime. In 1929 the Statistisches Reichsamt published a detailed analysis of the decline of the birth rate from 1841 to 1927 and its significance.[2] Estimates of future population were made, based on the census of 1927, and assuming either a stationary fertility or a fertility declining at various rates.[3] Predictions of future population, official or otherwise, were held to indicate the imminent decline of Germany as a world-power.[4] The approaching deficit of births, due to the war, was quite generally known. Friedrich Burgdörfer's warnings of the tragic future of the German people received wide attention.[5] Abortion was a subject of much public debate, the radicals tending to argue for its legalization in order to avoid the great social and health costs of the more or less clandestine system then existing. The conservative groups, on the other hand, decried the prevalence of both abortion and divorce, identifying them with communism. The relative decline of the "Nordics" and the "Slavonization" of Europe were long-stand-

[2] Germany, Statistisches Reichsamt, "Beiträge zum deutschen Bevölkerungsproblem: Der Geburtenrückgang im deutschen Reich," Sonderheft zu *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, No. 5 (Berlin, 1939), pp. 1–37.

[3] Germany, Statistisches Reichsamt, "Ausblick auf die zukünftige Bevölkerungsbewegung des deutschen Reichs," *Statistik des deutschen Reichs*, Band CCCCI, Teil II, Anhang (Berlin, 1930).

[4] The following works are typical of a vast literature in the field, dating from before the World War to the Nazi accession to power in 1933: Wilhelm Hartnacke, *Bildungswahn—Volkstod!* (München: Lehmann, 1932); August Lösch, *Was ist vom Geburtenrückgang zu halten?* (Württemburg: Heidenheim, 1932); Julian Marcuse, *Die Beschränkung der Geburtenzahl, ein Kulturproblem* (München: Ernst Reinhardt, 1913); Hans Rost, *Beiträge zur Moralstatistik* (Paderhorn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1913).

[5] *Der Geburtenrückgang und seine Bekämpfung: Die Lebensfrage des deutschen Volkes* (Berlin: Verlagsbuchhandlung R. Schoetz, 1929). For Burgdörfer's position see also *Volk ohne Jugend* (2d ed.; Berlin-Grunewald: Kurt Vowinckel, 1934), and *Volker am Abgrund* (München: Lehmann, 1936).

ing issues. The coexistence of great alarm over the declining birth rate and insistence upon the necessity of an expanding room for an overcrowded people antedates the present regime.

The Nazi ideology represented an intensification of elements already present in German culture. In the writings of the racialists, the demographers, and the popularizers there is always the basic assumption that a vital nation will be characterized by the will to live, individually as well as collectively, and therefore will reproduce. Conversely, population decline, or even the failure to grow, is an index of degeneration.[6] Coupled with this is the racial ideology, and a conception of the relation of *Blut und Boden* approaching mysticism. The peasant and the rural population are of supreme importance; their numbers must be maintained for population replenishment, political stability, economic self-sufficiency, the maintenance of pure stock, and the defensive settlement of the border areas.[7] A basic element in *Wehrkraft* is size of population; the size of the military contingents must be maintained if a nation is to achieve its historic destiny.[8] Finally, along with the insistence of adequate reproduction as a *sine qua non* of national vitality, there is the emphasis on the inevitability of the expansion of the crowded Germanic peoples confined within a limited area.[9]

[6] For instance, a recent article compared the rates of growth of the German population, 1933–39, with those of France, 1931–36, in order to indicate the vitality of Germany and the decadence of France. See "Von 1933 bis 1939: Wandlungen der Bevölkerungsstruktur und Wirtschaftsstruktur des Reiches," *Wirtschafts-Dienst*, XXIV (October 27, 1939), 1352–54. Similarly, a volume published in 1933 viewed with serious alarm the greater rate of increase of men in the military ages in Poland as contrasted with Germany. See Otto Helmut, *Volk in Gefahr: Der Geburtenrückgang und seine Folgen für Deutschlands Zukunft* (München: Lehmann, 1933).

[7] Horst Rechenbach *et al.*, *Bauernschicksal ist Volkes Schicksal: Blutsfragen des deutschen Volkes* (Berlin: Reichsnährstand Verlags-Gesellschaft, 1935).

[8] Friedrich Burgdörfer, *Volk und Wehrkraft, Krieg und Rasse* (Berlin: Metzner, 1936).

[9] Since the present analysis is limited to quantitative trends in fertility neither the eugenic measures nor those for the maintenance of "racial purity" will be discussed in detail. The number of persons sterilized has not been great enough to have any appreciable effect on total national fertility, and though there are eugenic prerequisites to marriage, marriage loans, family grants and loans, etc., their net effect on national fertility is difficult to determine. Similarly, the anti-Semitic measures, while of tremendous import culturally, can have no very great direct quantitative influence on the population trends of the Old Reich.

The population policy of National Socialist Germany has involved direct financial aids intended to increase marriages and eliminate or alleviate the costs of rearing children; honors, privileges, and advancement to those with children; an intensive propaganda campaign; and the enforcement of the pre-existing abortion laws. One of the first measures introduced was a system of marriage loans. The original act was passed in July, 1933, and went into operation in August, 1933. Revenue derived from the income tax was made available to finance a system of marriage loans ranging up to one thousand Reichsmarks, amortized over a long period, with one-fourth to be canceled at the birth of each child. The loans were limited to couples of "Nordic" ancestry, i.e., with no Jewish grandparents, who were "desirable citizens," and who were eugenically fit. The interrelationship of demographic and other policies is apparent in the marriage-loan system. Originally, one of the basic aims was to help in solving the unemployment problem through withdrawing women from the labor market. As the German economy approached a labor shortage, this provision was modified to permit women to retain their positions.[10] The system of loans was also used to implement the agrarian policy. An early modification, designed to help stem the migration from farms to cities, provided that agricultural laborers could have their loans canceled if they remained in agriculture a specified number of years, regardless of their reproductive performance.

From August, 1933, to the end of 1938 there were 1,121,707 marriages with loans. The proportion fluctuated from 37.4 per cent of all marriages in August–December, 1933, to 24.1 per cent in 1935, 37.8 per cent in 1938, and 51.4 per cent in the first quarter of 1939. The proportionate increase in 1938 and 1939 was probably due to the change in the law enabling women to secure loans and keep their jobs. However, the significant fact is that from 1934 through 1938 almost two-fifths of all marriages received loans.[11] The

[10] "Drittes Gesetz zur Änderung des Gesetzes über Förderung der Eheschliessungen vom 3. November, 1937," *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, XIX (first February number, 1939), 110–11.

[11] These figures and others not specifically referred to other sources are computed from information currently published in *Wirtschaft und Statistik*. See especially Germany, Statistisches Reichsamt, "Die Ehestandsdarlehen im 4. Vierteljahr und im Jahre 1938," *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, XIX (first February number, 1939), 110–11.

Statistisches Reichsamt currently publishes data on the number of partial cancellations of loans for live births. Since cancellations occur for first and later births, one would expect the ratios of cancellations to all births to increase until the system had been in operation a fairly long period of time. The ratio increased from 13.4 in 1934 to 17.4 in 1937 and 21.4 in 1938.

Widespread systems of family allowances and grants were instituted to lessen further the pecuniary disadvantages of having children. The provisions have tended to be extended and the financial benefits increased fairly constantly. The law of August 31, 1937, concerning children's grants and supplemental wages, the sixth concerning children's aid to large families, illustrates the interpenetration of racial and political ideology in the various phases of population policies.[12] It must be remembered that the specific provisions which follow refer to the situation as of August 31, 1937. Innumerable changes have been made since that time, generally in the direction of the extension and liberalization of the system. In order to be eligible for grants, according to the law of 1937, a family had to have four or more children under sixteen, including grandchildren, stepchildren, and adopted children other than Jewish. The parents had to be German citizens of German or similar blood, in possession of all civil rights, and "willing and suited to serve truly the German people and Reich." Their reputation and social behavior had to be such that it could be assumed that the children's aid would be used to improve the economic condition of the family. There were to be no eugenic or hygenic reasons making it eugenically undesirable to aid the children. There was political clearance: the civic and eugenic virtues of the applicant had to be certified by a form secured from the N.S.D.A.P. In addition, there was a means test. A single grant up to one hundred Reichsmarks per child, not over one thousand Reichsmarks per family, could be secured to use for furniture, household equipment, clothing, capital for new settle-

[12] This summary is taken from the text of the law as reproduced in *Archiv für Bevölkerungswissenschaft (Volkskunde) und Bevölkerungspolitik*, VIII (April, 1938), 132–41. This periodical published many of the laws containing important changes. See "Neue Gesetze auf dem Gebiete der Bevölkerungspolitik," *ibid.*, IX (April, 1939), 159–60, and "Einkommensteuergesetz vom 27. Februar 1939," *ibid.*, June, 1939, pp. 229–30.

ment, machines or tools necessary in the occupation, milk cows or goats, etc. Continuous grants, usually ten Reichsmarks per child per month, were subject to similar requirements.[13]

Family allowances and grants of various types, both in public employment and in private industry, had existed prior to the National Socialist regime, and many of these systems continue to exist side by side with the national system.[14] Some occupational groups, such as the apothecaries, have very comprehensive plans of their own designed both to equalize the incomes of those with various sizes of families and to give job preference to men as compared with women and to men with families as compared to men without families.[15]

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the wide ramifications of the privileges and advantages accruing to families with children. They range from special benefits to expectant mothers, confinement grants, maternity assistance, and income-tax reductions to a system of honorary godfathers, special privileges for mothers and children on public transportation, and rights to wear badges of merit of various orders, dependent on the number of children born.[16] Neither can we discuss here the very important question of the fiscal costs and the economic consequences of this

[13] For the continuous grants at this time, i.e., August 31, 1937, there had to be five or more children under sixteen. The family property could not exceed fifty thousand Reichsmarks but was raised ten thousand Reichsmarks for the sixth and each additional child. The income limit was generally low, two thousand Reichsmarks in most cases, though its exact amount was dependent on the source of income and the number of children. There were some exceptions. Grants could be made to widowed, unmarried, or divorced women with fewer than five children under sixteen. Other families with less than five children could secure grants on proof of special need. Officials, soldiers, and the bureaucracy had other types of supplemental wages.

[14] For a recent survey, in English, of the German family allowance schemes see Mary T. Waggaman, "Family Allowances in 1937 and 1938," *Monthly Labor Review*, XLVIII (May, 1939), 1026–45.

[15] H. Schlipp, "Erfahrungen mit der Zuschusskasse (Familienausgleichskasse) der deutschen Apotheker," *Archiv für Bevölkerungswissenschaft (Volkskunde) und Bevölkerungspolitik*, VIII (August, 1938), 1265–75.

[16] See "Verordnung des Führers und Reichskanzlers über die Stiftung des Ehrenkreuzes der deutschen Mutter," *Archiv für Bevölkerungswissenschaft und Bevölkerungspolitik*, IX (February, 1939), 71–72.

widely ramified system of financial aids.[17] We are also omitting discussion of the peasant settlement movement, the *Erbhof*, or hereditary estate system, and the drastic attempts to curb migration toward western Germany, and especially toward the cities.[18]

What have been the achievements? The birth rate has increased significantly against a generally stationary or downward trend in other Western industrialized countries. As against a pre-war birth rate of 26.9 in 1913, the rate had declined to 14.7 by 1933 (Table 1). In 1930–32 the net reproduction rate was 0.76, and the intrinsic rate of natural increase −8.8. The live birth rate had increased to 19.7 in 1938, and the net reproduction rate had increased to 0.945.[19] This increase in the birth rate has been fairly general for all birth orders and all durations of marriage. First births constituted 38.2 per cent of all births in 1936 and 36.5 per cent in 1938, second births, respectively, 27.5 and 27.7 per cent, third births 14.7 and 15.4 per cent, fourth births 8.0 and 8.4 per cent, fifth births 4.6 and 4.8 per cent, and sixth and higher birth orders 7.0 and 7.2 per cent. Table 2 presents detailed comparisons of births by birth order in 1937 as compared with 1933 for selected durations of marriage. It will be noticed that for all durations of marriage the increases were greater for second, third, and fourth than for first births. The proportionate increases were greatest for marriages of ten to fifteen years' duration. This may be related to a comparatively greater decline in the practice of abortion in these marriage groups, although we have no valid substantiating data for this hypothesis.

Speculations as to the causes of this general increase in births run the gamut from the popular imputation of the increase to the illegitimate offsprings of the Storm Troopers or to the new divorce law which results in older men divorcing their middle-aged wives, marrying young girls, and rearing second families, to the Nazi tendency to attribute the entire increase to the spiritual rejuvenation of the

[17] For an excellent detailed description and analysis of provisions and of their economic and fiscal consequences see Burgdörfer's section, "Bevölkerungspolitik," pp. 207–357, in Alfred Kuhn, Martin Staemmler, and Friedrich Burgdörfer, *Erbkunde, Rassenpflege, Bevölkerungspolitik* (4th ed.; Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1938).

[18] See Hankins, *op. cit.*, for a discussion of these related population policies.

[19] See *Population Index*, V (July, 1939), 226.

German people. One could almost construct a map of the political sympathies at any given time by analyzing the evaluation of the

TABLE 1

VITAL RATES FOR GERMANY* AND AUSTRIA†

Year	Rate per 1,000 Population			
	Marriages	Live Births	Deaths	Excess of Births over Deaths
Germany:				
1913	7.8	26.9	14.8	12.1
1932	7.9	15.1	10.7	4.4
1933	9.7	14.7	11.2	3.5
1934	11.1	18.0	10.9	7.1
1935	9.7	18.9	11.8	7.0
1936	9.1	19.0	11.8	7.2
1937	9.1	18.8	11.7	7.1
1938	9.4	19.7	11.7	8.0
1st quarter	6.7	19.9	12.2	7.7
2d quarter	11.0	20.0	12.1	7.9
3d quarter	9.1	19.3	10.7	8.6
4th quarter	10.9	19.6	11.9	7.7
1939				
1st quarter	7.1	20.7	14.3	6.4
2d quarter	11.1	21.0	12.5	8.5
3d quarter	11.0	20.4	10.5	9.9
Austria:				
1937	6.9	12.8	13.4	− 0.6
1938	12.7	14.1	14.2	− 0.1
1st quarter	6.4	13.9	15.4	− 1.5
2d quarter	11.8	13.8	14.9	− 1.1
3d quarter	13.3	13.3	12.2	− 1.1
4th quarter	20.1	15.3	14.2	1.1
1939				
1st quarter	18.6	19.7	19.1	0.6
2d quarter	17.3	20.2	14.8	5.4
3d quarter	16.1	21.5	12.5	9.0
Vienna:				
1937	6.8	6.1	13.6	− 6.9
1938	15.5	7.4	14.3	− 7.6
1939				
1st quarter	21.8	12.6	19.1	− 6.5

* Germany includes the Saar, but not Austria and the Sudeten area. The rates given here are for the Ostmark, which differs only slightly in area from the former Austria.

† Data from *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, XIX (second April number, 1939), 334–38; XIX (first July number, 1939), 524–25; and XIX (second December number, 1939), 775–77.

causes of the increase contained in the so-called scientific periodicals of the various countries.

The marriage-loan system, the transition to full employment, the return of optimism concerning the future among large masses, and other factors produced a large increase in marriages after the Nazi accession to power. And any appreciable increase in marriages is likely to be followed by an increase in births. Friedrich Burgdörfer made an attempt to measure the increase in births due to the in-

TABLE 2*

LEGITIMATE BIRTHS PER 1,000 MARRIED WOMEN UNDER FORTY-FIVE BY BIRTH ORDER FOR MARRIAGES OF SELECTED DURATIONS 1937 IN RELATION TO 1933 (1933=100)

Duration of Marriage (Years)	Total	Birth Order					
		1	2	3	4	5	6 and Higher
1.....	106.7	107.4	101.6	108.1	.....	.....	.....
5.....	135.5	120.1	145.0	137.3	128.5	124.0	.....
10.....	151.2	156.7	180.9	164.6	149.1	132.6	129.0
15.....	142.3	180.0	256.3	211.4	169.6	147.8	106.1
20+.....	96.5	50.0	100.0	150.0	138.5	122.2	87.8
Total	125.7	119.5	138.0	136.0	127.2	118.0	103.4

* Adapted from *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, XIX (first April number, 1939), 283–86. Data are for the *Altreich*.

crease in marriages, as distinct from that due to other factors, the latter being designated as a "real increase in fertility."[20] Burgdörfer computed for each year a basic or expected number of births, which was the number that would have occurred if the number of marriages per year had remained as in 1932 and the age-specific fertility as in 1933. Subtracting this basic number of births from the total

[20] "Familienstatistik und Fruchtbarkeitsmessung: Neue Aufgaben und neue Wege der deutschen Bevölkerungsstatistik," *Revue de l'Institut international de statistique*, V (October, 1937), 212–26; "Die neue deutsche Bevölkerungsentwicklung im gesamteuropäischen Rahmen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der zahlenmässig erfassbaren Auswirkungen bevölkerungspolitischer Massnahman," *Archiv für Bevölkerungswissenschaft (Volkskunde) und Bevölkerungspolitik*, VII (November–December, 1937), 321–47; and *Congrès international de la population*, VII (Paris, 1937), 165–95. For an explanation of the method and its significance see Conrad and Irene B. Taeuber, "Measures of Changes in Fertility in Germany," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXXIII (December, 1938), 709–12.

number of births for a given year gave the total increase, presumably due in their entirety to National Socialist policies. The proportion of this total increase due to the increase in marriages was computed by assuming that the new marriages also manifested fertility conditions as of 1933. The residual left after subtracting this increase due to additional marriages from the total computed increase was

TABLE 3*

THE INCREASE IN LEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN GERMANY, 1933–38

Year	Total Number	Basic Number†	Increase in Births		
			Total	Due to Increase in Marriages	"Real" Increase in Fertility
1933	892,800	873,800	19,000	19,000	.....
1934	1,125,500	867,900	257,600	74,700	182,900
1935	1,195,300	862,400	332,900	120,500	212,400
1936	1,210,000	857,700	352,300	127,700	224,600
1937	1,207,500	855,300	352,200	131,300	220,900
1938	1,277,200	849,900	427,300	142,400	284,900
Total	6,908,300	5,167,000	1,741,300	615,600	1,125,700

* *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, XIX (first April number, 1939), 285. These data refer to the area of the *Altreich*.

† The number expected if the number of marriages had remained as in 1932 and the age specific fertility rates as in 1933.

ascribed to a "real" increase in fertility. He attributed 1,741,300, or 25 per cent of the 6,908,300 legitimate births from 1933 through 1938 to the existence of National Socialism (Table 3). Of the total increase, 615,000, or 35 per cent, were due to the increase in the number of marriages, while 1,125,700, or 65 per cent were due to an actual increase in marital fertility. As Burgdörfer says with reference to the 1934–37 increase, "Die deutschen Mütter haben dem Nationalsozialistischen Reich in vier Jahren sozusagen einen vollen Geburtsjahrgang überplanmässig geschenkt."[21]

[21] Kühn, Staemmler, and Burgdörfer, *op. cit.*, p. 300. Burgdörfer's computations probably give a maximum figure for the increase in births due to National Socialist policies, since they are based on the tacit assumption that, had the Nazis not come into power, the birth rate and the marriage rate would have remained at the low levels of 1933 and 1932, respectively. On the other hand, this computed increase is not affected by the changing age composition, and especially the declining numbers of women enter-

If we accept Burgdörfer's estimate that approximately one-third of the total increase in fertility from 1933 through 1938 was due to the increase in marriages, then we still have to explain two-thirds of the total increase. The only one of the population policies whose direct effects can be measured with any degree of accuracy is that of the marriage loans. These loans may have operated to increase fertility in two ways: first, through an increase in the number of marriages over what would otherwise have occurred; or, second, through a greater fertility of couples with loans, who received a debt reduction of approximately Rm. 250 for each live birth up to the fifth. Data on the fertility of marriages with and without loans are available for the years 1933–35. In these years, in Germany without the Saar, there were 520,455 marriages with loans and 1,485,334 marriages without loans. The number of births, including stillbirths, per 1,000 marriages was 590 for the marriages with loans and 402 for the marriages without loans. One cannot conclude, however, that the marriage loans increased the fertility of the marriages 47 per cent, since there undoubtedly were social and economic factors differentiating the two groups.[22]

A decrease in the incidence of abortions appears to have been an important factor in producing the increase in live births. Data from the General Sickness Insurance Fund of Berlin indicate that the number of abortions per 100 normal births was 103.4 in 1929, 16.8 in 1935, 16.2 in 1936, and 18.1 in 1937.[23] Although these and similar

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ing the reproductive ages, since it is an estimate of what the total fertility would have been had the age-specific rates remained as in the specified prior years. It is interesting to note that, if these estimates are accepted as correct, the increase of births attributed to National Socialist policies between the censuses of 1933 and 1939 would account or over one-half of the entire natural increase for the period. Over one-third would be due to the increase in marital fertility alone. For preliminary results of the 1939 census, see Germany, Statistisches Reichsamt, "Die Wohnbevölkerung im deutschen Reich auf Grund der Volkszählung vom 17. Mai 1939. Vorläufiges Ergebnis," *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, XX (second January number, 1940), 25–30.

[22] See Kühn, Staemmler, and Burgdörfer, *op. cit.*, pp. 315–16. A very large proportion of those receiving loans come from the lower social and economic classes. In addition, couples desiring children, who presumably would have a higher fertility in any event, would be more likely to secure loans.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 305.

figures available for other cities and population groups can have only general indicative value, one would expect a decline in abortions for several reasons. The enforcement of the abortion law existing when the National Socialist government came into power was made much more drastic. In addition, the system of marriage loans and other policies which increased marriages would tend to result in a decrease of abortions. Also, if unplanned conceptions occurred after there were already several children in the family, there would be special facilities available during pregnancy and parturition, and the additional birth might cancel a fourth of an existing marriage loan, increase the children's allowances received by the family, or lead to other material or honorary rewards. If one can judge by American experience, the data on birth increases, 1933–37, by order of birth and duration of marriages suggest a probable decrease in abortions.[24]

It is important to remember, however, that a decrease in abortions must itself be explained. There is no evidence available which would enable one even to surmise the proportion of the decrease due solely to the increased difficulties and dangers of procuring abortions, as contrasted with the proportion of the decrease due to the more positive factors in the population policy. Even if the decrease were due primarily to the negative and punitive factors, however, there would remain the fact that the government was able to enforce regulations which contravened the basic practices of an appreciable proportion of the population. Glass's analysis of the experience of various countries indicated the almost insurmountable difficulties in decreasing the prevalence of abortions where the practice was a part of the mores of any significant part of the population.[25] In other

[24] Studies of the incidence of induced abortions in the United States yield some evidence of an increase in second and third pregnancies, especially among the lower-income groups. See Dorothy G. Wiehl and Katharine Berry, "Pregnancy Wastage in New York City," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XV (July, 1937), 229–47; see also Regine Stix, "Birth Control in a Midwestern City. I," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XVII (January, 1939), 89–90.

[25] D. V. Glass, "The Effectiveness of Abortion Legislation in Six Countries," *Modern Law Review*, II (September, 1938), 97–125. An Inter-departmental Committee was appointed in England in May, 1937, to investigate the prevalence of abortion, the existing laws, and steps necessary to reduce the maternal morbidity and mortality arising from abortions. After a detailed analysis of English experience and a survey of the laws in sixteen foreign countries, the Committee concluded that "to attempt by

words, the decrease in abortions rather than being in itself a cause may be merely one of the mechanisms through which the more basic causes operated to produce an increase in live births.

Any satisfactory explanation of the increase would have to be based on detailed psychological studies of the motivations causing the individual families to have additional children. After all, the national "will to live" must manifest itself in the reproductive performance of individual men and women. No data at present available enable us to disentangle the intricate web of interrelationships between the various factors influencing the millions of individuals involved: the increased job security and belief of the masses in the future of the state and its individual members; the prestige involved in doing what is constantly stated to be one's duty to the state; the pecuniary and other rewards for having children, or at least the decreased economic disadvantages of having them; the increased difficulty of securing abortions; or even the necessity of having a child or children in order to hold one's job or indicate one's loyalty to the party and the state. In this connection it may be significant that the population policy measures of the state appear to have reached a stage of diminishing returns. As already indicated, marriage loans have been made available to couples, even though the wife maintains her position after marriage. The provisions for children's allowances were liberalized in 1938 by increasing the upper wage or salary limit of eligible families and making benefits available to third and fourth as well as fifth and subsequent children. These changes increased the number of children eligible to receive benefits from about half a million to about two million.

It is significant to note that the policies appear to have been equally efficacious in Austria. The German laws were made applicable to Austria in an order of March 30, 1938.[26] The marriage rate for

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social and economic measures to relieve the financial difficulties frequently associated with childbirth and parenthood is fundamentally a sound approach to the problem." See England, Ministry of Health and Home Office, *Report of the Inter-departmental Committee on Abortion* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939).

[26] "Verordnung über die Einführung von Vorschriften auf dem Gebiet der Förderung der Eheschliessungen und der Gewährung von Kinderbeihilfen an kinderreiche Familien im Land Österreich vom 30. März 1938," *Archiv für Bevölkerungswissenschaft (Volkskunde) und Bevölkerungspolitik*, VIII (July, 1938), 214–15.

all Austria increased from 6.4 in the first quarter of 1938 to 18.6 in the first quarter of 1939; the birth rate increased from 13.9 to 19.7. In the third quarter of 1939, the Austrian birth rate was slightly above that for Germany itself. The birth rate in Vienna increased from 6.6 in the first quarter of 1938 to 12.6 in the first quarter of 1939. The official report of these increases for Austria, and especially for Vienna, concluded as follows: "Diese wenigen Zahlen sind Beweis genug dafür, dass für das Volk Österreichs die Heimkehr in das Reich eine wirkliche Erlösung aus seelischer und wirtschaftlicher Not bedeutete."[27]

The extent to which Germany has raised her birth rate should not be overestimated. The 1938 rate was approximately the same as that for 1926. The net reproduction rate in 1938 was still only 0.945, significantly greater than that of 0.76 for 1930–32, but still below that necessary for permanent replacement of the population. Estimates of the future population of Germany, including Austria, were made on the basis of the results of the census of June 16, 1933, and the life-tables of 1932–34, on the assumptions of a continuation of the specific fertility rates of 1936 by age and duration of marriage, a further decline of infant mortality, and a trend in Austrian fertility similar to the German trend after 1933. These hypotheses assume a 7.5 per cent deficiency of children below those necessary to maintain the population at its size in 1930. Under these assumptions, the maximum population of 80,535,000 would be reached in 1970, and there would be a decline to 77,031,000 by the year 2000. However, the Germans insist that if the tasks of the economy and defense of the Third Reich are to be fulfilled, the number of men nineteen to twenty years of age, i.e., the military contingent, must be kept at not less than its size in 1930, i.e., 755,000 in the former area of the Reich. Additional predictions were issued based on the assumption that the number of births necessary to replace the men nineteen to twenty years of age would be achieved by 1943, by which time the population development in Austria and the Sudeten area would have become similar to that in the former Reich. These assumptions indicated a total population of 98,790,000 in the year 2000, with eventual stabilization at 102,000,000. However, the basic fact is that this

[27] See *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, XIX (second April number, 1939), 335.

estimated future population, deemed the desirable one from the standpoint of existing national policy, would require a further fertility increase of 20 per cent above the age-specific fertility schedule of 1938.[28]

Whether a larger or a smaller population is preferable from the standpoint of the total German economy or from the standpoint of individual security and standards of living within that economy is beyond the scope of the present analysis. The German experience derives general significance because it is the only case in which deliberate national policies, perhaps aided by other changes in the culture and beliefs of the people, have increased the fertility of an entire nation to an appreciable extent. The trend of fertility in 1937, 1938, and early 1939 indicates a practical plateau, with a slight upward trend. Whether the national policies can produce the still further increases in fertility deemed necessary for the maintenance of national power probably will remain an unanswered question for a considerable period of time.

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COMMENT

Any comment on the Taeubers' report on the recent trend of the German birth rate must be tangential rather than direct. The paper itself is designed to be informative; within the limits set it is clear and direct and, granting a reasonable degree of accuracy in the primary data, adequate. There is no intention here to present an adverse criticism of the report. It may, however, not be impertinent to raise, explicitly, certain questions that tend to put the report within a general theoretical framework that the Taeubers perhaps imply but are not in the present connection concerned formally to state.

In any type of secular social organization there appears to be an inherent conflict between the interests of individuals and families and the demands of the ruling classes. The former fare best when they are least burdened by offspring; when time and effort can be directed to personal achievement. Kipling's assertion that "be it down to Gehenna or up to the throne, he travels the fastest

[28] Germany, Statistisches Reichsamt, "Die voraussichtliche Bevölkerungsentwicklung im deutschen Reich," *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, XVIII (first December number, 1938), 971–75; also "Die voraussichtliche Bevölkerungsentwicklung im deutschen Reich: Zweite Annahme," *ibid.*, XIX (second March number, 1939), 247–50.

who travels alone" verbalizes the general but often inarticulate interest of the individual in the secondary type of social organization. But it is in the interests of the ruling groups—whether economic, nationalistic, or ecclesiastical—that numbers grow and densities increase. A dense and increasing peasantry and a numerous industrial proletariat are conducive to rapid economic exploitation, to the maintenance of military contingents adequate to assure the achievement of the national destiny, and to promote the greater glory of God. At any rate, any excursion through the literature of social thought shows the individual searching for means to control the family size at the same time that it shows the ruling classes using every likely means to encourage the people to "multiply and replenish the earth."

Given the ruling class demand for an increase in population number, the question reduces to one concerning effective means to that end. It ceases to be a scientific and becomes a political phenomenon. At various times and among various peoples every inexpensive variety of reward and penalty has been brought into play in the effort to stimulate increase. The single, simple expedient of actually equalizing the burden of child-bearing and rearing has never been tried, apparently because such policy would tend to destroy the profits that accrue to the ruling classes through an inordinate increase of the lower orders.

If one throws the thesis that seems to underlie the Taeubers' report into a scientific form the definite hypothesis that emerges seems to be some verbal variation of the statement that "the ruling classes can effectively increase the rate of natural increase without socializing the burden of children." Various countries have tried it and have failed; Germany has tried it and apparently has succeeded.

But the program of the Reich seems to contain no element that has not been incorporated in similar political procedures elsewhere. It seems to differ chiefly in the number of devices employed simultaneously and in the more systematically ruthless administration of the system. The increase of food—always in amounts too small to raise the scale of living when an additional member is added to the family—is a simple use of the Malthusian doctrine. Restriction of opportunities otherwise to use time and means has long been believed to stimulate interest in family and children. Historically, and contemporaneously in most countries, the only folk means of family control have been infanticide and abortion. The suppression of these practices would in every country enormously stimulate population increase. Unfortunately, the Taeubers give no information in regard to how effectively knowledge of and means to practice contraception have been denied to the German people. A reasonably complete suppression of abortion and means to birth control would more than double the birth rate of any modern population.

Finally, the complex of procedures used by the Reich—money loans, minor honors, political disabilities, racial incantations, etc.—was of the "shotgun"

type. The degree to which any particular measure contributed to the result may not be known without, as the Taeubers point out, a study of cases. Moreover, the specific measures designed to stimulate population increase operated within and as a part of a unique historic situation. It is not entirely clear whether the reported birth-rate increases were due to a temporarily effective thwarting of family desires for restriction on the number of children or to a considerable change in the family desires themselves.

E. B. Reuter

University of Iowa

COMMENT

I find little to criticize and much to praise in this excellent article. I may say a few words in amplification and emphasis of certain points. The more one studies the statistics the more one is impressed by the actual achievements of the German policies, especially when contrasted with the relative failures of efforts to increase fertility in France and elsewhere. Taken at their face value, the figures of Table 3 show that the "real" increase (final column) during five years greatly exceeded the total births of 1933 and equaled those of 1934. In other words, the *increase* in five years equaled one full year's harvest. Moreover, the first three quarters of 1939 showed increases over the corresponding quarters of 1938. The actual number of "live" births for these three quarters, legitimate plus illegitimate, was 1,070,512; for the entire year the number almost certainly exceeded 1,400,000. The preliminary estimate of the German Statistical Office was 1,420,000, or within 13,000 of the number required for a reproductive ratio of 1.00.

As shown in Table 1, the marriage rate was likewise higher in each quarter of 1939 than for the previous year. While the figure for the third quarter was doubtless affected by war marriages, the figures are remarkable in view of the fact that the annual cohorts of young persons arriving at marriageable ages have been 25 per cent below normal during the past few years. It was my guess in the article above mentioned, based in part on conversations with Dr. Burgdörfer, that the number of marriages would almost certainly have diminished by the end of 1938, owing to the small number of war babies of the years 1914–18. Any explanation of the success of the German policies must take full account of this persistent increase in the number of marriages.

Moreover, the increase in births has been manifest not only in every order of birth, from first to sixth and over, but in the urban as well as the rural population. Data for the 55–62 large cities of the Old Reich show that the number of live births rose from 10.9 per 1,000 population in 1932 and 1933 to 16.2 in 1938 and 17.1 in 1939. The excess of the birth rate over the death rate rose from 0.4 in 1933 to 4.8 in 1938 and 5.0 in 1939. Similar success is shown by the recent data for Austria (Ostmark), where a previous excess of deaths over births was

converted into an excess of births in the third quarter of 1938. For Vienna the same change occurred one year later, the excess of birth over death rate being 3.1 for the third quarter of 1939.

It is not possible from the official data to explain the persistent increases in births by an increase in illegitimacy. The percentages of all births, stillbirths included, which were illegitimate were: 1935, 7.9; 1936, 7.8; 1937, 7.7; 1938, 7.4, for the Old Reich. On the other hand, there was some increase in illegitimacy among urban births. The percentages of illegitimate live births among all live births for the large cities rose each year from 8.4 in 1935 to 9.5 in 1939. The numerical increase for these five years was something over 7,000, a number largely offset by the decrease in illegitimate births among the rest of the population. To be sure, one needs more light here, for it may be that the child of a man in uniform can scarcely be considered as illegitimate under any circumstances! Nor do the published data warrant the notion that there has been a general resort to divorce by men anxious to marry young girls and raise a second family. The actual number of divorces has been much the same, with a decisive maximum in 1934; the rates per 10,000 marriages were: 1933, 29.7; 1934, 37.0; 1935, 33.0; 1936, 32.6; 1937, 29.8; 1938, 31.1.

Illegitimacy and divorce thus serve to explain little or nothing. The most probable causes would seem to be: (1) decrease in abortions; (2) the marriage loan and similar aids; and (3) the changed psychological attitudes due to law, various other social constraints, and the new ideology. In his article on this subject[1] Professor P. K. Whelpton very shrewdly noted that the first of these might explain most of the increase in births. Our authors agree that the decline in abortions seems to be very important. I agree with them also when they intimate that the suppression of abortion among a people long accustomed to its use would be very difficult, unless such suppression were supported by changed social attitudes. However, I would stress the point that a totalitarian government, with a pervasive system of espionage, could accomplish results far beyond the reach of democratic individualism.

I think we are warranted in attributing great influence to the marriage-loan policy. Once marriages are increased, more births are almost certain to follow. It is a good guess that marriage loans are more effective than the family-allowance system so largely relied upon in France or the child-subvention system of Sweden. The combination of marriage loans and the suppression of abortions is notably effective, since it converts into legitimate births what would otherwise have been abortions, stillbirths, or illegitimate births. One must fully agree with the Taeubers, however, that there is no really satisfactory way to estimate the relative importance of the various factors in the situation, especially those of a psychological nature.

FRANK H. HANKINS

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[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLI (November, 1935).

THE STRUCTURE OF THE JAPANESE FAMILY IN HAWAII

JITSUICHI MASUOKA

ABSTRACT

The structure of the Japanese family in Hawaii is becoming increasingly simple: the size is becoming smaller, and the composition is becoming more and more restricted to those members immediately related to the heads of families. The factors which appear to be responsible for this trend are the increase in the mobility of the people, the rise in the standard of living, and the deliberate check on the number of children per family. The change in the family structure affects the attitudes of the people toward their family tradition and modifies to a considerable extent the nature of social interaction among the members.

I

In the early state of the Japanese community in Hawaii, roughly that prior to 1910, the size of the family was, generally speaking, very small. This was due to the predominance of recently married couples in the population, among whom few children had yet been born. The average size of family was 3.31 in 1907.[1] Even in this early stage it is interesting to note that the size of the rural family was larger than that of the urban family. The figures are 3.6 and 3.0, respectively.[2]

An examination of the number of children in each family serves as a better index of the family structure of the period. As indicated in Table 1, nearly 43 per cent of all families were childless, and an almost equal proportion of the families had but one or two children;

[1] Since the census reports on Hawaii do not classify by races data upon the size and composition of the family, it was necessary to derive this estimate as to the size of the Japanese family from information given in one of the volumes of the *Annals of Japanese in Hawaii*, published in 1907 by the Hawaii Shinpo. Of the 4,846 men whose names were included in this volume, 2,402 were heads of families, and for each head of a family the number of living children was given. This sample of 2,402 families, concerning which further information is given in Table 1, included approximately 17 per cent of all Japanese families in Hawaii in 1907.

[2] In calculating the size of the family in 1907 it was assumed that there were no other members in the family other than the head, his wife, and their children. In the light of the history of the Japanese community in Hawaii, it seems that the number of families containing parents and collateral relatives of the heads of the families was the exception rather than the rule.

the families with three or more children constituted only 16.6 per cent.

Owing to the high fertility of the first-generation women and to the general improvement of living conditions, the size of the family has become large and at present is considerably larger than the size of the family in Japan.[3] In 1930 the average size of the family on

TABLE 1*

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF 2,402 JAPANESE FAMILIES IN HAWAII BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS, 1907

No. of Children	Rural (1,442 Families)	Urban (960 Families)	Total (2,402 Families)
None	37.0	48.3	42.6
1	22.8	24.6	23.7
2	18.6	15.6	17.1
3	12.5	7.0	9.8
4	4.8	3.0	3.9
5	2.3	0.9	1.6
6	1.2	0.3	0.7
7 and over	0.8	0.3	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Source: *Hawaii Nippon Jin Nenkan* ("Annals of Japanese in Hawaii") (Honolulu: Hawaii Shinpo Sha, 1907). See n. 1 for comment on reliability of these data.

the plantations was 5.4, and this number varies but slightly from one island to another.[4]

A somewhat more intensive survey of 229 families, made by the writer in 1934, on one of the sugar plantations on Maui, shows the average size of family to be 6.05 and suggests that the true size of

[3] Many of the immigrants with small families saved money and left the Islands for homes in Japan, resulting in a further increase in average size of family.

[4] The average size of family of married groups on 41 sugar plantations, December 31, 1929, by islands, was as follows: Hawaii, 5.4; Maui, 5.3; Oahu, 5.5; and Kauai, 5.6. These figures were calculated from the report of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association, which covers the entire plantation population. In this report the number of persons, classified accordingly as men, women, and children, and the number of houses which were occupied by them were given. The size of family was derived by dividing the number of persons by the number of houses.

the plantation family is larger than the figure given by the planters.[5]

When these 229 families are distributed according to the number of persons in each family, as given in Table 2, distribution of wide range and of bimodal character results. By identifying the families

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF 229 PLANTATION FAMILIES AND 946 URBAN FAMILIES, BY SPECIFIC NUMBER OF PERSONS IN EACH FAMILY

No. of Persons in Family	On a Plantation (229 Families)*	City of Honolulu (946 Families)†	Total
2	6.9	7.3	7.1
3	13.1	11.8	12.5
4	9.2	17.5	13.4
5	11.8	14.7	13.3
6	12.2	13.8	13.0
7	14.9	15.2	15.0
8	14.9	9.2	12.0
9	11.3	4.9	8.1
10	3.9	3.8	3.8
More than 10	1.8	1.8	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

* As of June 30, 1934.
† As of December 31, 1936.

in each modal group, it was found that the upper mode appearing at eight indicates generally the size of the first-generation family, whereas the lower mode appearing at three represents the size of the

[5] Whether the difference is due principally to the time element or to the difference in definition of the family is difficult to say. The unit in my study is the "social family." Illustrative of the use of this category would be with respect to one family occupying two houses and existing virtually as one; that is, cooking and eating together and maintaining their income in a single fund. The plantation report would treat this one "social family" as two "families."

There were only three lodgers, and they do not materially affect the size of the family. Even after excluding them from the total of 1,385, the average size of family is 6.04.

The 229 families that were intensively surveyed include all the families living in three workingmen's hamlets located on one of the largest sugar plantations. It seemed better to survey all the families in a relatively limited area than to survey a sample of families drawn from a large area.

second-generation family. Second-generation Japanese have smaller families because, on the whole, they have been married relatively recently, and also, perhaps, because of the increased use of contraceptives. This figure, therefore, cannot be taken as an indication of the future size of second-generation families. In the light of their changing attitudes toward the traditional family organization and their strong aspiration for a higher standard of living, however, the size of the family among them will not reach, in all probability, the mark set by their parents.

The size of family in the city of Honolulu is smaller than that of the plantations. The size of family derived from a study of 946 families in 1936 was 5.6.[6]

The frequency distribution of 946 families according to the specific number of persons each contained, shows that the families with five persons or less constituted a little over 51 per cent; with six and seven persons, 29 per cent; and, with more than seven persons, nearly 20 per cent. For the corresponding groups on the plantation the figures were 41.1, 27.1, and 32.3 per cent, respectively, as shown in Table 2. Moreover, like the plantation families, a bimodal character of distribution appears for the urban group. The upper mode was at seven and the lower mode at four.

Since duration of marriage is one of the significant factors in de-

[6] The cases used for this study were assembled from three different areas in the city of Honolulu, representing differences in socioeconomic status—Palama, McCuley, and Kaimuki. The first of these is located within a transient zone. The families are, on the whole, of the lower economic status. From this region 528 families were used for this purpose.

The second of these areas may be considered as a zone of workingmen's homes. It is, relatively, a newly settled region and is noted for a high concentration of Japanese in the area. The community is well organized and is inhabited by people of better economic status. From this region 327 families were selected.

The last of these areas, Kaimuki, is a good residential area. It is inhabited by the people who are much more well to do than those living in McCuley area. Of the three, this is the most highly organized and is the region toward which a better class of the second generation has been moving. From this area 81 families were selected.

These three sections together constitute a fair cross-section of the urban Japanese in Hawaii. They were selected in consultation with Dr. A. W. Lind and Dr. Romanzo Adams on the basis of their intimate knowledge of the Islands and on the basis of such formal data as were available.

The data for this study have been made available through the courtesy of the Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii.

termining the size of the family, the 946 families were classified into three groups according to the age of wives of the family heads. In terms of the age of the wife, the first group consists of all families having wives who were less than thirty years old; the second group, of wives thirty to forty-four years old; and, the third group, of

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF PERSONS AND BY AGE OF HOMEMAKER (WIFE) AND NATIVITY OF HEAD AND HOMEMAKER, HONOLULU, 1936

Total Number of—	Age 45 and Over				Age 30–44				Age 15–29				Total
	JJ* and JH		HJ and HH		JJ and JH		HJ and HH		JJ and JH		HJ and HH		
	No.	%	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Families	321	100.0	3	.....	330	100.0	93	100.0	47	100.0	152	100.0	946
Persons	1,814	.....	17	....	2,068	.....	540	.....	222	.....	640	.....	5,301
2	33	10.6	.....	.....	12	3.6	4	4.3	3	6.4	17	11.2	69
3	39	12.3	.....	.....	27	8.2	6	6.5	4	8.5	36	23.6	112
4	43	13.4	.....	.....	40	12.1	18	19.4	14	29.8	50	32.8	165
5	44	13.7	1	.....	39	11.8	19	24.0	14	29.8	22	14.4	139
6	41	12.7	2	.....	51	15.5	14	15.1	9	19.2	14	9.3	131
7	55	17.1	.....	.....	67	22.9	12	12.9	2	4.3	8	5.3	144
8	28	8.7	.....	.....	48	14.5	8	8.6	.....	.....	3	2.0	87
9	15	4.7	.....	.....	25	7.6	6	6.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	46
10	14	4.4	.....	.....	16	4.9	5	5.4	1	2.1	.....	.....	36
11	4	1.2	.....	.....	1	0.3	1	1.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	6
12 and over	5	1.5	.....	.....	4	1.2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1.3	11
Average†	5.65		5.67		6.27		5.81		4.73		4.21		5.6
Average‡	5.65				6.17				4.33				

* JJ = both wife and husband born in Japan; JH = wife born in Japan, husband born in Hawaii; HJ = wife born in Hawaii, husband born in Japan; HH = both wife and husband born in Hawaii.

† By nativity within age group.

‡ Both nativity combinations within age group.

wives forty-five years old and over. Such classification supplies a partial control over the factor of duration of marriage as well as over the factor of differential fertility due to age differences.[7] These three groups were divided further into six subgroups according to the nativity of the heads and their wives, thus providing some insight into the influence of westernization on the changing size of the family in Hawaii.

As one would expect, the size of family is smallest among the

[7] In the subsequent discussion we shall call the first group the "young group"; the second group, the "intermediary group"; and the last group, the "old group."

young group and largest among the intermediary group (see Table 3). The figures are, for the young group, 4.33; for the intermediary group, 6.17; and, for the old group, 5.65.

There was an important difference in the size of family according to the nativity of family head. The size of family of the Hawaiian born was considerably smaller than that of the Japanese born.

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND BY AGE OF HOMEMAKER (WIFE) AND NATIVITY OF HEADS AND HOMEMAKER, HONOLULU, 1936

Total Number of—	Age 45 and Over				Age 30–44				Age 15–29				Total	
	JJ* and JH		HJ and HH		JJ and JH		HJ and HH		JJ and JH		HJ and HH			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Families...	321	100.0	3	.....	330	100.0	93	100.0	47	100.0	152	100.0	946	100.0
Children...	1,044	.....	13	.....	1,354	.....	294	.....	101	.....	255	.....	3,081	.....
None.....	28	8.7	.....	.....	16	4.9	8	8.6	4	8.5	26	17.1	82	8.7
1.....	47	14.6	.....	.....	23	7.0	9	9.7	7	14.9	52	34.2	138	14.6
2.....	57	17.8	.....	.....	49	14.8	22	23.6	19	40.4	42	27.6	189	20.0
3.....	47	14.6	1	.....	37	11.2	18	19.4	12	25.6	17	11.2	132	14.0
4.....	49	15.2	.....	.....	54	16.3	14	15.1	5	10.6	10	6.6	132	14.0
5.....	44	13.7	2	.....	66	20.0	7	7.5	.....	.....	4	2.6	123	13.0
6.....	19	5.9	.....	.....	45	13.6	9	9.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	73	7.7
7.....	14	4.4	.....	.....	23	7.0	6	6.4	.....	.....	.....	.....	43	4.4
8.....	12	3.8	.....	.....	13	4.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	0.7	26	2.8
9.....	3	1.0	.....	.....	1	0.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	0.4
10.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	0.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	0.1
11.....	1	0.3	.....	.....	2	0.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	0.3
Average†	3.32		4.33		4.12		3.54		2.34		1.68		3.25	....
Average‡	3.26				3.89				1.79					

* JJ = both wife and husband born in Japan; JH = wife born in Japan, husband born in Hawaii; HJ = wife born in Hawaii, husband born in Japan; HH = both wife and husband born in Hawaii.

† By nativity within age group.

‡ Both nativity combinations within age group.

The size of family may be large due to the presence of members other than those of the immediate marriage group. It is important, therefore, to ascertain whether the difference is due to the presence of a large number of children or to some other cause. For this reason the number of children per marriage group was studied separately.

As indicated in Table 4, for the whole group the average number of children for each family was 3.25. The number of children per

family for the young group was 1.79; for the intermediary group, 3.89; and for the old group, 3.26.

A comparison of the number of children by nativity of the husbands and wives of families brings out rather sharply that the number of children per marriage group for the Hawaiian-born parents was considerably smaller than for the Japanese-born parents. The average number of children per family for the local born for the young group was 1.68, whereas for the Japanese born of the same group it was 2.34. For the local born of the intermediary group the number of children per family was 3.54, and for the Japanese born of the same age group, 4.12. Comparison was not possible for the old group, owing to the small number of cases of local-born parents.

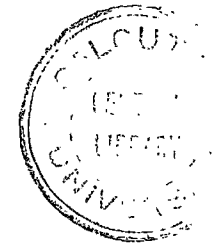
On the whole, this difference is due principally to the practice of birth control, which is becoming common among the Hawaiian born. A relatively large number of children among the intermediary group of local born seems to indicate the extent of moral control which the first generation have been exerting over the older members of the second-generation Japanese.

Oversea migration as well as a high mobility within the Islands have resulted in the shrinkage of family structure on its vertical planes. The uprooting of the immigrants from their birthplaces cut them loose physically from all ties. Moving alone, they set up their own families in Hawaii as independent entities. Thus a typical immigrant family consists of two generations—husband and wife and children. For the Japanese families in Hawaii the number of two-generation families comprised 84.7 per cent of the total number of families, whereas in Japan the two-generation families were only about 53 per cent of the total.[8] This is due to the short duration of residence in the Islands[9] and to a growing tendency for the second generation to move out of their parents' homes and set up their own families after they are married.

Another way of viewing this same phenomenon is to compare the distribution of the family members classified by status with refer-

[8] For the data concerning size of families in Japan upon which this comparison is based see Teizo Toda, *Kazoku nō Kenkyu* (Tokyo, 1932), pp. 359–64.

[9] The average number of years of residence in the Islands for the whole Japanese group was approximately thirty-five years at the time of this study.



ence to heads of families in Hawaii with the corresponding distribution in Japan. When such comparison is made, as shown in Table 5, the simple character of the Hawaiian-Japanese family stands out clearly. Those who are only remotely related to the heads of the family are not found; this suggests that the pattern of family struc-

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION PER 1,000 OF DIFFERENT FAMILY MEMBERS BY STATUS WITH REFERENCE TO HEAD OF FAMILY—IN JAPAN FOR THE YEARS 701 AND 1920 IN HAWAII FOR THE YEARS 1934 AND 1936

Status with Reference to Heads of Family	Japan*			Hawaii†	
	701	1920		1934	1936
		Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1. Heads of the house	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0
2. Wife or concubine	743.1	801.8	737.3	1,000.0	1,000.0
3. Blood-relative of 2	192.7	10.2	12.7	10.0	63.4
4. Children	4,321.1	1,989.7	1,547.4	4,440.0	3,260.0
5. Spouse of 4	211.0	141.3	42.3	70.0	35.9
6. Grandchildren	1,367.0	277.2	83.1	130.0	45.4
7. Spouse of 6	18.3	3.3	.....	.....	.....
8. Great-grandchildren	36.7	3.8	0.5	.....	.....
9. Mother and father	284.4	287.1	167.6	20.0	82.5
10. Brother and sister	1,687.8	117.2	91.6	20.0	83.5
11. Spouse of 10	394.5	7.2	4.7	.....	.....
12. Niece and nephew, cousins	4,165.0	29.3	29.5	20.0	54.9
13. Uncle and aunt	27.5	6.3	4.2	10.0	4.3
14. Spouse of 13	18.3	0.3	.....	.....	.....
15. Grandparents	.....	16.6	7.5	.....	4.3
16. Others	1,229.3	1.5	.....	.....	.....

* Figures for Japan are adapted from Teizo Toda, *Kazoku nō Kenkyu* (Tokyo, Japan, 1932), pp. 346–47.
† Figures for Hawaii are based upon the writer's studies as already indicated.

ture is one of the American type. Moreover, in structure the Hawaiian family conforms closely to the urban family in Japan.

The foregoing discussion has pointed out that the structure of the Japanese family in Hawaii is becoming increasingly simple: the size is becoming smaller, and the composition is becoming more and more restricted to those members immediately related to the heads. The factors which appear to be responsible for this trend are the increase in the mobility of the people, the rise in the standard of living, and the deliberate check on the number of children per family.

II

The change in the family structure is of interest because such alteration inevitably affects the attitudes of the people toward their family tradition. Change in the size and composition of the family modifies to a considerable extent the nature of social interaction among the members. From a long-time point of view change in the character of membership affects the degree of continuity of family heritages from one generation to another.

Much of the family tradition—that complex of attitude, sentiment, pride, and aspiration which a closely knit family group cherishes toward the family name, family lineage, family property, and "our family ways of doing"—are intangible and subtle and are transmitted spontaneously through a long period of intimate face-to-face contacts among its members. So spontaneous is this process that an adult entering into the family either through marriage or through adoption seldom succeeds in making the tradition of his new home an integral part of his personality. Only the infant born into the family group, because of the plastic character of the organism and the complete dependence on other members of the family, is capable of making the family tradition an integral part of his whole personality. Through long years of close and intimate association with other members of the family he learns to orient himself in accordance with the tradition of his immediate family.

Obviously the degree to which a transmission of the family tradition is complete depends, first, upon the plastic nature of an individual and, second, upon the degree of unity and integration that the tradition manifests. It appears that the better integrated the traits of the family culture or tradition, the more easily are they transmitted. The fact of the matter is that a family tradition is handed down from one generation to another, not as a group of independent traits which together constitute a whole, but as a whole. The process of differentiation seems to appear only after the foreign elements are introduced into the family heritages and not before. In this sense, therefore, transmission by traits is an evidence of disorganization of the family tradition. For this reason the more stable the social order, the more coherent is the culture of the group and the more easily is it transmissible.

Owing to the very nature of the phenomenon, the core of the fami-

ly tradition is transmitted not through abstract symbolic language but through participation of every member in concrete acts and situations. Frequent repetition of certain acts—rituals, ceremonies, and other ways of doing things which are peculiar to the family—in which all take part with a singular attitude, and participation by and the observation of others' behavior by the child, result in the assimilation of the family tradition.

In Japan the transmission of family heritages was generally from grandparents to grandchildren; more particularly from grandmother to grandchildren. When the older people retire from their active duties as managers and representatives of the family, they become actively interested in the welfare of their grandchildren. They assume the role of nursemaids, and through their intimate association with their grandchildren the latter learn the family traditions. The growing number of the families consisting of only two generations brings about a radical change in the character of the tradition from one generation to another.

APPENDIX ILLUSTRATING SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CHANGES EXPERIENCED BY JAPANESE IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN HAWAII

Much of the feeling of freedom which has been an important characteristic of the first-generation immigrants in Hawaii needs to be explained in terms of the absence of their parents and grandparents in the new homes. Likewise, their sense of moral freedom can be ascribed to the absence of the moral restraining forces which the older generations had over them. The following case shows the psychological change which the immigrant woman in Hawaii experiences.

I was married as a picture bride to my husband, Mr. O—— when I was seventeen years old. I lived with my husband's family for five years before I was finally sent for. It was a long wait. One day he sent the money with a nice letter telling me that I should make speedy preparation and join him in Hawaii as soon as possible.

In a way I was glad of the news for I had heard so much about Hawaii. But I was afraid to go far away. I did not care to leave my own mother behind and sail for over a thousand miles, because, should anything happen to my mother, I knew that I would not be able to come to her bedside. But when I thought of seeing my husband whom I had never seen except through his photograph, and of escaping from my mother-in-law's glaring eyes, I wanted to leave home and come to Hawaii.

I recall clearly the evening after a man and his wife, acting as the go-between for Mr. O——'s family, left. My mother called me to her side and told me about Mr. O—— and what he was doing in Hawaii. She showed me his picture and told me if I liked him she wished that I should accept his family's proposal of marriage. Of course, I was not interested in his picture as much as in what my mother was saying. This was what she said: "I am told that the people in Hawaii work out in the cane fields from early in the morning until late in the evening and that the man who directs your work is not a Japanese but a 'hairy monster' whose language you would not understand. The work is said to be very hard. The sun is hotter there than here. But in spite of all these when I think that you will be freed from mental worries because you have no mother-in-laws and other in-laws in the family, I believe that your life will be much more blessed. Just think how carefree you would be without the glaring eyes of your mother-in-law. Look how easy it would be to please only one person, your husband. But if you marry here in this village, you have many worries. You have to work until your eyes become dark [dizzy] from overwork, just to please your in-laws. I wish you would go to Hawaii and work hard and come home with your husband with plenty of money. Do not worry about me because there is Kensuke to look after me."

So, I came to Hawaii when I was twenty-three years old. To work out in the field under the burning sun was very hard to adapt myself to, even though I was used to all kinds of life's adversities. My father had died when I was ten years old so I had left school at eleven and had begun working first as a family nurse watching the babies. Later I had had a job at the silk factory where I had worked until I was married. We had worked mostly inside the building, and only once a year we had worked out in the mulberry field for about two months.

I remember very clearly how my back ached the first day I went to work. I worked under a Japanese luna [overseer] instead of the "hairy monster" as cited by my mother. After a week's painful experience I became somewhat discouraged so I wrote about the work and how I felt about the whole thing in Kana script to my mother. But I forgot to mail it. My husband discovered the letter and read it without my knowing it. That evening he told me never to write such a letter to my mother. "It does no good except to make her worry more." So I never told her how hard it was to work out in the fields.

Now, in spite of hard work I am very happy. Whenever I am not satisfied with my family life I always think of what my mother told me before I left for Mr. O——'s family. "You must work for ten long years until your eyes become dark if you marry in our village." I am the mother of five children, and my husband has been very considerate and nice to me. I have been very happy and I like living here on the plantation.[10]

IOWA CITY, IOWA

[10] Manuscript document.

THE SOCIAL THOUGHT OF THE OLD SOUTH

JULIAN S. BACH, JR.

ABSTRACT

The social thought of the ante bellum South is an extension of the slavery argument. The traditional element has its core in the proslavery argument; the insurgent element has its core in the antislavery argument. Similarly, the dominant institutional tendency is toward a slavocracy; while the minor tendency is toward liberalism, recurrent, if passing.

The culmination of the traditional thought in the 1850's is characterized, like that of ante bellum society itself, by a peculiar cleavage. This seeming paradox is logically explicable. The clue lies in a shift of emphasis. In insurgent thought it is from the Negro to the white. In traditional thought it is from a mere slavery argument to a consideration of the slave society in contradistinction to the free society. But there are two elements within the main body of traditional thought itself. The dominant theme is the modern sacred community ideal, which emphasizes racial control over the Negro. The minor theme is the secular community ideal, which emphasizes the future of the whites. Thus traditional southern social thought is no longer cleft by slavery factions but by conservative and liberal, traditional and experimental, sacred and secular divisions. It is not a question of concrete actions or thoughts as much as elements in action and thought. It is not a question of means but of ends—of ultimate purpose.

Complexity rather than simplicity characterizes the various intellectual channels through which flowed the social thought of the Old South. Yet notwithstanding variations in time, place, and intellectual ancestry, this thought, like ante bellum southern society in general, crystallized about two distinct norms. The one was traditional in thought, slavocratic in institutions; the other was insurgent in thought, liberal in institutions. And, finally, the traditional theme itself was composed of a dominant and minor chord.

In tracing the elements of this dichotomy the method used favors analysis rather than chronology, and, furthermore, because space is brief, much background and many details must be omitted.[1] The dominant body of what in time became the traditional part of southern social thought arose in the 1820's and 1830's out of the "positive good" slavery arguments and culminated in the late 1840's and the late 1850's in a series of pronouncements which may be called a modern version of the sacred community ideal. Among preliterates the sacred community ideal is said to exist where a sort of emotional halo encircles the ways of the fathers and

[1] This paper represents the essence of the author's unpublished thesis, presented for the degree of bachelor of arts, "The Social Thought of the Old South and Its Relation to the Institutions of That Society" (Harvard University, 1936).

thereby prevents their profanation by change. Modified to meet the exigencies of the nineteenth century, this norm developed in the South as a conscious antithesis to the secularism of northern and other free, industrial societies. If the world had gone dynamic, federalistic, urban, rationalistic, industrial, and radical, the South had gone and would continue to go static, local, rural, moralistic, agricultural, and conservative.

This traditional body of thought found its central core in the pro-slavery arguments. As a contemporary noted, slavery was defended "theologically, geologically, cryctologically, paleontologically, archaeologically, chronologically, genealogically, crismologically, philologically, etymologically, zoölogically, herpetologically, ophiologically, mazologically, physiologically, sociologically, and often quite illogically."[2]

Not only was slavery natural and historically universal, but it was vindicated by political, social, and economic expediency, and by divine and natural law. For the rationalism and optimism of the day there was gradually substituted a newer philosophy whose general aroma was pessimistic. Rejecting the fundamental doctrines of the French Revolution—progress, the perfectability of man and his institutions, egalitarian democracy—southerners anchored themselves with the religious assumption that humanity was in its fallen state.[3] Up against a condition and not a theory, the accepted view was strictly realistic. As J. H. Hammond asked of Clarkson, the English emancipationist:

> I might say that I am no more in favor of Slavery in the abstract, than I am of poverty, disease, deformity, idiocy, or any other inequality of the condition of the human family; that I love perfection. . . . . But what would it amount to? . . . .[4]

This was the backbone then of the mud-sill theory of society long held by southern intellectuals but perhaps most clearly enunciated by Senator Hammond:

[2] R. B. Mays, "The Divine Legation of Thomas Jefferson," *De Bow's Review*, XXX (May and June, 1861), 529.

[3] Among abundant examples see D. R. Hundley, *Social Relations in Our Southern States* (New York, 1860), pp. 149, 276; W. G. Simms, *The Morals of Slavery* (1837), reprinted in *The Pro-slavery Argument* (Charleston, 1852), p. 230; and W. Harper, *Memoir on Slavery* (1838), reprinted in *The Pro-slavery Argument*, pp. 21, 22. The customary cyclical view of history is well expressed by G. Fitzhugh, *Sociology for the South: Or the Future of Free Society* (pamphlet, 1849; Richmond, 1854), pp. 90–92, 115.

[4] *Letters on Slavery* (1845), reprinted in *The Pro-slavery Argument* (Charleston, 1852), p. 104. Cf. A. T. Bledsoe, *Liberty and Slavery: Or Slavery in the Light of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1856), reprinted in *Cotton Is King and Pro-slavery Arguments*, ed. E. N. Elliott (Augusta, 1860), p. 381.

In all social systems there must be a class to do the menial duties, to perform the drudgery of life. That is a class requiring but a low order of intellect and but little skill. Its requisites are vigor, docility, fidelity. Such a class you must have or you would not have that other class which leads progress, civilization, and refinement. It constitutes the very mud-sill of society and of political government. . . . . Fortunately for the South, she found a race adapted to that purpose to her hand. . . . . We use them for our purpose and call them slaves.[5]

Thus an organic social theory complemented the organic theory of the state that had been developed by the South's political theorists. In the 1850's the slavery argument was further elevated by being transplanted through the medium of the new "sciences" of "niggerology" and sociology from the field of moral philosophy to that of "positive philosophy."

The stress on property rights and social utility, the mud-sill theory, and the tenet of natural subordination underlay the traditional conception of civil liberty as a sliding scale in which the reciprocal rights and duties of the citizens and their government were determined by their social position. Pro-Republican, but anti-Democratic, the dominant southern view unreservedly indorsed Governor McDuffie's early contention that "slavery is the cornerstone of our republican edifice." Burke, who formed a conservative eddy in the utilitarian stream, had a profound influence on southern theory when, at the time of the Revolution, he declared that "these people of the Southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty than those of the northward. . . . . It is because freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege." Upon analysis by the proslavery southern writers themselves it was revealed that a greater equality in social status existed among whites and between rich and poor in the South to the extent that there was a corresponding inequality between races. In an aristocracy of color and not of wealth the poor white supposedly shared a common dignity with the wealthy planter. Thus it was not surprising that southern social thought was imbued with economic determinism and that as the proslavery faction contended that government is the creation of property so the antislavery leaders regarded property the creation of government. For if the stability of social institutions was contingent upon an equilibrium between capital and labor and, in politics, between the "ins" and the "outs," the southern Republican edifice was perforce superior, since the turmoil of industrial conflict in the North was removed in the South, where the slave was both capital and labor and

[5] Senate speech, March 4, 1858.

where the whites, both rich and poor, were interested in agriculture and in maintaining a Caucasian civilization. To the southerner the beauties of free government always resided in the security it afforded property and in the conservatism it gave institutions.

Constructionist in politics, restrictionist in social organization, scripturalist in religion, paternalist in family life, militarist in points of honor, and traditionalist in almost all things, southern society and thought stood in proud contrast to the "frankly experimental" North. Underlying these paeans of praise for southern mores and institutions were sentiments analogous, at the very least, to what Pareto has called residues of "persistence of aggregates." The plea in traditional thought is invariably to follow the way of the fathers. Simms struck the note when he deplored the prevalent tendency away from "the long, philosophical view of things. . . . . We are losing our veneration fast. We are overthrowing all sacred and hallowing associations and authorities."[6] As a Virginian wrote to his friend: "We Virginians are a cautious people—not prone to novelties when first presented,—and much adverse to laying aside old usages."[7] And, like many others, Fitzhugh warned that "society is driving along too fast . . . . the car of human progress crushes too many under its wheels. We must return to the ways of the ancients."[8]

Similarly the major religious denominations not only effected their compromise with the slave institutions at the earliest possible date[9] but their leaders assumed attitudes which dovetailed closely with the traditional arguments in political and social thought. Not only did they regard their own church organization like that of the federal government, but, typically, an important religious editor contrasted the southern branches "pursuing the legitimate and appropriate duties of the gospel in the old Methodist way; [to the northern] seeking extraneous objects, by novel and pernicious means. . . . ."[10]

The long process by which these sacred attitudes arose, developed, and

[6] Simms, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

[7] J. B. Minor writing to M. D. Conway, September 23, 1850. See M. D. Conway, *Free-Schools in Virginia: A Plea of Education, Virtue and Thrift, against Ignorance, Vice and Poverty* (Fredericksburg, 1850), p. 36.

[8] G. Fitzhugh, "Modern Civilization," *De Bow's Review*, XXIX, No. 1 (July, 1860), 64.

[9] Proslavery sentiments were accepted by most religious denominations a good twenty years before southern intellectuals; and the Baptist and Methodist schisms antedate by fifteen years the eventual political secession of the South.

[10] Quoted by C. B. Swaney, *Episcopal Methodism and Slavery, with Sidelights on Ecclesiastical Politics* (Boston, 1926), p. 116 n.

finally intrenched themselves as basic assumptions in the traditional thought of the Old South climaxed in George Fitzhugh. Elevating the proslavery argument to the "slavery principle," and that, in turn, to the "conservative principle," he argued that all government is restraint and that all social and political relationships imply slavery—control and subordination—whether it be man and wife, parent and child, master and slave. Conservatives must unite to check the unrestrained liberty, the moral licentiousness, the secular radicalism, and the social mobility of free, industrial societies. What did Fitzhugh most fear? All things conducive to secularization: social and territorial mobility, culture contact, big cities, distant trade, mobile property, rationalistic philosophy, the emancipation of women, the scramble for money. He was indeed pleased that "in the slaveholding South, except in new settlements, failures are extremely rare; small properties descend from generation to generation in the same family; there is as much stability and permanency of property as is compatible with energy and activity in society; fortunes are made rather by virtuous industry than by tricks, cunning and speculation."[11] Impressed with the glories of Athens and of Rome when the latter was still a city-state, he favored small, compact, homogeneous nations. In a society that was potentially volcanic, the traditional ideal contracted about the norm of social stability and class rigidity. The mass was a beast—to be feared and to be harnessed. "They would have a day's pay without doing a day's work," said Simms;[12] while President Elliott euphemistically harangued: "Ye capitalists, ye merchant princes, ye master manufacturers, you may excite to frenzy your Jacobin clubs . . . . but remember! the gu[i]llotine is suspended over your own necks!! The agrarian principles will ere long be applied to yourselves. . . . ."[13] Look at the North!

But it was when southerners began looking at the North that a gradual divergence of opinion occurred among the southerners themsleves. As the slavery argument had broadened into a rationale of the slave society and as the latter had laid increasing stress upon the nature and the problems of the free society, so, when that free society became progressively more prosperous, it became increasingly difficult to justify the relative backwardness of the South. This shift in emphasis, scarcely, if ever, noticed by

[11] In Paretan terms, Fitzhugh disparaged the "foxes" and speculators, the men strong in "residues of instinct for combinations." He was praising men strong in "residues of persistence of aggregates."

[12] Simms, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

[13] E. N. Elliott, "Concluding Remarks," in *ibid.*, p. 898. Note the inference that the North is a feudal society, hence not as truly democratic as the South.

historians, does much to explain why during the 1850's the climax of the traditional part of southern social thought was contemporaneous with the open expression of doubts about the superiority of the social system of the South. On the traditional side the eventual development was, as we have seen, toward the ideal of a modern sacred community. When Fitzhugh presented not only the outstanding condemnation of free societies but went on to repudiate the doctrines of Adam Smith and all political economy, he reached the absolute apex of traditional thought. It was the conclusion of conclusions; the theoretical basis of free society was itself rejected.

On the other hand, criticisms of the southern social system eventuated through two channels. First, among the proslavery theorists themselves there had always been a varyingly important group which, while supporting the slavery issue, did not follow the traditional pattern of praising the intensely aristocratic, rural, and agricultural nature of the South. The second channel flowed from antislavery sources, there always having been considerable mountains within the southern range which shie ded strong Democratic and antislavery sentiments. It will be remembered, for example, that for a while after the American Revolution the South went through the customary cycle of "revolutionary effervescence" in which liberalism was recurrent. In so far as this upsurge instituted a break from slavocracy in the direction of a free, industrial society, the movement had a counterpart in the reform movements of the late 1830's and 1850's, and what may be termed the liberal element in southern thought links the periods together.

Chagrined by the relative depression they saw about them, this group sought secular reforms as a means to ending southern "lag." Thus George Tucker trusted that "as the decline in the value of labor once liberated the villeins, or slaves, of western Europe, and will liberate the serfs of Russia, so must it put an end to slavery in the United States, should it be terminated in no other way."[14] At about the same time another influential southerner traveling through New England was so impressed that he blamed the want of certain Yankee attributes as constituting "the main cause of our lagging march in the numberless improvements, that . . . . appear so fruitful of blessings to mankind."[15] These doubts concerning the superiority of the southern way of life grew under the twofold influence of depressed economic conditions and increasing sectionalism of the 1850's into a definite series of proposals for secular reform. But unlike earlier

[14] *The Progress of the United States in Population and Wealth in Fifty Years* (New York, 1843), p. 110.

[15] [Lucian Minor], "Letters from New England," *Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. I, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 (1834). Passage quoted is No. 3, p. 425.

agitations, the plea was now in the interest of the whites, no longer the slaves. Simply, "it is in the name of the *master*, therefore, and not of the *slave*, that we assail the institution of slavery."[16]

With the wolf knocking at some doors and with the realization that to make a possible secession feasible "the South would have to turn to the South" for her salvation, a re-examination of the evils of an undiversified economy became imperative. No longer the Negro slave but now the poor planter and, for the first time, the poor white trash became the center of discussion among both proslavery and antislavery exponents who sought a way out from a burdensome economy. The nonslaveholder growing increasingly apprehensive and class conscious must be appeased. The problem had changed quite drastically. How to revivify the white?

This shift in the center of gravity of southern social thought and society brought to the surface certain latent fissures that had underlain the history of the Old South. As the general sectionalist movement advanced, the dilemma of the liberals (both in the proslavery and in the antislavery camps), who sought reform by referring the lag about them to the lack of certain northern and secular "attributes," arose from their implicit judgment—unacceptable to the fire-eating sectionalists of the traditional school—that a free society could teach their slave society important lessons. The fracture was no longer a division over the slavery question but a lack of harmony between the conservative and liberal, traditional and experimental, sacred and secular views of the proslavery group itself.[17]

This shift in perspective was so fundamental that even in the antislavery group a curious anomaly happened. The leaders of this widespread group argued against slavery, not out of sympathy for the slave, but for the sake of the poorer whites.[18] What the Stringfellows, Fisher, and others had done for the proslavery cause statistically, Goodloe and Helper now did for the poor white. Helper's diatribes, however, have this peculiar twist: that while he stands at the apex of insurgent thought in his violent hatred of slavery, he also ironically represents the very summit of the ethnological argument in traditional, conservative, proslavery thought. This Hitler of the Negroes provided the wildest Caucasian palaver imaginable. Dedicating *Nojoque* to the "Heaven descended and In-

[16] Henry A. Washington, "The Social System of Virginia," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XIV, No. 2 (1848), 79.

[17] Curiously, this division in the social attitudes of southerners is personalized by Rhett Butler and Ashley Wilkes in Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*.

[18] This in itself was not particularly novel, but the peculiar position that H. R. Helper took was. An early and extremely capable propounder of this thesis was George Clark, "On Slavery," *Western Luminary* (Lexington, Ky.), Vol. I, Nos. 11–16 (1824).

comparably Superior White Races of Mankind," his aim was "to write the Negro out of America," and "to write the Negro and other inferior races 'out of existence.' "[19] This was the bombastic yet logical, the systematic yet absurd, end of Flourney's early expulsionism and of the newer ethnological theory. It may have been ironic, but it was understandable that the most prominent antislavery author during late ante bellum days was, at the same instant, the most rabid Negro hater.

Among the proslavery liberals, however, it was necessary to take a different tack. For in this, as in all previous periods, whenever this group admitted any evils, the cause was never traced to slavery. This time the essential evil was, as James Russell Lowell suggested, "the census of 1860," in which the South registered a relative decrease though absolute increase in the total population. In or out of the Union, the South would have to increase her power not alone politically but economically as well, since it was patent that the North ultimately received the real money value of cotton and slavery. Regardless then of any political secession, a cultural and economic one was necessary. An intense educational revival ensued because, under the stress of sectional tension, conservatives joined liberals in indorsing educational reform, thus achieving a certain unanimity of action, though not of purpose. For it was precisely in the ends rather than in the means that the southern structure began to cleave. Relatively and generally speaking, the division in southern social thought was reducible to:

Traditional thought	Sacred ideal element	Traditional Conservative Aristocratic Rural Agricultural Proslavery	Moderately reformist	As a means to *sacred* ends in a *slave* society in or out of the Union
	Secular ideal element	Liberal Democratic Urban Industrial Proslavery	Intensely reformist	As a means to *secular* ends in a *slave* society in or out of the Union
Insurgent thought.....		Liberal Democratic Urban Industrial Antislavery	Intensely reformist	As a means to *secular* ends in *free* society *within* the Union

[19] H. R. Helper, *Nojoque: A Question for a Continent* (New York, 1867); and *The Negroes in Negroland, the Negroes in America, and Negroes Generally: Also the Several Races of White Men, Considered as the Involuntary and Predestined Supplanters of the Black Races* (New York, 1868).

To comprehend this divergence within the southern tradition we can forget completely the one similar element, proslavery, and reserve our final attention to the divergent element, secularization. The one sought a sacred slave society; the other, a secular slave society.

Fitzhugh was a typical sacred and conservative reformer. Though desiring such anachronistic and traditional reversions as "permanent hereditary properties," he still wished to see

> the South . . . . vary and multiply her pursuits, consume her crops at home, keep her people at home, increase her population, build up cities, towns and villages, establish more schools and colleges, educate the poor, construct internal improvements, carry on her own commerce, and carry on that if possible with more Southern regions.[20]

But this is all heavily prescribed. Cities, yes, but not big ones; trade, yes, but not distant trade; a denser population, yes, but not a heterogeneous or immigrant one; agricultural and industrial diversification, yes, but not a wealthy or industrial society.

On the other hand, the secularists, while dealing with exactly the same problems, favored quite radical reforms with a view to making the South approach an industrial society. At the trade conventions of 1837–39 and with enhanced ardor at the commercial conventions of 1852–59, it was proposed that direct trade be established with Europe through the development of steamship lines and large ports; that large-scale manufacturing would provide the regeneration of the poor white (and even the Negro slave); that the African slave trade be reopened to forward southern imperialism; and, finally, that a great commercial center, a metropolis no less, be built. "Our theme is a city—a great Southern importing, exporting, and manufacturing city. . . . ." In a word, the entire postulate of these conventions (and of even the moderate reformists) ran counter to the traditional argument that industry and urban living were hotbeds of ignorance, poverty, crime, vice, abolition, and newfangled ideas. Any manufacturing program, for instance, would have to overcome the established belief that manufacturing and trade were incompatible with liberty, freedom, virtue, and a high-toned civilization. Agriculture could no longer be the only genteel pursuit. Strong prejudices against manual and mechanical labor, against professional and mercantile careers, would have to be uprooted. Some favored diversification because it would draw immigrants (and hence political power); but had not the South always prided itself on its lack of aliens? In order to rehabilitate the poor white it would be necessary to level the social pyramid. Nor could generous hospi-

[20] *Sociology for the South*, p. 158.

tality and other manifestations of a high-toned civilization survive the pressure of industrial habits.

These contradictions are not so much a matter of particular men or even of the whole of their thought but rather the division of a whole social philosophy into two mutually exclusive elements. While this is apparent in a man like Fitzhugh, it is very noticeable in De Bow. His claim that "the wealth of the South is permanent and real, that of the North fugitive and fictitious" was never harmonized with his leadership in the advanced reform movement. Though strongly in favor of diversification and manufacturing (secular element), he was afraid of industrializing the poor whites, for "it is this great upbearing of our masses that we are to fear so far as our institutions are concerned" (sacred element). The dilemma lay in the desire to erect a new commercial and semi-industrial, semiagricultural system on the traditional base of a somewhat feudal, quite aristocratic, fundamentally rural order. This fissure was basically one of emphasis. Almost everyone agreed that slavery should be perpetuated. But, the question arose, in what kind of a society? Should the future be dedicated to the regeneration of the South along industrial and commercial lines, in which case the emphasis falls on the rehabilitation of the white race; or was the traditional slave society and plantation system going to dominate the future as it had the past? In the latter case the stress was placed on racial control over the Negro, to the detriment of the average white. This was the line of cleavage between the secular and sacred elements both in society and in social thought. Nipped in the bud by the Civil War, the new southern prophets never got the chance to put their schemes into practice. But the answer was sounded by the bugles of the victorious North.

NEW YORK CITY

WORDS MEASURE PERSONAL AND SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

MARGUERITE WILKER JOHNSON

Whenever words are seriously studied for their personal and social significance, they distinguish individuals as to concepts and emotions and mark off relations existing in social groups. Since, moreover, they lend themselves to experimental and statistical quantification as well as to psychoanalytical and case-study interpretations, they make for the concrete integration of studies in psychology and sociology.

The thesis that all words express something needs to be objectified, commonplace though it may be. An oral articulation, even one of the purest sort, one apparently uncontaminated with meaning—severed, so to speak, from intentions, import, and attitudes—can be scientifically demonstrated to reflect one human being and to affect another.

Such an attempt was made in a recent research[1] which illustrates the objectification of both performance and hidden attitudes through verbal influence. In controlled experimental conditions, exceedingly simple straightforward requests and prohibitions were shown to project their positive and negative meanings when spoken naturally by an adult to young children. Individual action was modified, depth of experience differentiated, and group character altered.

Stating the results in research language, forty pairs of children, matched for age, sex, and intelligence, were shown, when one type of request was used in simple everyday situations with one of a pair and another type with the mate, to yield results in favor of the more directive and considerate verbal influences. When the types of variables were reversed for each individual so that the formerly positively treated now became the negatively treated, eighty different

[1] M. W. Johnson, *Verbal Influences on Children's Behavior.* University of Michigan Monographs. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1939. Pp. v+191.

individuals verified the preference or "inner need" for the kinder direction. Personal success, speed, persistence, social compliance, group rapport, and the deeper inner attitudes were all demonstrated in measured results.

The requests varied from the direct and hopeful to the more verbose, negative, threatening, and hurried types. The adult recorded whether the child did or did not do as requested. Socially the individual was a better citizen, and personally was more efficient, when more considerately spoken to, for he complied more often with the requests and more readily according to clock time. But, above all, he gave definite evidence of better qualitative drives accruing by revealing more affection for the adult and the entire situation when, at the close of the series of requests and remarks, he voluntarily stayed more than twice as long as the mates on the general invitation: "Would you like to stay and play?" Ten new attractive toys were uncovered as the invitation was given.

Of course, the child was also a good citizen within limits with the less fortunate treatment, for he at least remained with the adult during the series of requests and performed some of the games and tasks negatively required. In other words, he was more or less cooperative under mild coercion, but as soon as given a chance to go, he expressed his voluntarily concealed feeling against the adult by leaving.

In general, then, all children preferred the more kind directive verbal influences. This was true for both sexes, five different age levels, and the different intelligence brackets. The more problematic personality was characterized by relatively greater losses through the more maligning negative approaches. He had the greater need for careful directive assistance.

Profit to research as well as to human and social living, we may conclude, will come through more conscious attention to various methodologies in the study of spoken words. In speech we have the symbolic impact of one personality upon another. In it we have social phenomena described in types and degrees of communication. Speech affords rich concrete data for objectifying personality and the social interaction of human beings.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

TOPICAL SUMMARY OF CURRENT LITERATURE ON HUMAN ECOLOGY

JAMES A. QUINN

A topical summary of current literature on human ecology involves some peculiar difficulties: (*a*) No previous topical summary exists to serve as a starting-point in time, and, therefore, the present review includes something more than strictly current literature; its time span covers the years 1925–39. In addition, this summary includes occasional references to basic materials which appeared prior to 1925. (*b*) The field of human ecology has been variously defined, and no clear-cut outline of the topics to be included within it has been unanimously accepted. According to certain authors, the current literature on human ecology would include anthropology, biology, demography, economics, geography, and psychology. Obviously, the present summary cannot include the literature of all these varied fields; therefore, a common-sense procedure has been followed. The present summary centers around the writings of sociologists. It includes, however, enough references from other fields to characterize contrasting conceptions of human ecology and to indicate typical examples of basic materials which sociological students of ecology frequently employ. (*c*) Many of the books and articles cited discuss two or more ecological topics; therefore, a summary by topics must either remain incomplete or must involve considerable duplication of citations. (*d*) Not all published ecological materials were available to the present writer; therefore, the present summary is not complete.

The outline of topics used in this summary has been adapted from R. D. McKenzie's *Readings in Human Ecology*. The present outline includes five principal headings: (*a*) "The Nature of Human Ecology," (*b*) "Ecological Organization and Dominance," (*c*) "Interpretations of Spatial Distributions," (*d*) "Migration and Mobility," and (*e*) "Succession."

a) THE NATURE OF HUMAN ECOLOGY

Definitions and characterizations of human ecology.—All authors in this field agree upon one essential fact, namely, that human ecology studies relations between men and their natural environments. Beyond this one point unanimity does not extend.

One widespread point of view regards human ecology as an extension to human beings of plant and animal ecology. This point of view receives strongest expression from the biologists, with Adams (1)[1] and Bews (24) as outstanding exponents. The biologists tend to regard human ecology either as a branch of biology or as a marginal field that combines biological and social aspects. Sociologists, in contrast, ordinarily look upon human ecology as a phase of social study, although Hollingshead (139) places it within both natural and social science, and Park (233, 238) recognizes the ecological relationship of symbiosis as essentially biological.

Wells, Huxley, and Wells (321), writing from the biological point of view, define ecology as biological economics—the science of subsistence. Human ecology to them appears to be synonymous with economics. Hankins (120) represents a somewhat similar point of view among the sociologists.

Human ecology has sometimes been identified with human geography. Barrows (18) defined geography as human ecology in his 1922 presidential address before the Association of American Geographers. White and Renner (325), in 1936, added the subtitle, *An Introduction to Human Ecology*, to their introductory text in geography. House (142), among the sociologists, explicitly identifies human geography and human ecology. Mukerjee (213, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220), whose writings have emphasized regional studies, also exhibits a strong geographic bias. Park (233) and McKenzie (187), on the contrary, explicitly differentiate between the two fields.

McKenzie (185) has set the major pattern for sociological definitions of human ecology. His influence is reflected, for example, in definitions by Anderson (174), Bain (174), Cooley, Angell, and Carr (62), Dawson and Gettys (71), Duncan (81), Gist and Halbert (107), Hiller (134), Mowrer (211), and Wirth (329).

Even when human ecology is restricted to the field of sociology,

[1] Figures in parentheses refer to the bibliography at the end of the article.

wide differences of opinion concerning its nature still remain. The major emphases among sociologists stress human ecology, respectively, as (*a*) the study of ecological organization and processes, (*b*) the study of natural areas, and (*c*) the study of spatial aspects of human phenomena. These three emphases obviously overlap, and various authors have combined them in different ways. Each emphasis seems sufficiently important, however, to merit individual attention.

McKenzie (185, 187, 188, 192, 194, 195) and Park (233) represent the point of view that human ecology is the study of ecological organization and ecological processes. McKenzie emphasizes the fact that impersonal processes of selection, distribution, and accommodation —processes that depend upon influences of the natural environment—result in the spatial distribution of human phenomena and in the ecological structure of areas. Park's recent article on the nature of human ecology (233), as well as his earlier conceptual treatment of "competition" and "community" (241), emphasizes the study of ecological structure and processes. Moreover, Park's articles on "Succession" (237) and "Symbiosis" (238) discuss, respectively, certain aspects of ecological process and structure. Holmes (140) interprets the process of struggle for survival as an ecological phenomenon. Quinn (250) analyzes the nature of ecological interaction as distinct from social interaction. He then (251) defines the sociological phase of human ecology in terms of this process of ecological interaction and of the impersonal structure that arises from it.

Two points of emphasis in relation to the study of ecological structure and process may be mentioned. One of them, formulated by Park and Burgess (241) and criticized by Alihan (6), treats human ecology as the study of "community"; the other, emphasized by Park (231) and McKenzie (185), stresses the effects of "position" in sociological analyses.

A few sociologists regard human ecology as practically synonymous with the study of natural areas—urban, rural, regional. MacIver (182) declares that the ecological school has particularly devoted itself to the social and cultural phenomena associated with certain urban areas. Alihan (6) refers to studies of local areas in

Chicago as typical of the so-called "ecological school." The study of natural areas necessarily overlaps that of ecological structure and processes. The two points of view differ in emphasis, however: the study of ecological organization includes only a single limited, impersonal aspect of the total structure and processes of an area, whereas the study of a natural area ordinarily includes social, personal, and cultural phenomena along with the ecological. In fact, many so-called "ecological" studies of natural areas—for example, the studies of Anderson (12), Frazier (100), and Zorbaugh (346)—devote most of their space to nonecological topics.

Most studies of human ecology by sociologists treat primarily of the spatial aspects of human relations. This emphasis has become so strong that a number of sociologists use the fact of space distribution as the chief delimiting characteristic of human ecology. These authors conceive any study as ecological in so far as it involves studies of the spatial spread of human phenomena. The bibliography by Caldwell (47), which includes large numbers of references to compilations of data by small statistical areas, represents an extreme illustration of this point of view. Elmer has implied the same point of view in one article (85), but has denied it in other characterizations of ecology (338).

The scope of human ecology.—Conceptions of the scope of human ecology vary widely. Bews (24) represents the most inclusive point of view. He would make human ecology an inclusive synthesis of all the human sciences, embracing all those which study (*a*) the human organism, (*b*) its environment, and (*c*) the functional relation between the two. At the other extreme, certain sociologists would limit human ecology to one specialized phase of sociological study.

Few sociologists have listed the main topics that should be included within human ecology. McKenzie and Hollingshead constitute the outstanding exceptions, with the latter following closely the pattern set by the former. A short but excellent statement by McKenzie (188) divides ecological theory into three major divisions, namely, ecological organization, ecological dominance, and ecological succession. The most elaborate statement by this author of the scope of human ecology is implied in his outline of *Readings* (192),

which, however, he regards as tentative. The chief headings are (*a*) "Ecology Defined," (*b*) "Social Aggregation," (*c*) "Mobility," (*d*) "Ecological Organization," (*e*) "Dominance," and (*f*) "Succession." This outline was used with only minor changes both by Hollingshead and as the major guide for the present summary. Hollingshead (139), in addition, gives a formal outline of the scope of human ecology under the following five headings: (*a*) "Population," (*b*) "Territorial (Ecological) Organization," (*c*) "The Position and Function of Dominance," (*d*) "Migration," and (*e*) "Succession." It may be noted in passing that the present summary omits materials on aggregation and vital statistics, which seem to belong to the field of demography rather than of ecology.

Relations of human ecology to marginal fields.—Sociologists depend heavily upon other disciplines for ecological materials. McKenzie (188) declared, in 1931, that research in human ecology up to that time had been done largely by geographers, students of population and economic historians. One of the chief evidences of the close relation between human ecology and marginal disciplines is the wide range of materials used as sources and references by sociological writers. Some of the more usual sources found in ecological literature may be illustrated as follows: (*a*) Plant and animal ecologists—for example, Allee (7, 8, 9 ,10), Alverdes (11), Baker (16), Braun-Blanquet (38), Carpenter (48), Chapman (56), Clements (57, 58, 59), Elton (86, 87), Hesse (133), McDougall (181), Pearse (243), Salisbury (263), and Weaver and Clements (317)—furnish concepts, techniques, or illustrative descriptions that human ecologists find useful. (*b*) Geographers—for example, Case and Bergsmark (51), Finch (95), Forde (98), Huntington and Carlson (146, 147), Smith (278), Vance (309, 310, 311, 312, 313), Van Cleef (315), and White and Renner 325)—supply essential data for the study of ecological structure and processes. Geographic studies of cities and regions—such as those by Adams (2), Bergsmark (23), Chambers (54, 55), Colby (61), Dickinson (73), James (149), Platt (246), and Ridgley (259)—serve as source materials for many sociological studies. (*c*) Economists and business experts—for example, Bartholomew (19), Dorau and Hinman (75), Hoyt (143), Hurd (148), and McMichael and Bingham (197)—furnish data, concepts, and techniques. (*d*) Economic

historians such as Gras (109, 110) supply valuable data on the development of ecological structure within regions. (*e*) The work of regional and local surveyors—for example, the regional survey of New York and its environs, summarized by Haig and McCrea (119), and the recent study of Pittsburgh (153)—has been accepted as ecological. (*f*) Compilations of population data (111, 112, 113, 158) and of property data (114) in terms of various areas but especially in terms of census tracts frequently appear in ecological surveys and discussions. Upon the basis of these and other citations, it seems safe to say that marginal interests—biology, civics, economics, geography, and social administration—furnish many data basic to ecological analysis. The use of these data by sociological students of ecology does not mean, however, that either the data themselves or their analysis by biologists, geographers, and economists makes them ecological. Their use indicates only that ecological analysis depends upon many facts, techniques, and concepts which human ecology shares with marginal disciplines.

Park (105, 236) declares that the major value of human ecology is to furnish a short cut to the study of complex social phenomena, which may be accomplished through the use of ecological indices. Several authors—for example, Reckless (252), Schmid (268), Burgess (43, 46), Lind (162), and Hollingshead (138)—have accepted this idea and have attempted to apply various indices to sociological analysis. Blumer (29) has severely criticized this notion of indices.

The student who wishes a brief selected bibliography on the nature of human ecology and who does not wish to cover the wide range of ecological literature may profitably examine the following sources: Alihan (6), Barrows (18), Bews (24), Bogardus (30, 31, 32), Burgess (42, 43, 46), Dawson (70, 71), Hollingshead (139), McKenzie (185, 187, 188, 192, 194), Mukerjee (213, 216, 217, 218, 219), Park (232, 233, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241), Quinn (250, 251), Schmid (267), and White and Renner (325).

b) ECOLOGICAL ORGANIZATION AND DOMINANCE

Ecological organization and dominance are closely related aspects of ecological structure. They may be conveniently discussed together in this summary of literature.

This section of materials should be distinguished clearly from the

following one which attempts to summarize interpretations of spatial distribution. The present section will be concerned with studies of ecological organization per se rather than with the use of the ecological frame of reference in the interpretation of spatially distributed phenomena.

Zonal organization.—The most noted hypothesis of urban structure is the Burgess Zonal Hypothesis (43), which conceives the city as organized into five concentric circular zones. This hypothesis has been applied to the study of several cities, notably Chicago (46, 347), Rochester (37), Montreal (71), and Long Beach (171). It has been utilized in the interpretation of transitional and blighted areas by Carpenter (50) and by Thrasher (305). This zonal hypothesis has been widely applied in making interpretations of spatial distributions. Specific criticisms of the Burgess hypothesis have been made by Alihan (6), Davie (67), and Muntz (221), who believe either that it is worthless or that it must at least be considerably modified in order to fit observed facts.

Mosaics of natural areas.—The idea of the urban community as a mosaic of natural areas, not necessarily zonal, was suggested by Park (236). Burgess conceived the urban mosaic of natural areas as fitting into the frame of concentric circular zones. Other authors, such as Schmid, do not assume the necessity for zonal structure in the natural-area urban mosaic.

Various types of concrete studies of the urban mosaic have been made. Schmid (268) prepared interesting maps of natural areas in Minneapolis and St. Paul; Weaver (318) investigated natural areas in Philadelphia; Green (113) used census-tract materials to characterize cultural areas of Cleveland; and Burgess (45) used similar data in studying residential segregation in cities. Bartholomew (19) made maps of land utilizations within several medium-sized cities which showed that functional utilizations tend to concentrate in distinct areas. The regional study of New York (256) disclosed the tendency for various functions to concentrate in more-or-less restricted parts of that area. Various students of the urban mosaic have suggested individual principles of explanation for the location of various areas, but no one has developed a generalized hypothesis similar to that of urban zones.

The gradient.—Students of human ecology have used the gradient as a technique in analyzing the internal structure of areas. By "gradient" they mean a gradual increase or decrease of a given phenomenon as one moves away from a center of dominance. Smith (281) points out that the spatial gradient is most frequently used in sociology but that the concept need not be limited to this spatial aspect of sociological study.

The work of Burgess (42) and of Shaw (273) constitutes important milestones in the study of urban gradients. Shaw (274, 275, 276) has used the idea of gradient in numerous studies of the distribution of delinquency. He has made use of both the radial gradient (i.e., a gradient measured along a single radial street) and the zonal gradient (i.e., a gradient measured in terms of geometric circular zones). The rates of various social data have been found to increase or decrease regularly when studied in terms of either radial gradients or zonal gradients. White (326) tested the gradient hypothesis by studying felonies in the city of Indianapolis. Alihan, a severe critic of ecological research, accepts the validity of the gradient.

Gradient studies have been applied to regions, particularly to regions organized around urban centers. Park found that newspaper circulation changes inversely with distance from the city (240, 242). Smith (281) studied changes in relief rates for zones and tier counties surrounding various urban centers in four states. Brunner and Kolb (40, 156) examined the gradient pattern of numerous social phenomena radiating out from cities—for example, birth-rate, age distribution, sex ratio, marital status, amount of improved land per farm, mortgage indebtedness, school population, value of farm property, value of crops, income tax, and passenger automobiles. Sutherland (292) studied delinquency gradients in the Chicago region, and Whelpton (323) investigated the relationship between biological fertility and distance from cities.

Natural areas.—Studies of ecological organization frequently make use of the concept "natural areas." This concept has been widely used in sociological literature. The concept itself is best known through the work of Burgess, Park, and the University of Chicago studies. Literature on natural areas may be conveniently divided as follows: urban subareas, cities as areas, rural and small-town areas, and regions.

Studies of specific urban subareas may be illustrated by Zorbaugh's study of the Near North Side community of Chicago (346); Anderson's description of hobohemia (12); Thrasher's analysis of Chicago's gangland as an interstitial area (305); Frazier's study of Negro Harlem (100); various studies of blighted areas (97, 150, 336); and McClenahan's study (178) of a changing urban neighborhood in Los Angeles. Whetten and Devereux (324) studied the suburbanization of a local area in Connecticut. Studies of specific areas sometimes constitute type studies, as, for example, Wirth's study of the ghetto (330, 331), which is typical of many cities, and McClenahan's concept of the "communality" (179).

Studies of natural areas such as those cited above ordinarily include larger proportions of social and personal analysis than of ecological interpretation. A few areal studies—for example, that of Beynon (26)—are concerned primarily with social rather than ecological relations. The significance of urban natural areas for social administration has been suggested by Burgess (41, 44).

A few studies—for example, that of Leiffer (161)—have specifically attacked the problem of methods for determining boundaries of urban subareas. Palmer's *Field Studies in Sociology* (230) suggests various concrete techniques by which various subareas may be delimited and characterized.

Entire cities as natural areas have been studied by Schmid (268), Hansen (121), and Young (340). McKenzie (196) has examined the effects of transportation upon the city as a whole. Small towns have been described and analyzed by Vaile (308), Harlan (122), and Blumenthal (28).

Studies of village and rural communities have tended to follow the pattern set by Galpin (101, 102). Such studies have been made by Bakkum and Melvin (17), Baumgartel (20), Kolb (154), Kolb and Polson (157), Morgan and Howells (207), Oyler (229), Sanderson and Thompson (266), Taylor and Yoder (297, 298), Wakeley (316), and Zimmerman and Taylor (344). Hiller, Corner, and East (135) have studied rural community types in Illinois; Brunner, Hughes, and Patten (39) have investigated American agricultural villages; while Terpenning (300) has written upon village and open-country neighborhoods. Sanderson has described the factors which determine the structure and area of the rural community (264) and has

suggested techniques for "locating" the rural community (265). Methods for determining rural social subareas have been worked out in considerable detail by Lively and Almack (169). The change from neighborhood to regional organization and its effect on rural life has been studied by Tylor (306).

Considerable attention has been given during recent years to regions. These materials involve specific studies of two types of region: (*a*) metropolitan regions and (*b*) nonmetropolitan regions and subregions.

The outstanding contribution to the study of metropolitan communities in the United States has been made by McKenzie (189). The growth of metropolitan communities has been studied by Gras (109, 110), McKenzie (193), and Matherly (199). Methods of delimiting the metropolitan community have been suggested by Menefee (201), Park (242), and the United States Bureau of the Census (307). A more-or-less complete regional survey has been made for New York and its environs (256).

An outstanding study of regions in the United States was made by Odum (226). Mangus (198), working under the Works Progress Administration, has developed significant maps of regions for the rural-farm and the rural-nonfarm populations of the United States. Woofter (337) worked out the detailed subregions of the Southeast. Dawson (69) used physiographic regions for determining the population areas of Canada. Ogilvie (228) has analyzed the regions of Great Britain primarily from the geographic point of view. The ecology of a river valley has been worked out by Mukerjee (220).

Regions serve not only as units for research but for purposes of planning and administration. Studies by Lively (166), Mackaye (183), Menefee (202), and the National Resources Committee (222, 223, 224, 225), respectively, may serve to illustrate these latter points of view.

Anthropologists have contributed to the regional concept as a cultural phenomenon. Redfield (255) read a paper before the division of human ecology of the American Sociological Society on the "Regional Aspect of Culture." Wissler (334, 335) has made extended use of the culture-area concept in research. The Lynds (176, 177) used techniques of cultural anthropology in their studies of "Middle-

town." Lowie (172) and Taylor (299) have suggested some relations between ecology and anthropology. These and other cultural studies sometimes appear in ecological bibliographies, although they probably should not be classed as truly ecological.

A number of articles on the general theory and philosophy of regions and regionalism may be found in sociological literature—for example, those by Harrison (123, 124), Hartsough (125), Moore (206), Ogburn (227), Vance (314), and Wirth (332).

Functional structure.—Most of the literature on functional structure deals either with commerce or with the functional relations of service institutions to population. Denune (72) studied the social and economic relations of farmers with towns in Ohio counties; Galpin (103) analyzed the trade functions of the American village; and Hoffer discussed services of rural trade centers (136) and analyzed town-country relationships (137). Kolb (155) has written on service relations between town and country; Melvin (200), upon village service agencies in New York. Price and Hoffer (247) investigated the services of rural trade centers in the distribution of farm supplies. Zimmerman (342) analyzed farm trade centers in Minnesota, and Lively (165) studied the appearance and disappearance of minor trade centers within that state between 1905 and 1930. The Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station (203) made a study showing the number of persons required to support a physician and a hospital. Rolph (260) analyzed the relation between the population pattern and retail buying in a large American urban community. Cohen's (60) doctoral dissertation dealt with the relation of the automobile industry to demographic and economic forces in Detroit. Studies now under way but not yet published indicate increasing attention to the functional aspects of ecological organization.

The concept of ecological organization.—Ecological literature contains only a few references that specifically attempt to clarify the concepts of ecological organization themselves. Mukerjee (214) has discussed the concepts of balance and organization in "social ecology." McKenzie (192) includes a section on the concept "ecological organization" in his *Readings*, and Hollingshead (139) includes a similar section on this concept.

The concept of dominance.—The concept "dominance" has also been somewhat neglected in ecological literature, although it has been widely applied in concrete studies. Two major articles of theoretical significance have been written, respectively, by Park (232) and by McKenzie (184). Major sections of material on "dominance" occur in McKenzie's *Readings* and in Hollingshead's outline of ecology.

c) INTERPRETATIONS OF SPATIAL DISTRIBUTIONS

A considerable portion of ecological literature has been concerned with the interpretations of spatially distributed phenomena through use of the ecological frame of reference rather than with the study of ecological organization and processes per se. Some of these materials are little more than mere descriptions of the spatial spread of human phenomena and therefore cannot, under a strict definition of the field, qualify as ecological. Others of these materials use hypotheses of natural areas, zones, and gradients to explain spatial distributions. These latter types of studies may legitimately be classed as ecological, but the validity of their conclusions depends upon the existence of a significant relationship between ecological and social phenomena —a relationship which has not yet been proved.

The following materials on spatial distributions have been divided into two major divisions: (*a*) studies of the spatial distribution classified by types of social phenomena and (*b*) the major map techniques by which these spatial phenomena have been graphically organized and displayed.

Studies of spatially distributed phenomena.—Various types of personal, social, and cultural phenomena have been described in terms of their spatial distribution—for example, delinquency, mental disorders, vice, divorce, institutions, and groups.

Clifford Shaw (273, 274, 275, 276) is the outstanding student of the spatial spread of juvenile delinquency. His works illustrate the use of various ecological techniques—radial gradients, zonal gradients, and natural areas. He has attempted to correlate juvenile delinquency rates with certain indices of community life. White's study (326) of felonies in Indianapolis tests the gradient hypothesis and examines the relations of felonies to environmental factors.

Taft (296) attempted to test the selective influence of areas of delinquency. Longmoor and Young (171) made cartographic analyses of juvenile delinquency in Long Beach and studied the relations of this phenomenon to dependency and population mobility. Hayner (126) analyzed delinquency areas in the Puget Sound region. Smith and Taylor (282) examined the distribution of juvenile delinquency and dependency in a rural Ohio county.

A considerable literature has appeared concerning the spatial distribution of mental disorders. This work centers around the studies of Faris (91, 92, 93) and Dunham (82, 83). In addition, McDermott (180) and others have described the spatial distribution of this phenomenon.

Cavan (52) studied the relation of suicide rates to various areas of the city. Schmid (269, 270, 271) has made studies of suicide rates in Pittsburgh, Seattle, Minneapolis, and St. Paul.

Various aspects of vice have been studied in relation to the spatial structure of the city. Reckless (252, 254) has analyzed the relation of vice institutions to various urban areas and zones and has shown how these activities adapt themselves to local urban conditions.

Studies of domestic life involve phenomena both of the spatial spread of divorce and of the spatial spread of various domestic types. Mowrer (208, 209, 210, 212), for example, showed the relation of types of family organization to the natural areas of Chicago. He also portrayed the spatial distribution of family disintegration and its relation to mobility. Bossard examined the relation between ecological areas and marriage rates (33) and the relation between propinquity and the selection of marriage mates (34), but his analysis seems essentially cultural rather than ecological. His study of the spatial distribution of divorced women (35), however, involves ecological analysis. Frazier (99) has studied the spatial distribution of phenomena associated with the Negro family.

The general problem of the ecological approach to the study of institutions has been discussed by Hughes (144). Several "ecological" studies of various institutions and groups may be found in current literature. The ecological approach to church has been made by Holt (141), Wells (319), Leiffer (160), and Douglass (77, 78, 79); Hayner (128, 129) has analyzed hotel life and its relation to various

urban areas; Cressey (66) examined the location of taxi-dance halls in Chicago; Thrasher (305) interpreted the distribution of gangs as a phenomenon of the interstitial transitional area; and Shideler (277) studied the business center as an institution.

The effects of urban areas upon personality and personality types have been examined by Zorbaugh (345) and by Wirth (333). Wells (320) studied the effects of urban experience upon religious loyalty; Plant (244), the effects of population concentration upon temperament; and Hughes (145), the effects of occupation upon personality types. Lind (163) studied ecological patterns of community disorganization in Honolulu. General descriptions and summaries of spatial studies, completed or in progress, have been made by Smith and White (283), Elliott and Merrill (84), Sullenger (290), and Quinn (249).

Techniques used in studying spatial distributions.—Several map techniques have been utilized in studying the spatial spread of human phenomena—for example, base maps, isometric and cartographic maps, spot maps, cross-hatch maps, and census-tract maps. Summary discussions of these and other techniques have been prepared by Bogardus (31) and by Schmid (267).

Base maps modeled after the *Social Base Map of Chicago* (284) have been prepared for various cities. The nature of base maps has been discussed by Young (339) and Eubank (88). The base map involves the plotting of basic data in terms of which other data may be interpreted and given new meanings.

The isometric map described by Mowrer (211) and the cartographic map utilized by Longmoor and Young (171) attempt to apply to human phenomena the principles used by the Weather Bureau in preparing weather maps. These maps are of the contour variety in which contour lines connect points of equal rates of a given phenomenon.

Census-tract maps have come into wide use in urban areas during the last two decades. The organization and history of census-tract maps for various cities have been described by Drolet and Guilfoy (80), Eubank (90), Green (115), Laidlaw (158), Reckless (253), and others. The history and the growth of census tracts have been summarized for the United States Bureau of the Census by Green and

Truesdell (116). Schmid (272) has summarized the experiences of sociologists relative to census tracts and used this summary as the basis for an article on the theory and practice of these spatial units. Numerous compilations of data have been presented in terms of these census-tract areas but need not be cited here.

Some of the statistical problems involved in the use of data from small geographic areas have been discussed by Chaddock (53), Gehlke and Biehl (106), Ross (261), and Stephan (289).

d) MIGRATION AND MOBILITY

Ecological literature usually includes materials on migration and mobility. The extent to which this literature belongs in the field of ecology depends upon the way in which one defines the field. The following references include only a few illustrative samples. Extensive bibliographies may be obtained from general texts on population, the *Population Index,* and research studies of various population movements.

Most of the materials on migration and mobility take the form of descriptions or analyses of concrete population movements or their effects upon personal and social phenomena; few sources discuss the concept of mobility or its relation to ecological theory.

The books and articles by Ferenczi (94), Heape (131), Taft (295), Thompson (301), and Willcox (327) may be taken as illustrative of general texts or treatises on population movements. Internal migrations within the United States have been studied by Lively and Taeuber (170), Ross and Truxall (262), Taeuber and Taeuber (294), Thompson (302), and Thornthwaite (304). Thompson (303) has studied the relation of internal migration to the depression; Zimmerman (343) has discussed problems of rural-urban migration; Beynon (27) has described the migration of southern white laborers to Michigan; Beck and Lively (22) have analyzed the movements of rural population in Ohio; Albig (5) has studied population movements in the towns of Danville, Bloomington, Rock Island, and Moline; Lind (164) has studied the population mobility of Seattle; Lively (167) has described the spatial mobility of rural population for local areas; and Gee (104) has studied the rural depopulation of a single township.

The movements of various classes of population may be illustrated by the following studies: Smith, of eminent men (279) and of urban strangers (280); Joy, of American business and professional men (152); Anderson, of rural families (14) and of farm-owner operators (15); and Moore, of insurance policyholders (205).

Many books and articles have listed or discussed the causes and results of migration. For example, Heberle (132) has summarized German theories on the cause of rural-urban migration; Goodrich and others (108) have analyzed the relation between migration and economic opportunity; Jerome (151) has written concerning migration and business cycles; Dodson (74) has investigated the relation between living conditions and population migration in four mountain counties; McKenzie (190) has discussed the relation between movement and the ability to live; Winston (328) has correlated data on educational status with mobility; Dorn (76) has analyzed census materials on the relation between migration and the growth of cities; and Bowen (36) has discussed population mobility and economic recovery. The relations of population movement to personal or social disorganization have been discussed by various authors—for example, Beach and Beach (21), Hayner (130), Park (234, 235), and Plant (245). Wessel (322) has examined the eugenic significance of selective migration from three Vermont towns; and Fishberg (96) and Reuter (257) have written about the significance of social and racial contacts resulting from migration.

Although most of the materials on mobility have related to movements in space, a few have discussed the nature and significance of occupational mobility. The articles by Lamson (159) and by Lively (168) may be taken as examples.

Critical articles upon the techniques of studying mobility have not been plentiful. Albig (3, 4) and Corbally (63) have written on methods of measuring urban residential mobility; and Lundberg (175) and his associates have attempted to determine mobility rates by studying length of residence in the present home.

The concept "mobility" has not been clearly defined from the ecological point of view. Sullenger (291) makes a distinction between social and ecological mobility. Sorokin's well-known materials on social mobility (285, 286) do not adequately characterize the dis-

tinction between this concept in the ecological and social fields. McKenzie's *Readings in Human Ecology* (192) contains a division on mobility in which the concept is defined but which, nevertheless, devotes most of its space to descriptions of population movements. Hollingshead sets forth a brief definition of migration but gives most emphasis to descriptions of migrations and to the effects of migration upon spatial distribution and personal and social disorganization. A good study of the ecological concept of mobility remains to be written.

e) SUCCESSION

Sociologists have borrowed the concept of "succession" mainly from plant ecologists and particularly from Clements (57). Among these biologists succession has generally meant that, within an area, changes in plant formations occur in series and cycles with each stage replacing or succeeding the other. McKenzie (192) included succession as one of the major ecological processes and defined it as a complete change in use and population type between the first and last stages of the occupancy of an area. Park (237) extended the concept broadly and combined it with the idea of index to include "any orderly and irreversible series of events, provided they are to such an extent correlated with other less obvious and more fundamental social changes that they may be used as indices of these changes." This broad usage has led to the inclusion in bibliographies on succession of such widely diverse studies as the anthropologist's "stages of culture," the historian's "succession of empire," frontier movements of people, immigrant invasions, business cycles, and the like. Hollingshead (139), who follows Park's usage, presents an elaborate definition of succession and lists five major types of this phenomenon—cultural, territorial, demographic, occupational, and land utilization. Mukerjee (215) pleads for the use of succession and other ecological concepts, with illustrations from the Ganges Valley, but his article adds little to the understanding of the concept. Alihan (6) critically attacks the concept as applied to the study of human ecological relations.

Concrete studies of succession have been made by McKenzie (186), who traced changes in the Puget Sound region from pioneer to metropolitan stages; by Hayner (127), for the San Juan Islands; by

Lind (162), for Hawaii; and by Cressey (64, 65), for population groups in Chicago. Hollingshead (138) studied changes in land ownership as an index of succession. Occupational as distinct from territorial succession has been studied by Beynon (25), McKenzie (191), Mitchell (204), and others, but not always under that name.

THE STATUS OF HUMAN ECOLOGY IN SOCIOLOGICAL TEXTS

Texts in introductory and general sociology show wide variations in their treatment of human ecology. Park and Burgess (241), who have been prominent in the ecological field, make only one reference to human ecology by name but, nevertheless, give its theoretical background in materials on "community" and "competition." Other authors, for example, Lumley (173), who do not mention ecology by name, nevertheless include materials basic to it. The most elaborate treatment of the field in an introductory text occurs in Dawson and Gettys (71), where more than a hundred pages are devoted to the ecological approach. Reuter and Hart (258) devote a chapter to "Competition and Human Ecology," and Sutherland and Woodward (293), a chapter to "The Community as an Ecological Area." Bogardus (32) lists the ecological as one of three major sociological approaches. Gregory and Bidgood (117) include one chapter on ecology and another on competition for space. Wright and Elmer (338) discuss ecological interaction and ecological processes. Several texts—for example, Cooley, Angell, and Carr (62), Eubank (89), Groves (118), Hankins (120), Hiller (134), and MacIver (182)—give brief references to ecology but do not treat it as an essential part of an introduction to sociology. Young, who writes from the institutional point of view, does not include ecology in his introductory text. Other volumes which omit ecology, at least by name, include Boettiger, Fairchild, Rinehardt and Davies, Ross, and Zeleny.

Texts in both urban and rural sociology likewise vary. Anderson and Lindeman (13), Carpenter (49), Gist and Halbert (107), Queen and Thomas (248), and Steiner (288) include the ecological approach as important in urban study. In contrast, Davie (68) and Muntz (221) either neglect ecology or dismiss it as of little value. Rural texts generally include the ecological approach, especially following

the pattern set by Galpin (101). The *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, by Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin (287), makes considerable use of the ecological approach. Zimmerman (341) uses the ecological along with other approaches in his study of the changing community.

The status of human ecology in sociological texts may be briefly summarized as follows: Sociologists are divided into two groups—one of them has come increasingly to stress the importance of ecology, the other of them neglects it. On the whole, the former group seems to be increasing in strength and in its degree of emphasis upon the ecological field.

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UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

In the interest of encouraging presentation of divergent views, the editor invites comments on the articles and the book reviews appearing in the *Journal.*

THE TOLERATION QUOTIENT AS A DEVICE FOR DEFINING SOCIAL CONCEPTS[1]

It seems to me that Professor Van Vechten's discussion of Dr. Sutherland's presidential address, "White Collar Criminality," draws attention away from the real function of the sociologist. The sociologist is interested in studying patterns of behavior whether they are criminal or law-abiding patterns. The sociologist is concerned with the investigation, analysis, and interpretation of patterns of behavior no matter how they are classified by the community, by criminal law, or by some other agency. The function of the sociologist would not be changed if a decision were reached to call "white-collar crimes" something other than crimes. The sociologist would still have to explain the pattern of behavior found in white-collar crimes and do so through the study of the experiences of individuals and groups of individuals in "good neighborhoods and good homes."

If one is to be concerned over labels for behavior, as most of us seem to be, there is a question as to who should provide the labels—the lay community that does not understand the behavior or the specialists who do have some understanding in objective terms. Should the criminologist or the local lay resident decide what is crime? Should the community or the physician decide what is a disease? Should the community or the dietitian decide what is an adequate diet? Should the community decide what is mental ill-health or should this be in the hands of a specialist? Should the layman or the scientist decide whether the earth is flat or round? Both the layman and the specialist will make decisions, and both decisions should be regarded as data. The specialist will have to regard the definition of the community as data and consider it as an interactive factor in a complex situation that has to be studied along with other realities. The "tolerance quotient" is as much a part of a total situation as the "crooked practices." Viewed from one angle, the tolerance quotient is one of the interactive factors in a total situation that makes it possible for the crooked practices to become interactive elements in that situation. They have their meanings not as isolated elements but in terms of each other and in terms of many other factors.

[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVI (1940), 35–42.

If the social definition makes a white-collar crime not a crime, it is not because there is a tolerance quotient but because there is the type of total community situation that permits the tolerance quotient and accepts "legitimate rackets" as noncriminal behavior. There is a total community situation in which both the tolerance quotient and the legitimate rackets can become interactive factors. There is a total situation that accepts certain practices of the "upper class" as noncriminal and certain practices of the "lower class" as criminal. The tolerance quotient gets its meaning in terms of other factors too numerous to mention, factors that would not be the same in any two communities—in some European communities the tolerance quotient might not be the same for upper-class Jews as for upper-class Gentiles. This makes the tolerance quotient or the "value-judgments" just interactive factors and not the "*modus operandi* of the problem" as they have been called.[2]

When delinquency is studied in "delinquency areas," in deteriorated neighborhoods, and in families, the tolerance quotient is taken into consideration. It is regarded as a part of delinquency and crime by Shaw, McKay, and others. There is no reason for excluding it from criminal activities when the center of attention is "good neighborhoods and good homes." One of the difficulties lies in the fact that it is not in the mores to study the behavior of upper classes. Their behavior is not data. It is all right to study the adjustments of individuals in the poverty belt or to study so-called inferior races, but one is not supposed to invade the private lives of those in the upper classes. It is obvious that sociologists and other students of behavior do not consider their own adjustments as data to be investigated, analyzed, and explained.

Tolerance quotients, value-judgments, white-collar crimes, the crimes of the lower classes—all came to actualization in the operation of the social process, in social interaction on a cultural level. When behavior is to be explained, each one is viewed as an interactive factor and not as the explanation of any other factor. Each gets its meaning in terms of the other. The nature of white-collar crime helps to determine the nature of the tolerance quotient, and the nature of the tolerance quotient helps to define white-collar crime; but the one is not the explanation of the other since there are many other factors besides these.

L. Guy Brown

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REJOINDER

Dr. Brown states that the function of the sociologist is to investigate, analyze, and interpret behavior patterns regardless of community classification, although the community's definitions are data, and that his function would not be changed if we were to call white-collar crime something other than crime.

[2] See R. C. Fuller, "The Problem of Teaching Social Problems," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1938.

All this I accept, provided it be recognized that the social definition of an act is so vital a part of it that the sociologist must accept differences in social definition as significantly differentiating behavior.

To say that the studies of socially condemned criminal behavior are invalid because they do not apply to socially accepted illegal behavior is to ignore this fact and to scrap much useful material merely because it has limited applicability.

I am rather surprised at Dr. Brown's concern over who should provide labels. The community did know the earth was flat for centuries after the experts found otherwise; the community does define disease, diet, and, especially, crime. The sociologist's ability to define crime is determined by his ability to obtain public acceptance for his definitions. The psychiatrist is in a similar position.

I see the toleration quotient as useful in that it is an effort to approach objectivity in the measurement of a vital social fact—the public definition of a particular act, committed by a particular class of individual in a particular time and place. Changes in it would be valuable as indicating direction of change of public opinion and as relevant to the problems of legislation and social control. I certainly never thought of the toleration quotient as making "white-collar crime not a crime" but as approaching an objective measure of that community willingness-to-do-something that is the vital social difference between "criminal" and merely "illegal" behavior.

C. C. VAN VECHTEN

Bureau of the Census

EDITORIAL NOTE

The resignation of the present editor of the *American Journal of Sociology* takes place with this issue. The new editor, Herbert Blumer, has long been associated with the *Journal* as advisory editor and for the last four years as associate editor.

During the last four years it has been the endeavor of the editors to maintain the general point of view and high standards of our predecessors, Albion W. Small, founder and editor of the *Journal* (1895–1926), and Ellsworth Faris, editor (1926–36).

The establishment in recent years of several new journals in the sociological field, particularly *Sociology and Social Research* (1916), *Social Forces* (1922), *Journal of Social Philosophy* (1935), *American Sociological Review* (1936), *Rural Sociology* (1936), and *Sociometry* (1937), has necessitated some change in orientation and in the specialization of this *Journal.* It has sought accordingly, by means of special issues, through its book reviews, and in its abstracts, to bring before our readers the significant contributions of the different psychological and social sciences. It has been our deep conviction that the development of our sociological thinking and of our methods of research would be greatly advanced by seeing them in the perspective of those of our neighboring disciplines.

In laying down the duties of editor, expression of gratitude goes to those whose assistance has been of great value to the *Journal:* to the associate editors, Herbert Blumer and Louis Wirth, whose contribution has been indispensable; to the book-review editor, Everett C. Hughes; to the advisory editors, for most helpful suggestions and advice; and to our constantly growing group of subscribers and readers, whose continued interest and support make possible the *Journal.*

One distinctive contribution of the *Journal* deserves special mention, namely, the formation under its auspices of the Sociology Book Club. Although little more than one year old, it now numbers several hundred members, who receive for approximately half-price important sociological publications as soon as they are published. It is hoped that this demonstration will point the way to other avenues of less expensive book publication.

In turning over the editorship of the *Journal* to the able direction of Herbert Blumer, I predict a new period of increasing service to the development of sociological knowledge.

ERNEST W. BURGESS

NEWS AND NOTES

RESEARCH NEWS

Bureau of the Census.—A field force of 100,000 enumerators were engaged during the month of April in the taking of the Sixteenth Decennial Census of Population as well as the censuses of housing, agriculture, business, and manufactures. Data were collected on approximately 130,000,000 people, 35,000,000 dwelling units, and 6,000,000 farms. This comprehensive inventory will afford sociologists basic facts on the widest variety of demographic, social, and economic subjects ever surveyed on a national scale. Not only were more persons canvassed than ever before but also the coverage of the population schedule was considerably augmented. This expansion was achieved partly by the inclusion of a set of supplementary questions asked of a random sample of 5 per cent of all individuals. This use of the representative method sets a precedent for American population censuses.

Only the most important innovations and changes can be listed here. A question on the highest grade of school completed was substituted for the less searching question on literacy. A new set of questions concerning place of residence on April 1, 1935, will open up the almost unexplored field of internal migration in the United States.

The series of three supplementary questions relating to the number of children ever born were discussed in the May issue of this *Journal.*[1] They were designed to throw light on some aspects of differential fertility that cannot be studied through the number of children under age five per woman. A special card was filled out by the enumerator for each child under four months of age. The purpose of this card was to improve the the enumeration of infants and to provide a direct check on the completeness of birth registration in different areas and among various classes.

Far-reaching changes were effected in the approach to the subject of employment status. For the first time inquiry was made about the activity of every person fourteen years old or over during a cross-section period (the week preceding the census date). These persons were first classified as in the labor force or not in the labor force. Those in the labor

[1] *American Journal of Sociology,* XLV (1940), 919.

force were further classified as (*a*) at work or with a job or business in private or nonemergency government work, (*b*) assigned to public emergency work, or (*c*) seeking work. Those not in the labor force were recorded as (*a*) engaged in home housework, (*b*) in school, (*c*) unable to work, and (*d*) "others." The number of hours worked was reported for persons at work during the week and the duration of unemployment for those seeking work and for emergency workers. Present or last occupation and industry were specified for experienced members of the labor force, and the classification according to class of worker was expanded. Experienced workers were designated as employees in private business, governmental employees, working on own account, employers, and unpaid family workers. For the 5 per cent sample, usual occupation, industry, and class of worker were also obtained.

The present census was the first to seek information on income. A report of the amount of money wages or salary received during 1939 was required for every person fourteen years old or over and also an indication as to whether he or she received $50 or more from sources other than wages or salary in this year. A question on the number of weeks worked in 1939 should help to complete the picture of adequacy of employment.

There was a less detailed treatment of the foreign-born, in accord with their diminishing importance as a national problem. The queries on birthplace of parents and on mother-tongue were relegated to the supplementary questions. Those on year of immigration and ability to speak English were dropped altogether.

At this time it is possible to give only highly approximate dates for the various publications. The complete set of bound volumes will probably not be available for several years. Preliminary announcements of population, however, have already been made by the field supervisors. In the past such figures have usually differed but little from the final ones. These final figures are established by a hand count made in Washington. They become the official population for the apportionment of congressional representatives to the states. The hand count also forms the basis of the first series of state bulletins, which give population totals for states, counties, and cities and are later bound together to form Volume I. All of these bulletins will probably be published by the end of the year.

The eight punch cards to be used include the "individual" population card, the household card, a preliminary-sample unemployment card, a supplementary individual card, a supplementary family card, a fertility card, and two housing cards. The supplementary cards will carry data from the supplementary questions (obtained from the 5 per cent sample of

individuals) and pertinent data on these individuals or their households from the main questions. The additional facts that are being punched on cards make possible the publication in the regular volumes of more source material for research. It is also planned to publish a number of analytical monographs, similar to those prepared for the 1920 census, on various subjects including differential fertility, internal migration, educational status, and racial and ethnic groups.

Society for Social Research.—The program of the annual Summer Institute of the Society, held August 16 and 17 at the University of Chicago, was organized around the following topics: present-day problems of war; crime; formal vs. informal aspects of social organization; the community and social stratification; the teaching of social problems; personality and culture; social change; methods in social science.

Among the papers read and discussed at the meetings were the following: W. A. Goldberg, Northwestern University, "The Chicago Crime Commission"; Corrado de Sylvester, Chicago, "Crime and Politics in a Chicago Community"; Donald Clemmer, Illinois State Penitentiary, "The Prison Community"; A. B. Hollingshead, Indiana University, "Organization of Nazi Society and Some Implications for Social Control"; Burleigh B. Gardner, Western Electric Company, "Social Solidarity and Group Morale among Factory Workers"; Kirson Weinberg, Illinois State Penitentiary, "The Sociology of Incest"; Elmer Henderson, Chicago, "Political Changes among Negroes in Chicago during the Depression"; Theodore Noss, Purdue University, "The Rise of Active Resistance to Social Innovation"; Ernest B. Harper, Michigan State College, "A Study of the Role of Group Opinion and Factual Knowledge in Institutional Accommodation to Social Change"; Buford Junker, National Youth Administration, "Opinions about the War in a Small Mid-Western City"; J. R. Hayden, University of Michigan, "American Pacific Possessions and National Defense"; Henri Simon Bloch, University of Chicago, "Financing a War"; Oskar Lange, University of Chicago, "Mobilizing Men and Resources"; John M. Gaus, University of Wisconsin, "Social Science Research in Agricultural Administration"; Clark Tibbitts, University of Michigan, "Potentialities of W.P.A. as an Aid to Social Science Research"; Allison Davis, American Council on Education, "Social Stratification in the Deep South"; Simon Marcson, Chicago, "Minority Status as Related to the Educational Institutions of a Group"; Ernest Manheim, University of Kansas City, "Minority Status as Related to Old and New Types of Nationalism"; Chester Alexander, Westminister College, "Ra-

cial Prejudices and Antipathies"; J. Sidney Slotkin, Chicago, "Jazz as an Acculturation Phenomenon"; Leo Srole, Chicago, "The Sociology of Modern Literature and Primitive Mythology"; C. Wright Mills, University of Wisconsin, "Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motive"; Paul Meadows, Northwestern University, "The Patterns of Revolutionary Thought"; and Richard C. Fuller and Richard R. Myers, University of Michigan, "Some Aspects of a Theory of Social Problems."

Office of Radio Research.—This research organization directed by Paul F. Lazarsfeld, formerly affiliated with Princeton University, is now affiliated with Columbia University, with headquarters at 15 Amsterdam Avenue, New York City. "Radio and the Printed Page," the first of a series of publications based upon research conducted last year, is expected to be published shortly.

Operating with funds granted by the Rockefeller Foundation, this organization is continuing intensive studies of the social effects of the radio. One of the most important of these studies is a survey of the relationship between mediums of communication and change in political attitudes. In co-operation with Elmo Roper, the Office of Radio Research is analyzing repeated interviews based upon large samples of the population of Erie County, Ohio. The unusually detailed and carefully controlled interviews seek to determine simultaneously the changes in attitudes toward candidates for the presidency of the United States and the types of stimuli, such as radio and newspaper, which may have contributed toward these changes.

Instituto de Sociologia Boliviana (Institute of Bolivian Sociology).—The Institute was established March 8, 1940, at the University of San Francisco Xavier under the direction of Señor José Antonio Arze. The Institute plans to devote itself to the study of social life in Bolivia, to develop a body of scientific theory, and to establish the foundation for the organization of Bolivian national life. Studies are to be made in a scientific manner. The Institute also proposes to foster the establishment of intellectual co-operation between the American republics. It places itself at the service of outsiders who wish information on different phases of Bolivian life. The Institute is located at Casilla 52, Sucre-Bolivia.

Twentieth Century Fund.—The study of "Collective Bargaining," under the research directorship of Harry A. Millis, University of Chicago, is progressing. This volume covering the collective-bargaining experience of

a number of industries will be published this fall. A second volume, containing a generalized analysis of collective-bargaining experience, which will be prepared by Dr. Millis, will be available later.

The survey of Housing in Relation to Employment in the United States, authorized several months ago by the Fund Trustees, has been commenced. Miles L. Colean has resigned his position as assistant administrator of the Federal Housing Administration to accept the research directorship of this project. It is planned that a report on part of the survey will be completed by early 1941.

Announcement has been made of a special study on housing for workers in war industries, a vital item in the nation's general défense program. The research work is being directed by Miles L. Colean, and the research staff of this special study is located in Washington, D.C.

Hogg Foundation.—Robert L. Sutherland, Bucknell University, has accepted the position of director of the Foundation which is administered by the University of Texas and is organizing a state-wide mental-health program. With the aid of the Texas Society for Mental Hygiene and an advisory committee, Homer P. Rainey, president, University of Texas, has submitted a plan for procedure which Dr. Sutherland will study and develop. First a survey of mental-hygiene conditions in Texas will be made. This will be followed by the establishment of mental-hygiene clinics throughout the state. Instruction in mental hygiene will be included in teacher-training courses, while research in mental health will be conducted at the school of medicine. A series of lectures on mental hygiene is also supported by the Foundation.

American Youth Commission.—Resulting from the Commission's survey to isolate and define social and economic factors that control the opportunities open to Negro youth are two studies which have recently been published: *In a Minor Key: Negro Youth in Story and Fact*, by Ira deA. Reid, Atlanta University, and *Children of Bondage: The Personal Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South*, by Allison Davis, Dillard University, and John Dollard, Yale University. It is expected that other studies will be published within the next few months.

National Resources Planning Board.—The Board has recently published *Our National Resources*, a summary of the human and physical resources of the nation, compiled from the Board's technical reports and other authoritative sources.

NOTES

American Sociological Society.—Plans for the program of the annual meeting to be held December 27–29, at Chicago, Illinois, are being completed under the general direction of the president, Robert M. MacIver, Columbia University. Meeting at the same time are the American Association for Labor Legislation, the American Political Science Association, American Statistical Association, American Association of Law School Professors, and the National Conference on Family Relations. The headquarters of the American Sociological Society will be in the Congress Hotel.

The chairmen of the divisions and sections for the American Sociological Society are as follows: social psychology, John Dollard, Yale University; social theory, E. T. Hiller, University of Illinois; social research, Raymond V. Bowers, University of Rochester; human ecology, Robert E. L. Faris, Bryn Mawr College; social biology, Norman E. Himes, Colgate University; the family, Meyer F. Nimkoff, Bucknell University; sociology and psychiatry, J. L. Moreno, Beacon Hill Sanitarium; social statistics, Clark Tibbitts, University of Michigan; educational sociology, Francis J. Brown, New York University, and Edmund deS. Brunner, Columbia University; sociology and religion, Murray Leiffer, Garrett Biblical Institute, and Arthur H. Swift, Jr., Union Theological Seminary; political sociology, Herbert A. Miller, Bryn Mawr College, and C. J. Bushnell, University of Toledo; criminology, Nathaniel Cantor, University of Buffalo; community, Robert Polson, Cornell University; and sociology of social problems, Richard C. Fuller, University of Michigan. The committee on local arrangements consists of Louis Wirth and Herbert Blumer, University of Chicago.

The Library of Congress.—The appointment of five Fellows of the Library of Congress initiates a project in the Library which may have important consequences, not only to the Library of Congress, but to universities and colleges throughout the country. The project, made possible by a general development grant from the Carnegie Corporation, calls for the establishment of annual fellowships to be filled by young scholars from the faculties of universities and colleges who will spend a year in the Library of Congress on leave from their institutions. While in the Library, they will study the collections of the Library in their particular fields and will aid in the handling of difficult reference problems involving their special training and experience. Fellowship stipends will equal the university salaries of the Fellows selected.

The expectation is that the Library, on its side, will profit by the study of its holdings and by the aid given in its reference work, while the Fellows, for their part, will profit by a first-hand experience of the holdings and operations of the national library. The consequence may well be a closer connection between the Library and the universities which will be of mutual advantage to both.

To be useful in these various ways, the fellowships must obviously be apportioned among the various fields of learning, and this practice has been followed by the librarian in making the first appointments. The fellowships awarded for the year beginning September, 1940, include one fellowship in the humanities, one in history, one in the social sciences, one in natural science, and one in library science. The men chosen are young men who have won distinction, each in his own special field, and who have had a number of years of experience in a classroom. Their names and special fields are: Dr. Richard H. Heindel, University of Pennsylvania, influence of the United States on European thought; Dr. Edward P. Hutchinson, Harvard University, problems of population; Dr. Jerrold Orne, the University of Chicago, library science and the history and culture of the Romance peoples; Dr. William E. Powers, geologist, Northwestern University; and Dr. Francis J. Whitfield, Harvard University, Slavic history and culture.

American Home Economics Association.—At the Association's thirty-third annual meeting held at Cleveland, June 23–27, papers were read by E. W. Burgess, University of Chicago, on "Human Relations Begin in the Home," and by Robert Foster, Merrill-Palmer School, on "Studies in Marriage and the Family and Their Implication for Home Economics Teaching."

American Statistical Association.—Richard L. Funkhouser has succeeded Frederick F. Stephan as secretary-treasurer of the Association. Mr. Funkhouser was assistant dean of the School of Administration and Finance, Dartmouth College.

Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.—The Association is celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary in Chicago, September 6–9. One of the sessions of the program is devoted to "The Negro in the City of Chicago," with addresses by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of the Association, Horace R. Cayton, American Negro Exposition, S. B. Danley, Illinois State Employment Service, and W. Sherman Savage, Lincoln University.

Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion.—The fall Conference is meeting September 9–11 at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America at New York City. Among those in the social sciences participating in public sessions were: Robert M. MacIver, Columbia University, Pitirim A. Sorokin, Harvard University, and Edwin E. Aubrey, University of Chicago.

New England Conference on Tomorrow's Children.—The Conference, sponsored by the Harvard Summer School and National Conference on Family Relations, was held at Harvard University, July 24–26. In addition to thirty-four round-table sessions, there were three panel discussions on "The Underdeveloped Family," "The Overdeveloped Family," and "The Balanced Family." Among the sociologists taking part in the Conference were Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago; Gladys Bryson, Smith College; Victor M. Cutter, New England Regional Planning Commission; Rev. Paul Furfey, Catholic University of America; Sidney E. Goldstein, New York State Conference on Marriage and the Family; Clyde V. Kiser, Milbank Memorial Fund; Clifford Kirkpatrick, University of Minnesota; Frank Lorimer, American University; Joseph F. MacDonnell, Weston College; and Conrad Taeuber, Department of Agriculture. The planning committee consists of Carle C. Zimmerman, chairman, Harvard University; Eugene L. Belisle, secretary, Massachusetts Mothers' Health Council; and the following state vice-chairmen: Bessie Bloom Wessel, Connecticut College; Albert Z. Mann, Springfield College; William R. Gordon, Rhode Island State College; Anders M. Myhrman, Bates College; Rev. Charles P. MacGregor, New Hampshire Council of Religious Education; and Charles Huntington Pennoyer, Rutland, Vermont.

Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation.—Robert E. Park and Herbert Blumer, University of Chicago, and E. B. Reuter, University of Iowa, were among those participating in the Foundation's sixteenth institute held at the University of Chicago, June 25–July 3, and devoted to the topic "The Foundations of a More Stable World-Order."

Rocky Mountain Conference on Marriage and the Family.—The second annual conference was held at the University of Colorado, July 23–26. Lectures on eugenics, sex education, and the marital clinic were given by Paul Popenoe, Institute of Family Relations, Los Angeles. William S. Bernard, chairman of the Colorado Committee of the National Conference on Family Relations, delivered a paper on "The College Campus as a

Field of Mate Selection," and Willard Waller, Columbia University, spoke upon "The Effect of War upon Marriage and the Family."

University of Chicago.—Louis Wirth has been promoted from associate professor to professor in sociology.

A recent publication of the American Book Company is *Administration of Public Welfare* by R. Clyde White.

Columbia University.—The New York School of Social Work, founded in 1898 by the Charity Organization Society and the first institution in the United States for the training of professional social workers, has become affiliated with Columbia University. The school will continue its connection with the Community Service Society, outgrowth of the Charity Organization Society, and will remain at its present location. Walter W. Pettit, director of the school, will retain his post and become a member of the Columbia University Council. Future graduates of the school will receive the Master of Science degree from Columbia University instead of the diploma in social work which was previously awarded.

Cornell University.—Frederick F. Stephan, secretary of the American Statistical Association, has been appointed professor of sociology.

The Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station recently published *Natural Increase in Population of New York State* by W. A. Anderson.

De Pauw University.—Robert N. Dinkel, who has done graduate work at the University of Minnesota, has been appointed instructor in sociology.

Dickinson College.—Gaylord H. Patterson, professor emeritus of sociology, died June 5 at the age of seventy-three. Professor Patterson joined the college staff in 1915 and served until his retirement last year.

Fordham University.—N. S. Timasheff, Harvard University, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

Indiana University.—Ulysses Grant Weatherly, professor emeritus of economics and sociology, Indiana University, died at Cortland, New York, on July 18, 1940, at the age of seventy-five. Professor Weatherly received the A.B. degree at Colgate University, 1890, and the Ph.D. degree at Cornell, 1894. He also studied at Heidelberg, Leipzig, and Columbia universities. In 1899 he was appointed professor of economics and

sociology at Indiana University, then known as the department of economics and social science. Professor Weatherly was a charter member of the American Sociological Society at its formation in 1905 and its president in 1923. He was the author of *Social Progress: Studies in the Dynamics of Change*, and of numerous articles in sociology.

University of Illinois.—J. W. Albig, head of the division of the social sciences, has been appointed chairman of the department of sociology.

Next spring the Macmillan Company will publish *Criminology* by Donald R. Taft.

J. E. Hulett, Jr., who was on the staff two years ago and has been in government service during the past year, has been appointed associate in sociology.

University of Kentucky.—Cecil C. North, Ohio State University, taught two courses in sociology during the summer session. Irwin T. Sanders, Alabama State College, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

University of Maryland.—Carl S. Joslyn has been appointed permanent head of the department of sociology.

John B. Holt, who has been appointed associate professor of sociology, will take charge of teaching and research in rural sociology and give the courses in introductory sociology and population problems.

A bulletin entitled *Rural Community Organization in Washington and Frederick Counties, Maryland*, by Linden S. Dodson, Douglas Ensminger, and Robert N. Woodworth, will shortly be published by the University of Maryland Agricultural Experiment Station.

A system of internships has been inaugurated whereby graduate students in sociology and criminology are enabled to acquire experience at the National Training School for Boys near College Park, Maryland. Fifteen such internships have been established, each providing board and lodging at the training school, plus a small cash stipend.

McGill University.—Forrest E. LaViolette, University of Washington, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology succeeding Robert E. L. Faris, who has taken a new position at Bryn Mawr College.

Middlebury (Vermont) College.—Theodore C. Weiler, Union College, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

University of Minnesota.—F. Stuart Chapin received the alumni medal from Columbia University at its one hundred and eighty-sixth commencement last June.

University of New Hampshire.—Edgar C. McVoy, who has completed his graduate work at the University of Minnesota, has been appointed instructor in sociology.

University of Newark.—J. Rumney, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, has been appointed professor of sociology at the University of Newark.

Northwestern University.—At the seventy-fifth commencement last June the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters was awarded to Mrs. W. F. Dummer in recognition of her services to education and social welfare work in Chicago. Mrs. Dummer served for several years as member and chairman of the Committee on Sociology and the Family of the American Sociological Society.

Arthur J. Todd has completed final revisions of the "Findings and Recommendations," the final volume of the *Chicago Recreation Survey*, to be published shortly by the Chicago Recreation Commission.

Ohio State University.—Walter C. Reckless, Vanderbilt University, has accepted an appointment as professor of sociology. Professor Reckless will specialize in criminology, offering a course by that name in the department of sociology, and one in penology in the School of Social Administration.

University of Oklahoma.—William B. Bizzell will become head of the department of sociology in July, 1941, at which time his resignation as president of the university will be effective.

Pennsylvania State College.—During the absence of Kingsley Davis for the coming academic year to accept a post-doctoral Social Science Research Council Fellowship, George E. Simpson will be acting head of the division of sociology. Wilbert E. Moore, who recently received his doctoral degree from Harvard University, has been appointed to the staff.

University of Virginia.—Among those in the Fourteenth Annual Session of the Institute of Public Affairs, June 14–24, was Max Lerner, Williams College, who spoke on American opinion and the war.

Washington University.—Thomas Y. Crowell Company has published *Social Pathology* by Stuart A. Queen in collaboration with Janet R. Gruener.

University of Washington.—Svend H. Riemer, University of Minnesota, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology. Felix E. Moore, Jr., who has been engaged in graduate study at the University of Chicago, has been appointed associate in the department of sociology.

Wayne University.—Announcements have been made of the appointments as instructors of H. Warren Dunham, who taught during the spring semester at Vanderbilt University, and Norman Humphrey, who has been engaged in graduate study at University of Michigan.

Wellesley College.—The department of economics and sociology has been divided, and Leland H. Jenks is chairman of the new department of sociology. Mary B. Treudley has been promoted from assistant professor to associate professor; and Florence Kluckhohn, who has been research assistant at Radcliffe College, has been appointed instructor. New courses to be offered include the community and ethnic groups in the United States.

Winona State Teachers College.—John B. Biesanz, University of Iowa, has been appointed to teach economics, political science, and sociology.

Yale University.—Raymond Kennedy has been promoted from the rank of instructor to that of assistant professor in sociology.

PERSONAL

Wilhelm Stekel, Viennese psychoanalyst, died in London, June 27, at the age of seventy-four. Formerly an assistant to the late Sigmund Freud and an editor of the *Zentralblatt*, which he conducted with Freud and Adler, he subsequently disagreed with Freud on matters of theory and separated from him.

Harcourt, Brace and Company has published *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*, by Karl Mannheim, University of London. This book, which was translated by Edward A. Shils, University of Chicago, is based upon Mannheim's *Mensch und Gesellschaft im Zeitalter des Umbaus* (Leiden [Holland], 1935).

Alexander Goldenweiser died July 6, 1940, at Portland, Oregon, at the age of sixty. Coming to this country from Russia in 1900, Professor Goldenweiser attended Harvard and Columbia universities (Ph.D., Columbia, 1910). He lectured and taught at Columbia University, New School for Social Research, Reed College, the University of Wisconsin, the University of Washington, the University of Oregon, the University of Buffalo, and Stanford University. He was a member of the editorial staff of the *Encyclopaedia of Social Science* and the author of *Early Civilization* (1922); *Robots or Gods* (1932); *History, Psychology and Culture* (1933); and co-editor with William F. Ogburn of *The Social Sciences and Their Interrelations* (1927).

Franz Oppenheimer, German sociologist, arrived in Los Angeles on August 17 from Japan, two years after fleeing from Germany. He was on his way to Berkeley, where he has accepted an appointment at the University of California. Although his books were destroyed in Germany, he succeeded in bringing out his unfinished manuscripts.

Harvard University Press has recently published *Family and Community in Ireland*, a study of social customs and organization in southern and western Ireland, by Conrad Arensberg, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and S. T. Kimball, United States Department of Agriculture.

Ferris F. Laune has resigned his position as lecturer on sociology, Northwestern University, to assume his duties as secretary of the Council of Social Agencies in Honolulu, T.H.

Christopher Publishing House, Boston, has published *The Prison Community* by Donald Clemmer, Illinois Department of Public Welfare.

Richard R. Smith has announced publication of *Order and Possibility in Social Life* by Douglas G. Herring and Mary E. Johnson.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Ending of Hereditary American Fortunes. By GUSTAVUS MYERS. New York: Julian Messner, 1939. Pp. vi+395. $3.50.

England's Money Lords. By SIMON HAXEY. New York: Harrison-Hilton Books, 1939. Pp. 263. $2.50.

Mr. Myer's book may be regarded as the sequel to his *The History of Great American Fortunes*. The earlier work was the saga of the rise and growth of great fortunes; this one is the story of their decline and fall—although the word "ending" in the title is perhaps too optimistic. Like its predecessor it is a careful, well-documented, and well-written book. It is mainly an account of the American tradition of equality, dating from revolutionary times, to do away with every endowed privilege based on the accident of birth or the possession of property.

Beginning with the abolition of primogeniture, the author traces the successful efforts for the repeal of entail, the struggle against perpetuities, under which trust funds might accumulate indefinitely, and finally the introduction of higher, and still higher, taxation, to prevent the establishment of a hereditary plutocracy. He shows how every measure designed to achieve a greater measure of equality was fiercely opposed by vested interests, and how time after time, the strongholds of wealth and power, whether intrenched in the business market, Senate, or Supreme Court, had to be stormed and won.

In a brief epilogue the author turns to the wider implications of his theme. Not only great fortunes, he argues, got from railroads, public domain, franchise, and utilities, but so-called successful business and industry, bear the marks of chicanery and corruption. Have not the latter behind them in many cases a story of bilking the inventor, watering the stock, lobbying and bribery, and a combination of low wages with long hours? The question is not "how the people would have fared without capitalists, but what these could have done without the collective help of the people and its aggregate yield." His final indictment (pp. 368–69) is that "the terrific inequalities arising from the aggrandizement of great wealth and from the arbitrary power to direct and bestow that wealth are noxiously antagonistic to the elemental principles of democracy" (pp. 378–79).

A similar indictment lies back to Mr. Haxey's book. The close alliance of the English money lords, i.e., the Conservative party, with wealth, power, and prestige, he argues, makes them invariably oppose in spite of all protestations to the contrary, measures favoring greater democratic equality. One other point of similarity may be noted. Both Mr. Myers and Mr. Haxey seek to show the definite linkage between wealth and the legislative activity. Around 1910 especially, the Senate, we are told, was studded with multi-millionaires or their corporation-lawyer retainers, and that it was, in the words of Representative Cornell of New York, the personification of the "methods which corrupt wealth and arrogant political power use in their warfare against democracy" (p. 217). The House of Commons, too, had and still has, a good representation by millionaires. Mr. Haxey shows that 33 of the 43 Conservative M.P.'s who died between 1931 and 1938, and whose estates it was possible to trace, left the huge sum of £7,199,151. Two left over £1,000,000 each, and 12 left sums between £100,000 and £1,000,000. A study of the social composition of the Senate and of other legislative bodies, similar to that made by Mr. Haxey, should prove very useful for comparative purposes.

England's Money Lords studies the social origins and connection of four hundred Conservative members of the Commons. Its assumption is that the

> social philosophy of a man, is largely that of the people among whom he moves. The Conservative M.P. associates with directors of limited companies, with the equally wealthy members of his own exclusive clubs, with his hunting, shooting, and fishing friends. It is this society which produces his conservative philosophy. His mode of life makes it unlikely that he will understand the real problems of ordinary people; his political ideas must reflect the interests of the class from which he comes [p. 193].

The author shows that the Conservative M.P.'s are unduly represented in insurance, shipping, banking, transportation, mining, armaments, etc., and that while only 1 per cent of the general electorate are company directors, 44 per cent of the M.P.'s belong to this category. He argues that a "political party dominated by producers will naturally consider the producers first" and that pressure groups will influence the government in their behalf in the granting of subsidies and tariffs. He analyzes the "Tory Stake in Empire," and traces the world-wide interests of the M.P.'s in their capacity as company directors, who have back of them a diplomatic and foreign service almost exclusively staffed with individuals of the same social class. An interesting connection is disclosed

between the Conservative party in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and it is shown that fifty-three members of the former body are related both to the peerage and to one another. Short sketches are presented of such famous political families as the Stanleys and the Cavendishes, and a story unfolded that is reminiscent of the origin of many of the great fortunes in this country. An analysis is also made of the social origins of the party. Their air of effortless superiority is not so surprising when we find that most of them had the good fortune to be born in families of "rank, property, the employment of labor" and to be educated at those famous public schools such as Eton and Harrow, which are really private schools.

If the basic indictment in both books is the same, many illuminating differences are revealed in the social structure of England and America. The original title of Mr. Haxey's *England's Money Lords* is *Tory M.P.* suggesting both the feudal and financial character of English society as compared with American society. Mr. Haxey writes: "Both the House of Lords and its existence of titles are indeed a medieval survival which appears curious in the modern age. But these titles are a useful disguise, and behind them we find to an extent which few people realize, the immense wealth, property and privilege which are still the real ruler in our democracy" (p. 174). Compare this passage with that uttered by Representative Francis of Ohio some thirty years ago when he refers to the Senate as a "House of Lords, in fact, but not in name. It stands for the class that holds the purse strings and money bags . . . ." (p. 217). But it is more than thirty years that in many ways divide contemporary England from America. In some ways Mr. Haxey's House of Commons reminds one of the Commons of the eighteenth century, the only difference being that the landowning class is no longer the dominant class it once was.

But this same feudal character is partly responsible for the better showing of the English as compared with the American "ruling class." There was less conspicuous display and lavish and spectacular spending, less tax evasion and less corruption in obtaining legislative seats. At the same time there was greater responsibility for political and social life. The role of the great hereditary families in English public life has perhaps no parallel in any other country in the world.

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Weltanschauung, Science and Economy. By WERNER SOMBART. Translated by PHILIP JOHNSON. New York: Veritas Press, 1939. Pp. ix+60. $1.00.

This little book was apparently written to present a sort of synopsis of the main theses of the author's two larger works (since the revised edition of *Der moderne Kapitalismus*), i.e., *Die drei Nationalökonomien* (1929) and *Deutscher Socialismus* (1934). The most interesting sentence in the present book is the last in the translator's Preface, stating that Professor Karl Geiser is preparing a translation of *Der moderne Kapitalismus.*

Those who especially admire Sombart's thought on the relation between history and economics, and the fundamental concepts underlying both, will welcome this brief and formal statement in English of his position. Others are likely to find it Sombart at his worst! In methodology he has always been pontifical and has tended to become more so as his interests have shifted from the substance of economic history to concepts; and with his belated formal conversion to National Socialism (in so far as any conversion were needed for the author of the *Händler und Helden* of 1915) it is natural enough that the word "dogmatic" becomes a more appropriate adjective. The interrelations of the three concepts named in the title obviously afford an excellent field for throwing around "large mouthfuls of language." The pages are sprinkled with sweeping philosophical definitions and characterizations which no doubt mean a great deal to their author and may well do so to other who "like that sort of thing." In this reviewer's opinion, Sombart has given students some real insights into the interpretation of economic history, particularly his notion of succession of economic systems, and his interpretation of the "spirit" of capitalism. But these will hardly be grasped merely from the abstract formulation here presented. In matters which approach the type of analysis used by price-theory economics, his grade must be below zero (in so far as the present writer has any competence to judge) since he knows a great deal, and most of what he knows is false, not to say foolish. The second word would be the more appropriate to characterize most of the "eternal truths of economics . . . . which held good for all economy" regardless of the form of organization, which are set forth in the chapter preceding the brief Conclusion.

In connection with *Weltanschauung* and science (*Wissenschaft*), the position taken is what anyone would expect from an apologist for National Socialism, particularly a neophyte. Personality is analyzed into two elements, blood and spirit, and knowledge into the two kinds, science

and value judgments, the latter being beyond rational argument. The freedom of the will, in which the new antiliberal philosophy believes, but liberalism did not (pp. 12–14), "makes all ascertainment of regularity [in economics] impossible" (p. 32). This dichotomy is further developed in terms of the well-known contrast between *verstehende* and *ordnende* science, or *Geisteswissenschaft* and *Naturwissenschaft*. Yet National Socialism is characterized as "naturalistic"—in contrast with "idealistic fascism" (p. 12). It would not be permissible to take space to criticize or catalogue extensively Sombart's pronouncements. He is palpably inconsistent at many points. For instance, if he believes in the freedom of the will, his analysis of personality should certainly contain three elements, the physical or natural; the cultural, and the more or less independent self. Perhaps he means that it is the state, or possibly the race, which possesses freedom.

The reviewer has not had access to the German edition and is curious as to many points in the translation. The English text informs us that *ordnende* is rendered as "self-ordering" and *verstehende* as "cognitive," which seem (to the reviewer) simply incorrect; the former surely means "classifying" (i.e., "ordering" as an active participial adjective); the latter is not easy to translate but surely "interpretive," or perhaps "emphatetic" would be better than "cognitive."

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The Dynamics of Higher Education. By WALTER A. LUNDEN. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Printing Co., 1939. Pp. xvii+402. $4.25.

This is a remarkable book for at least four reasons: scope, terminology, evaluative interpretation of statistical data, and mechanical errors. The author essays a historical and statistical survey of the organization, distribution, and personnel of universities and other institutions of higher education from the earliest times to the present. Four parts out of six are concerned with the accumulation and diffusion of the university as an institution. These first four parts, 253 pages, could have been more effectively presented in two compact well-documented chapters: one on the university as a historical concept and a social system in our west European culture heritage; the other, on the diffusion of the university pattern from its point of origin in ancient Greece and Rome, into western and northern Europe, the New World, and latterly the Orient. As it stands, extremely sketchy and poorly documented, historical data are presented

in a hop-skip-and-jump manner without any apparent consciousness of the role the institution played in the culture of the era, its continuity, or an appreciation of the historical vicissitudes and differences in culture and society that existed in the several areas and epochs encompassed by the material. The data in these divisions are "collected" rather than "masticated and digested," speaking in Lunden's terminology. Few or no data are presented on the "dynamics" of higher education for these historical universities in contrast to contemporary American ones. Probably such data are not extant; therefore, the effort to cover all historical universities, or almost all, was largely wasted.

What little conceptual structure there is follows the course blazed by Sorokin's, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*. But no attempt is made to analyze, explain, or even define what is meant by "The Dynamics of Higher Education." The terminology used as a frame of reference for organizing and interpreting the historical and statistical data is a curious *mêlange* of mechanics and physiology. The author only vaguely realizes he is organizing and explaining social data within an incompatible configuration of unrelated concepts from different realms. The pages bristle with such terms as "dynamic equilibrium," "center of gravity," "interstitial structure," "forces," "resultant," "building decades," "metabolism," "atrophy," "metastasis," "natal communities," "vitality," "longevity," "living institutions," "dead," "parental," "mother," "youthfulness," "morphology," "inbreeding," "anatomy," "institutional physiology," "absorption," etc. Then for good measure Lunden throws in such metaphysical concepts as substructure and makes use of the Hegelian entelechy to explain the rise of higher education in medieval Europe (p. 71).

Compilation, computation, and interpretation are three interrelated processes in statistical analysis; each succeeding operation is dependent upon that preceding it. Lunden seemingly is not aware of this elementary statistical rule for his interpretation does not develop out of his two preceding operations. On the contrary, it is almost entirely subjective and based upon an article written by G. H. Marx, "University Staffs, Composition of."[1] Marx put forth the thesis that the trends in staff composition in American universities between about 1885 and 1908 were lowering the quality of undergraduate teaching. Lunden accepts this unproved assertion; none of Marx's, or his, data indicate the effects on teaching of changes in staff composition with respect to age, sex, title changes, etc., that have occurred during the past half-century. They simply assume the

[1] *A Cyclopedia of Education*, V (New York, 1913), 689–90.

changes that have taken place in university personnel are "alarming" and argue from this emotional attitude. There is little logical or functional connection between data and argument. In many ways the data do not support or even illustrate the argument. Marx asserted most of the teaching in American universities is done by mediocre, young instructors, therefore, the student seldom comes in contact with the "real scholars" until his last collegiate years; an argument echoed by Lunden. "If this is true then the system of instruction should be arranged so as to place a larger proportion of the faculty in the upper ranks and fewer in the lower. In other words most of the instruction should be in the hands of the full professors" (p. 274). A glaring fallacy inheres in this, for he assumes a man with the title "instructor" is mediocre, whereas the same man with the title of "professor" is a scholar. No distinction is made between the academic title and the bearer. From a functional viewpoint it makes little difference whether a twenty-eight-year-old man has the title "professor" or "instructor" so far as the quality of his knowledge and thought are concerned, if other men of his age group have a similar title. During the past half-century there has been a tremendous demand for university teachers. The men and a few women appointed to these new positions have been trained adequately or inadequately, as the case may be, and started out with the title of "instructor." Lunden assumes, I believe, the existence of a body of adequately trained, clear-thinking scholars somewhere out in the blue who have been ignored and young, mediocre, poorly-trained instructors appointed in their stead. No evidence exists to warrant such an assumption. Furthermore, he has no evidence to support his argument that academic personnel would be more competent and more valuable if they were promoted rapidly. This just does not hold, for they are the same people no matter what their rank. Changes in our whole sociocultural system are the explanation for the trends in faculty organization, age, and rank. These things, however, are ignored, for they do not fit into the evaluative, mechanical, physiological frame of reference utilized by Lunden.

If there are as many errors in the compilation of the data as are evident by even a casual inspection of some computations, the tabular materials should be viewed with reservations. For instance, on page 276, ". . . . Total number of teachers in Italy increased 167 per cent" between 1914 and 1929. In the preceding sentence the figures for Italian teachers are given as 3,419 in 1914, and 3,797 in 1929, an increase of only approximately 11 per cent. Again, page 238, "In 1928 there were 9.43 per cent more people in universities who were between 19 and 22 years of age than

in 1890." This statement is derived from Table 58, on the same page, where the figures for 1890 were 2.43 per cent and for 1928 11.77 per cent between the ages of nineteen and twenty-two enrolled in colleges and universities. The figure quoted, 9.43 per cent, is, I believe, meant to be the difference between the percentage in 1890 and 1928. If it is, then it should actually be 9.34. What these figures indicate is that in 1890, 2.43 persons per 100 between the ages of nineteen and twenty-two, and in 1928, 11.77 persons per 100 of the same age group were enrolled in college or university in the United States, or an increase of 482 per cent. On page 102, "Of the forty-seven universities established in Europe during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries only twenty-eight or 40 per cent have survived to the present." The percentage of survival should be 60 not 40.

The reviewer's position is that social phenomena may best be examined and interpreted from a sociological viewpoint. When they are Procrustean-like fitted into frames of reference unique to other fields nothing is gained, but much confusion results. Finally, statistical data need to be handled carefully, and interpretations derived from the data rather than superimposed.

A. B. HOLLINGSHEAD

University of Indiana

America in Mid-passage. By CHARLES A. and MARY R. BEARD. New York: Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. 977. $3.50.

This is the third volume in the Beards' already classic *The Rise of American Civilization.* In the opinion of the reviewer it is the most timely and valuable of the trilogy. The events of the last fifteen years are probably more momentous in their implications for the American future than those of the preceding century. This volume may be less "objective" than the two earlier volumes, but it more than makes up for this in the vividness of the writing and the richness of the detail and analysis. Moreover, while Dr. Beard follows his well-known economic analysis, it is more precise and devastating than in the preceding volumes. In the interval since these appeared, Dr. Beard mastered the essentials of finance capitalism, largely via Berle and Mean's *Modern Corporation and Private Property.* This gives a technique for understanding the United States since 1920 far more effective and penetrating than even the most discriminating Marxism.

Dr. Beard starts his volume with the "Golden Glow" of the sunset of the New Jerusalem days of the Coolidge regime, when the "high-toned

usurers," who had dominated the republic for eight years, were about to be dismayed by the evils they had wrought. The next subject dealt with is the collapse of the speculative house of cards which the finance capitalists had erected, and the adamant refusal of Mr. Hoover to recognize and admit that we were in for a serious and long-continued depression. Then come excellent chapters on the campaign and election of 1932, the formulation and execution of the New Deal, the opposition of reactionary financiers, businessmen and Supreme Court justices, the appeal to the people in 1936, the new popular mandate, the snags which were struck in executing it—such as the Supreme Court fight—the deflationary follies of Secretary Morgenthau, and the treachery of Cactus Jack Garner and the predatory Democrats, the sources and character of the Roosevelt-Hull foreign policy, and the role of labor in the new dispensation. The book closes with a summary of the developments in sports, entertainment, literature, art, science, and social thought, with a thoughtful concluding chapter on the state of democracy in our critical period.

Perhaps the best chapters are the appraisals of the New Deal and the searching criticism of Rooseveltian foreign policy. Dr. Beard is favorable to the general aspirations of the New Deal but believes that it lacked the courage and consistency to attain success. But, with some few exceptions, its enemies have been a great credit to the Roosevelt program. The exposition and critique of the foreign policy of Hull and Roosevelt are unrivaled in our historical literature. It is the historical *reductio ad absurdum* of any interventionist plan of making the world good by force.

The treatment of contemporary American culture is excellent and that of social thought competent but far below the level of the rest of the book. For some strange reason, Dr. Beard ignores outstanding leaders in the social sciences in the last fifteen years, even those to whom he has paid a warm tribute elsewhere, and drags from obscurity names which can hardly claim recognition in a survey of such brevity and selectivity. But the general trends are made clear enough.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Cooperstown, New York

Suye Mura: A Japanese Village. By JOHN F. EMBREE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xxviii+354. $3.00.

Books on Japan abound, but this is the first description, based on direct observation, of the life of a Japanese village community. With this statement, made in the Introduction to Mr. Embree's study, Radcliffe-Brown documents the new turn in social anthropology, viz., the investigation of

communities—generally, although not always, the more backward and isolated communities—in countries which have cities and central governments, literatures and histories, universities and modern industries.

Now what are the anthropologists doing in Japan, Quebec, Ireland, and Massachusetts? Radcliffe-Brown gives two answers. The first is that those significant generalizations about human society, which it is social anthropology's aim to discover, require comparison of diverse types of society. Preliterate societies are not enough. This is, I gather, the answer closest to Radcliffe-Brown's heart.

The second answer proceeds from the proposition that the outstanding feature of human history is the gathering of small, isolated, autonomous local communities into larger and larger social structures. Suye Mura is in the midst of this process, as are most if not all of the folk societies studied in recent years by Redfield and his associates, as well as by others. The social anthropologist is going to study this process in its various forms and phases.

These are good answers; any social scientist and more especially the sociologists should applaud them. But we must still ask what the anthropologist does that some other social scientist would not do. The answer is, in part, that he does what he did when he was studying more primitive communities. He gives a detailed account of terrain, houses, and crops; of the turning of seasons and of ceremonies; of the life-cycle of the individual; of the age and sex groupings and of other formal or informal groupings and ranks; of the significance of these groupings for the undertakings of the community. This he does mainly by observation and by use of informants. The anthropologist seems to have the edge on us in his more persistent, skilful, and perhaps more naïve use of humble data drawn from humble sources. As a result, his work has body. When he gets a little closer to town, we are going to watch him carefully to see whether he can apply his method with equal success in more extensive and highly differentiated communities.

Mr. Embree does these things very satisfactorily for his village. In addition he gives us as seasoning throughout and as dessert, in a final chapter, some account of the changes being made by the great outside world of modern Japan, and especially by government agencies. The chief effect seems to be a weakening of the very rich complex of local co-operative institutions by which houses are built, bridges repaired, temples and shrines tended, and even umbrellas supplied. In contrast with other folk undergoing such changes, the rural Japanese seem to accept with a passive acquiescence the new things introduced among them.

The orderliness of change in this case doubtless is to be accounted for by the tradition of pious allegiance to the emperor and by the thorough planning of his representatives. It is not to be overlooked, however, that in Japan—in contrast with many other places—the active bearers of change are of the same language, religions, and national allegiance as the folk themselves.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

When Civil Law Fails: Martial Law and Its Legal Basis in the United States. By ROBERT S. RANKIN. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1939. Pp. vi+225. $3.00.

There is a good deal of confusion about the nature, application, and extent of martial law in this country, due partly to the fact that the fathers of the Constitution, in their optimistic anticipation of normalcy in political evolution, were unwilling to vitiate their work by envisaging the eventuality of emergency situations. On the whole, the United States was relatively free from situations in which "civil law fails," with the exception of the Civil War where a major constitutional crisis hinged just around the problem of constitutional or extra-constitutional use of emergency powers. It is by no means impossible, however, that our present complacency about a subject which in other countries has been instrumental for revolutionary developments, will be tested by future events. Considerable complications may arise from the concurrent and overlapping powers of president and Congress, and from the use of emergency devices by the governors of the states, possibly in conflict with the federal authorities.

Martial law, as part of the wartime powers of the executive, offers little of interest. On the other hand, peacetime martial law raises such vitally important questions as, What is an emergency justifying the application of the extraordinary measure of suspending the constitution for saving the constitution? Who is to be the judge of the existence of an emergency situation? What are the essential limitations placed on the exercise of the emergency powers through martial law?

In general, martial law as one among the various devices of emergency government is intimately related to the problem of emergency situations arising from political deadlocks which cannot be solved by constitutional means. From this viewpoint the problem deserves as much the attention of the political scientist as of the constitutional lawyer. The recent use of martial law in labor disputes and industrial strife is a danger signal which

should not be overlooked. But the essential fact is that, as contrasted with France and the wide application of emergency powers under the Weimar constitution, here the courts have insisted on supervising the executive and military discretion. The power to disallow will serve as a brake, particularly on excessive and abusive discretion of the state governors. The *Sterling* v. *Constantin* case (1932) is as much a landmark for constitutional government as the Milligan case.

Professor Rankin's well-documented study has all of the merits and many of the defects of the purely legal approach to an eminently political subject. He develops his theme by way of the chronological method, though the reviewer feels that more would have been gained by setting the American pattern of dealing with an emergency situation in the perspective of a general theory of constitutional government and against the background of the abundant comparative experience in Europe. The method of stringing together case after case and opinion after opinion is rather pedestrian and uninspiring even if it may be in keeping with the habit of pragmatic American jurisprudence. As a careful monograph with the limited objective of legal analysis, the book should be praised without reservation. Yet at least one reader believes that an eminently political subject such as emergency powers should be dealt with in a more constructive manner.

KARL LOEWENSTEIN

Amherst College

The Detroit Housing Market. By RICHARD U. RATCLIFF. Ann Arbor: School of Business Administration, University of Michigan, 1939. Pp. 54.

The books in the field of cities and urban housing that have contained brilliant generalizations on the mode of urban living in the whole of modern society have served a most useful function in bringing to the forefront the problems common to all cities. To answer the specific questions as to how many dwelling units at what specific cost level are needed for one specific urban community at one given point of time, a different type of study is necessary. Housing markets are local, although influenced also by national forces. From city to city the percentage of persons in each income group varies as does the rate of growth of economic opportunity or the increase or decrease in the number of jobs. There is a constant shifting in the balance between the number of new families seeking homes and the number of new dwelling units available. When there is a pressure of families for living space there are few vacant quarters and much

doubling-up. When, on the other hand, the building industry has provided more new homes than there are families able to buy or rent them, the condition is shown by a rise in the vacancy rate.

These are the problems that Professor Ratcliff considers in this analysis of the Detroit Housing Market. He measures employment trends, income levels, and population growth to ascertain the number of new dwelling units required at different cost levels, and he then measures the number of new dwelling units that have been erected at different cost levels to meet this demand.

Professor Ratcliff, one of the pioneers in the quantitative analysis of housing, has constructed his own research tools. His study is of great importance to students of housing not merely because it presents the facts as to the balance of housing factors in one locality but because it sets forth a technique that can be used in analyzing other cities. To measure by similar exact methods the housing markets of the chief urban communities of the United States and to keep up to date the studies that have already been made is indispensable for a scientific knowledge of the housing market in American cities.

HOMER HOYT

Federal Housing Administration
Washington, D.C.

The Sociology of Rural Life. By T. LYNN SMITH. New York: Harper & Bros., 1940. Pp. xx+595. $3.50.

The first two hundred pages of this excellent text review systematically the concepts of rural life and the characteristics of our rural population. Part III on "Rural Social Organization" begins with the objective studies of the anatomy of settlement, a field in which Smith has become the leading investigator, and passes through the problems of land tenure, size of farm, and rural social stratification to the psychosocial phases of rural America as reflected in familistic, educational, religious, and governmental institutions. The fourth part of the work deals with "Social Processes" in rural society. Here competition and conflict, co-operation, accommodation, assimilation, acculturation, and social mobility are treated. The final chapter deals in a philosophic fashion with the development in America of a homogeneous society in which the new rural life "promises to be less a balance wheel and more a dynamo." The author concludes with the philosophy that the most important measures for permanent welfare in America, and for the promotion of the well-being of the urban industrial

masses as well, will probably rise from "an equitable state and national policy for agriculture." He holds that the first needed reforms should deal with the tariff, a general property tax, the problem of rural public health, the development of a national educational policy, "an extensive program of adult education and a thorough renovation of the relations of the population to the land." The work is written in a straightforward manner, well illustrated, and arranged most usably for a text.

The value of the work lies in its roundness of treatment of America rural life, its common-sense approach, and the willingness of the author to abandon precedent in his analysis. Here we have a text by an American who knows rural life in other countries, but who writes about America alone. Smith knows and writes about the commercial farmer in the North, the sharecropper, the Negro, the American-Spanish, and the American-French as well. It differs from some other texts in that it is not a research monograph made to appear like a sociological text. It bridges the descriptive abstractions of an absurd ostrich-like science, on the one hand, and looks at the present Utopian dreaming about the new rural life with the matter-of-fact eye of the experienced sociological scientist, on the other hand.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Harvard University

The Social Mind: Foundations of Social Philosophy. By JOHN ELOF BOODIN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xi+593. $3.50.

This is a collection of essays in social philosophy brought out in book form to celebrate the seventieth birthday of one of America's outstanding philosophers. Some of the essays have previously appeared in article form —in some cases more than a quarter of a century ago. The older essays have been somewhat modernized. All deal with that fascinating but perplexing penumbral area where the social sciences and philosophy meet.

Running through the essays is the conception of creative synthesis, wholism (author's spelling), and gestaltism, as applied to human society and crystallized in the author's term "social mind." The existence of social minds is magnificently argued in chapter iv; the idea is elaborated and ramified in the entire collection which shows a surprising consistency and unity, considering the nature of its production. Other interesting chapters from the sociological point of view are the two on the group, the ones on social systems, the significance of crisis, and the unit of civilization, the two on the idea of progress, and especially the concluding chapter on social immortality. The book most competently reviews and synthesizes a

vast mass of material from anthropological, sociological, psychological, and philosophical literature which has a bearing on the author's thesis.

While the group-mind concept has been pretty generally abandoned by social scientists, and while the treatment is on the periphery of the sociological field, the manner of presenting the idea by the author makes the book a most stimulating one for sociologists. One is frequently impressed with the fact that what Boodin calls "group mind" is much the same thing as "culture." Chapters vi, x, and xii–xiv bear this out.

J. O. HERTZLER

University of Nebraska

Anthropology and Religion. By PETER H. BUCK (TE RANGI HIROA). New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939. Pp. vii+96. $1.50.

This compact little book contains an excellent brief account of Polynesian religion and mythology. Professor Buck is probably better equipped than any other anthropologist to write in this field. He learned Maori lore from his mother's people during his childhood, and in addition he has spent many years as a trained scholar studying the customs and beliefs of various Polynesian societies.

Each of the three chapters of this book was a Terry Lecture delivered at Yale University. In the first, Dr. Buck endeavors to "relate the historical sequence of events from the simple to the complex" in the growth of Polynesian religion. The ethnographic description is clear and concise although one might question some of Dr. Buck's inferences regarding historical sequences.

In the second chapter Dr. Buck examines Polynesian myths and legends in some detail. His comparisons suggest to him that Ra'iatea Island was the cultural as well as the geographic center of Polynesia. Here, he argues plausibly, the first powerful Polynesian priesthood wove together old Indonesian myths and new ones deifying the great ancestors who had led the migration into Polynesia. Groups emigrated from here at intervals to the other Polynesian islands, carrying with them myths in various stages of development; later adding individual modifications in their new isolation. Folklore is thus a particularly good clue to Polynesian history.

In the last chapter Dr. Buck presents a good tempered but damning picture of the havoc wrought in Polynesian life by missionary zeal. He describes how the whole interwoven complex of religious, political, and social structure was destroyed without any adequate reintegration around

new values. Even amusements and arts were banned or lost value in the new disorder. Polynesian culture died with its gods.

Professor Buck's history, though lacking documents, dates, or specific actors, seems essentially sound; he has made the most of his material without forgetting its limitations.

JOE WECKLER

Chicago

Intelligence and Crime. By SIMON H. TULCHIN. ("Behavior Research Fund Monographs.") Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xiii+166. $2.00. (Planographed.)

This monograph presents the findings of a study of 10,413 prisoners from three Illinois penal institutions. The work was begun and given impetus by Dr. Herman M. Adler back in 1920. Dr. Tulchin has brought together the results of several surveys up to January 1927.

The author reaffirms what every practical, practicing peno-psychologist (who has had any painful experience in diagnosis, prognosis, parole placement, and recidivistic flarebacks) knows and that is that a criminal act is not a direct function of degree of intelligence.

(Neither is crime a direct, unitary function of alcohol, the broken home, venereal disease, race, economic pressure, religion, education, early training, etc. If social workers and all others who have occasion to make statistical deductions could be counted upon to have read and digested Yule's chapters on "The Theory of Attributes" much that Dr. Tulchin as well as many other writers belabor would not need saying.)

The author points out that there are many things we do not know in trying to make statistical deductions. A common error is the failure to have an unbiased sampling of the institutional group being studied. This, he points out, detracts from many studies such as Murchison's. It might be added that at no time do we have any certainty that the convicted-and-also-incarcerated-long-enough-for-us-to-study criminal is an unbiased sampling of the criminals in the entire population from which the incarcerated is drawn. Intelligence is more probably a factor in avoiding detection, arrest, and conviction. Were the Western State Penitentiary in Pittsburgh to show an average of I.Q. of 50 instead of 80 I should still agree with Dr. Tulchin's general conclusion in this respect.

If we look upon crime psychologically and as embodying chiefly the ethical intent, then the aggressive criminal act is probably a function of increasing intelligence. But criminal acts vary so much as to psychological and economic cause and skill involved that the generic word "crime"

needs a job analysis as much as do vocations. Tulchin finds that the type of crime (involving degree of skill or abnormal mentality) shows a difference in intelligence. Fraud and the sex crime show a marked difference in median intelligence. This we all know.

The study is based upon an unusually large sampling of convicts. It is a contribution to research only in the sense that it corroborates, in general, the findings of Goring, Murchison, and others. The Gluecks in their followup of *Five Hundred Criminal Cases*, have treated the psychological factors discussed with much deeper psychological insight. Tulchin's study does not begin to approach Goring's for meticulous and critical attitude.

All this is a comparative matter, however, and the general reading public of penologists and social workers should profit by this additional emphasis that both "crime" and "intelligence" are generic terms and bear no simple causal relationship.

W. T. ROOT

University of Pittsburgh

American Caste and the Negro College. By BUELL G. GALLAGHER, with a Foreword by WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. Pp. xv+463. $2.50.

This rather thoughtful and well-written book by an educator faced daily with the characteristic problems of a racial minority realistically examines the role and function of the segregated college and suggests a reorientation of educational policy in the light of its inquiry. The first chapters, supported by diagrams and summary lists of intergroup attitudes, attempt an "analysis of caste and of the social forces which work through the caste system" in the ante bellum, reconstruction, and present-day South; subsequent chapters present the author's conception of Negro education "in the light of its social task" and "work out the details of principle and practise for the college which seeks to discharge its social function."

The book thus attempts to examine not only what *is*, but also what *ought* to be. Since, however, the author prefaces consideration of policy with an honest attempt to understand the nature of the social forces involved, and since he is at present engaged in testing, in an experiment at Talladega College, the policies which he advances, this book might well receive careful attention, especially from those charged with the formulation of administrative policies. Obvious as the point may be to many, it unfortunately is still far from being generally accepted that rational con-

trol of social phenomena has as its inescapable prerequisite a similarly "rigorous, determined, good-humored, and persistent effort" (p. xiv) to understand the forces involved.

Realizing that the problem in which he is interested, viz., "how to modify caste or to make it irrelevant," demands a profound shift in individual and group attitudes which in turn depends upon new experiences, the author urges the necessity of "carving out some areas of experience in which the code of caste does not control." This task, in his judgment, falls especially to the segregated college.

Thus, the author sets forth a "functional or operative definition of educational aims" (p. 258) in terms of "democracy as a method" (pp. 274–79) whereby "trustees, administration, staff and students" may be brought into "effective cooperation." This method involves an "equality of consideration" wherein the desires of all students, expressed in open assembly through their representatives, receive equal attention, together with a "reliance upon consensus" which assures to every minority "a margin of psychological security" (p. 297). The aim is to assist the Negro "to move away from (characteristic) dependence, through (now rapidly increasing) independence, toward (ideal) interdependence" by developing a "social intelligence" capable of "thinking for itself but *of* others" (p. 256). In this way, it is maintained, the Negro will be enabled not only to live in the caste system but also to "transcend" and "transform" it.

Since lack of laboratory procedures in the social sciences obviously lays a premium upon all social experiments, a detailed report in due time of the Talladega experiment will be awaited with interest.

The author's analysis of caste raises the question whether the social sciences can develop without critically examining and sharpening common-sense terms. "Caste" as known in India is a hereditary occupational class out of which no individual or his descendants may move. The comparatively mobile nature of United States society makes it quite dubious (if precise definitions are to be maintained) whether the social structure of the United States today can properly be described as a "caste" structure. Since the Negro has for some time been rising in class until today he is distributed throughout practically the entire occupational scale, he represents, as Park has pointed out,[1] more a "minority group" than a "caste." The question involved here, in the judgment of the reviewer, is not a mere quibbling over terms. It is tantamount (in the physical world) to calling tin, copper, or to fitting square pegs into round holes. If a science is to

[1] Introduction to Bertram W. Doyle, *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South* (Chicago, 1937), p. xxii.

emerge in our field, concepts—although they are, of course, merely tools constantly in the process of resharpening—must be used at any given time with precision. "Caste" cannot mean one thing when describing India and quite another thing when describing the United States. The present confusion in sociology is perhaps as much due to a lack of agreement upon basic concepts among those in general accord on fundamental procedures as to diverse points of view themselves. Identical form with divergent meanings nowhere constitutes a common language.

There is an adequate Index and an extended, twenty-five-page Bibliography.

DONALD PIERSON

Escola livre de sociologia
e politica de São Paulo

La Vie sociale dans le Borinage houiller: notes, statistiques, monographies. By GUILLAUME JACQUEMYNS. Brussels: Librairie Falk Fils, 1939. Pp. 490. Fr. 125.

The Borinage is a "depressed" coal-mining district in Belgium. This study of it was undertaken by the Solvay Sociological Institute. Book I presents the geography of the region, the history and present state of the coal industry and of employment. Efforts at rehabilitation are also described. In Book II four communes, each containing several hamlets, are described somewhat after the manner of an ethnologist. Book III is a series of monographic chapters on several industrial concerns and a number of local socialist institutions—a library, a co-operative, a band, a choir, and a dramatic society.

The work is best classified as a survey, broad in its scope, and evidently intended for the use of whatever authorities may have to undertake rehabilitation of the area. The general impression left is that the dying industry has put its deadening touch on all things, even on the Socialist party, which seems to be chief rallying point of local life. Yet the people retain their tough regional and village ethnocentrism, have a certain fierce pride, and do not relish the advice of outsiders, more especially of those who wish to solve their problems by moving them away to other regions.

The Socialist party seems to perform in the villages of this region all the functions of such a communal institution as a territorial Catholic parish. Socialism furnishes the prevailing doctrine, with reference to which the heretic errs and falls from grace. The Socialist People's House is a village's center of life, generally more important than the city hall or the parish church. The party, the trade-unions, and the co-operatives

have headquarters there. A system of auxiliary institutions provides education, amusement, discussion, and arenas in which to struggle for personal recognition, the whole elaborated along the usual lines of age, sex, and differentiated interests. The author does not make any systematic statement about this interesting phenomenon, but he and his helpers did have an eye for the facts which reveal it.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

The Church in Rural Life. By DAVID EDGAR LINDSTROM. Champaign, Ill.: Garrard Press, 1939. Pp. 145. $0.85.

In this small volume of lectures the emphasis is on the relationship of the church to the contemporary social and economic problems of rural America. In simple form, without cumbrous documentation, the author describes rural society from the standpoint of "people and the land," "groups in rural life," "the institutions in rural life," "farmers' organization," "government and the farmer," "the farmer and his community," "the impact of rural on urban life," and "significant trends affecting rural life."

Dr. Lindstrom not only analyzes the chief social problems which beset rural America, but in good ministerial fashion he tells the ministry and the church what they should do. Apparently, the church leaders received the exhortation with good grace, because Dr. Lindstrom tells in the Preface that it was upon their urging that the lectures were published. The book cannot fail to be a helpful educator not only for rural ministers—for its content is by no means restricted to their interests—but for church laymen as well. Other community leaders would profit from its reading. There are questions for discussion after each chapter and a well-selected list of references.

The "problem of the rural church" is one which has troubled all students of rural society. It has concerned national religious leaders of all denominations for two decades. Still the unsolved questions remain. How can a rural minister afford to get all the training required for him to become conversant with the social and economic problems of agriculture? What should be the division of social labor between the church and the school and other institutions? If the church pays too much attention to the realistic social problems of the "here and now" and neglects salvation in the "world to come," will it continue to claim the interest and loyalty of the communicants? How can we hope to achieve unity as opposed to separatism among even the Christian denominations?

Lindstrom has made many excellent suggestions looking toward the answers to these questions. His faith that something can be done toward the solution of these problems is heartening.

LOWRY NELSON

University of Minnesota

Tangier Island: A Study of an Isolated Group. By S. WARREN HALL III. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939. Pp. 122; 2 maps and 2 illustrations. $1.50.

In this very readable and well-organized little book, Mr. Hall has presented "the essential facts concerning the ethnological and sociological elements pertaining to Tangier Island." The first third of the book, which human ecologists will find particularly interesting, deals with the general history, topography, and population distribution of this island in Chesapeake Bay. The extremely limited available land and the historic continuity of this isolated community make a truly valuable situation for study. The work continues with a description of the various major aspects of Tangier life. In the small space Hall has allotted himself, no completeness of presentation can be claimed. Various problems such as the social change which has recently become noticeable on the island were considered outside the scope of this study. It is to be hoped that Mr. Hall, who has apparently already gained excellent entrée into the society, will continue his investigations there.

With an ever increasing body of purely descriptive accounts of communities, it might be well for social scientists to formulate more precisely just how these studies are to be used "to enable us to arrive at certain generalizations and conclusions." The prevalent idea that these studies are the cultures they depict, and are open to comparison as such, must give way to the realization that they are but descriptions from a generalized point of view which may lack the pertinent facts demanded by the eventual hypotheses to be tested from the data.

HORACE MINER

Wayne University

Decisions and Attitudes as Outcomes of the Discussion of a Social Problem: An Experimental Study. By WILLIAM MURRAY TIMMONS. ("Teachers College Contributions to Education," No. 777.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. 106. $1.60.

In the words of the author, this study attempts to determine experimentally whether information on and discussion of a social problem cumulatively contribute to appropriate attitudes and appropriate solutions.

It was found that the students who read and discussed were better able

to arrive at good solutions than those who read and studied (differences were statistically significant). No differences (statistically significant) were found with respect to attitude and none with respect to ability to evaluate the characteristics of solutions.

The subjects were 672 high-school Juniors and Seniors enrolled in American history, social problems, and sociology. In experiment A, 265 were used as experimental subjects (who discussed the problem the third day), and 69 were used as controls (who restudied the problem the third day). In experiment B, 194 formed the experimental group and 144 the control group.

The problem for study was, "What, if anything, should be done about Ohio's system of releasing convicts from prison?" Students chose one of five alternative solutions. The good solution of the problem was formulated by experts and an information test of 30 items evaluating the characteristics of solutions was used. Two measures of attitude were used: (1) the Remmers-Kelley Generalized Scale for Measuring Attitudes toward any Institution, and (2) free expression of attitude toward the best parole system. Experimental investigations of this sort are to be commended as the most promising kind of research to evaluate the role of discussion in teaching and in a democratic society.

F. STUART CHAPIN

University of Minnesota

Rural Community Organization. By DWIGHT SANDERSON and ROBERT A. POLSON. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1939. Pp. 448. $3.00.

In this book primary emphasis is placed on the techniques of community organization. It is essentially a "how" book, although "why," "when," and "where" are not entirely neglected. The changes which have transpired in the organization of the rural community since 1900 are illustrated by a case study of Waterville, New York, the community which formed the basis of Williams' famous monograph, *An American Town.* Then follow a chapter on aims and objectives and one giving a series of case studies, or surveys, of communities illustrating different types of organization and the role which various factors have played in making these communities what they are. The remainder of the book (pp. 152 ff.) is devoted quite largely to a discussion of experiences of rural communities in various parts of the country in forming clubs, community councils, and associations and to a description of programs carried on. There is a good chapter on leadership and how to motivate and train leaders. The relations of local communities to county and national organizations are treated in two concluding chapters.

This is undoubtedly the best book of its kind to appear to date. It is designed for use as a text on the college level, but it is a valuable reference for agricultural extension workers, social workers, teachers, and others who are engaged in the tasks of community organization, for they will get "leads" as to how to acquire an understanding of the communities in which they work and diagnose organization problems.

LOWRY NELSON

University of Minnesota

The Patient as a Person. By G. CANBY ROBINSON. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1939. Pp. xiv+423. $3.00.

This is a unique study of 174 patients with both organic and psychogenic diseases by a physician of Johns Hopkins Hospital who chooses to look at the phenomenon of disease from the sociological point of view instead of the biological alone. In the author's own words this may be said to be "an effort to understand patients not only as individuals presenting symptoms and physical evidences of illness, but also as personalities living under particular social conditions."

The hypothesis on which this study was based is that many diseases are either caused or complicated by the emotional strain that comes from the patients' adverse social conditions and social maladjustments. By means of friendly interviews with patients at the hospital and home visits conducted personally by the author in the course of a year, it was found that, in the total series of 174 patients, 140, or 80 per cent, revealed some type of adverse social condition. Of these "positive" cases social adversity was definitely related to illness or medical care in 115, or 66 per cent, while in the remaining 25 cases, or 14 per cent, this relationship was not definitely established. In addition to statistical figures, each of the 174 cases is presented with all the information that has been gathered.

Although from the more technical standpoints of clinical psychology and sociology, the author's method of interview and his interpretation of some of his case material perhaps may leave some readers feeling not quite contented, yet this study leaves very little to be desired as an attempt to call the attention of general practitioners to the importance of social and emotional factors in the diseases they treat and to demonstrate what friendly interviews conducted without much technicality and genuine efforts to render assistance can do to help understand and treat the patient as a person.

BINGHAM DAI

Fisk University

The Negro in Brazil. By ARTHUR RAMOS. Translated from the Portuguese by RICHARD PUTTEE, with an Introduction by the translator. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1939. Pp. xx+203. $2.15.

This informative manual on the Brazilian Negro was written for the English-reading public by one of a growing group of Brazilian scholars interested in their own indigenous culture. A disciple of Nina Rodrigues and the first Brazilian to focus serious attention upon the Negro, Arthur Ramos is professor of social psychology in the Universidade de Rio de Janeiro.

The Negro in Brazil was undertaken at the request of the translator and is a brief historical treatment of slavery and the slave trade, slave uprisings and the abolition movement, African survivals, and the contribution of the black and the mixed-blood to Brazilian politics, art, literature, and science. Appended is a brief survey of studies of the Brazilian Negro already carried out or in progress. The difficult task of translation has been accomplished in a reasonably adequate manner, although a less literal rendering might perhaps in places have improved clarity.

DONALD PIERSON

Escola livre de sociologia e politica de São Paulo

Couroi et courètes: essai sur l'éducation spartiate et sur les rites d'adolescence dans l'antiquité hêllenique. By HENRI JEANMIRE. Lille: Bibliothèque universitaire, 1939.

The author discloses a number of new facts with reference to the societies of adolescents and the so-called secret societies of men, which were the forerunners of a system of collective education in the ancient Greek world. These societies take their place among the ensemble of consanguineous and age groups and of secret societies to which H. Sumner Maine, Heinrich Schurtz, and Hutton Webster, in turn, gave such emphasis as factors in early history. The work is of a scope comparable to Webster's *The Primitive Secret Societies.*

The essential function of these societies, as treated in Jeanmire's work, seems to have been that of preparing young men for the rigors of civic life by discipline, ordeals, and instruction. Ceremonies were used to give youths a solemn respect for the past and a lively sense of their special mission—as men, and not women or children—to perpetuate the sacred society into which it was their privilege to be accepted.

RAYMOND LENOIR

Paris

The Attitudes and Adjustments of Recipients of Old Age Assistance in Upstate and Metropolitan New York. By CHRISTINE MARGARET MORGAN. ("Archives of Psychology," No. 214.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. 131. $1.50.

While other studies of the aged have been concerned largely with economic security, employability, and health, this one explores the social life and attitudes of 381 persons over seventy years of age who were receiving old age assistance. Far from appearing as a type each aged individual stands out vividly as a personality, the product of his own experiences and the prey of his own hopes, fears, and circumstances.

Some of the factors which were found to be associated with good adjustment and happiness in old age were good health and freedom from physical disability; pleasant social and emotional relations with friends and relatives; the possession of hobbies and other interests; the opportunity to live independently among familiar surroundings and possessions; and some form of occupation.

LEONA E. MASSOTH

Indiana University

War in Our Time. By the GRADUATE FACULTY OF THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH. Edited by HANS SPEIER and ALFRED KÄHLER. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1939. Pp. 362. $3.00.

In the present volume, which is the second of the collaborative efforts of the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research, the majority of the contributions deal with economic matters. A considerable amount of useful information and a number of highly suggestive hypotheses are presented, as, e.g., in Dr. Lederer's cogent statement on "War Economics." Among the essays dealing mainly with noneconomic aspects of war one may mention particularly Dr. Speier's exposition on war propaganda, which contains a careful consideration of the factors making for its increased importance. In contradistinction to much recent writing, Dr. Speier judiciously emphasizes the limits of the effectiveness of propaganda in war, even under the assumption of perfect skilfulness of its handling.

Perhaps it should be remarked that in some of the articles one finds discussions which are scarcely germane to empirical social analysis. Every student of the second world war will be interested in forecasts concerning the attitudes of the churches in that contingency. Are we, however, better equipped to make such forecasts after having been told by Dr. Mayer

that "the Church and its claims must be truly universal, since the Church cannot accept any divisions that are built upon the principles.... of the world"?

It is to be hoped that contributions of the same high level of analysis and documentation which distinguishes the present volume will be offered by the authors on subjects which are only incidentally treated in it, such as the military conduct of war and its sociopolitical effects during its course and after its conclusion.

N. C. LEITES

University of Chicago

It Is Later than You Think: The Need for a Militant Democracy. By MAX LERNER. New York: Viking Press, 1938. Pp. x+260. $2.50.

The rising tension of the present decade is, as in previous epochs of crisis, calling forth a sharply rising amount of political pamphleteering. Cranks and hacks tend to follow the shifting foci of collective interest; but there are also specialists who are impelled to bring their skill to bear on the issues of the day and to embody their results in esoteric formulas. Dr. Lerner's book continues the important tradition of liberal American tracts, a tradition which numbers Herbert Croly, Randolph Bourne, and the earlier Walter Lippmann among its recent representatives. Dr. Lerner is aware of his position in this stream; but he is equally conscious of the divergent currents which it comprehends and which he classifies into four groups: classical, small enterprise, administrative liberalism, and "democratic collectivism" which is advocated by the author. This variant of liberalism is described as holding that "the great political task of our generation is the task of giving economic content to democracy and of keeping power in collectivism from becoming tyrannical." Concerning the institutions requisite for the realization of this combination of ends, Dr. Lerner takes no dogmatic position. The introduction of collective ownership of the means of production on the one hand, the subjection of private property to far-reaching social planning, on the other, seem to him to be the most serious competitors for the effective institutionalization, under contemporary conditions, of the essentials of liberalism which comprise "the central place of civil liberties in any cultural system, the principle of inclusive tolerance of all creeds and all political beliefs, the dignity of the individual and the sanctity of human life, the cultural diversity that comes from individual heresies, the competition of ideas in the market-place of thought and action, the career open to talent,

the belief in the possibilities of human expansion and the richness of human life, the unending fight against all the principalities and powers of reaction."

N. C. LEITES

University of Chicago

Secret Armies: The New Technique of Nazi Warfare. By JOHN L. SPIVAK. New York: Modern Age Books, 1939. Pp. 160. $0.50.

John Spivak has already taken his place among the few courageous reporters (like the late Lincoln Steffens and W. C. Brann) of the contemporary political scene. In this instance, Spivak has recorded the amazing activities of Nazi agents in the United States, Mexico, and Central America. After five years' observation of fascist activities on the American continent, the author sees a formerly innocuous spy activity developing into a well-organized Nazi and fascist espionage system. The book is thoroughly documented with official records, direct conversations, original records, and letters—and cites names, dates, and places. This uncontradicted evidence has already been influential in setting off several official investigations of fascist-dominated propaganda in this country; many sections of the book have been read into the *Congressional Record* of our national legislature.

Sociologists will find value in the book on three counts: it is an objective analysis of the behavior of groups of well-organized espionage agents; it is a sort of "natural history" of fascist and Nazi propaganda techniques; and, finally, it exposes Nazi activities in American universities (chap. ix) and should jolt scholars and students out of their false sense of security.

NATHAN BODIN

Chicago

The College Professor in America: An Analysis of Articles Published in the General Magazines, 1890–1938. By CLAUDE CHARLETON BOWMAN. Philadelphia: Privately printed, 1938. Pp. 196.

This is a Doctor's dissertation in sociology. In it the author attempts to analyze articles in nineteen general magazines such as *Harper's*, *New Republic*, *Liberty*, and *Time* for attitudes toward the college professor's personality, his salary and standard of life, academic freedom, his teaching and research, and his participation in politics. The author thus has

two problems: to state in some precise way the attitudes exhibited in these articles and to interpret the significance of the attitudes found in some sort of sociological terms. With respect to the first of these the author relies mainly on quotations. These are interesting, but, since they reveal many points of view and are not scaled in any way, the reader is left with very vague notions regarding any central tendency. The second problem is even less satisfactorily solved. The author admits that the articles do not necessarily reflect either the attitudes of the magazine editors or those of their readers. All we know is that they represent the attitudes of their writers, who are mostly professors and journalists. The reader is left with a set of vague facts whose meaning in terms of public opinion or social classes or any other field of sociological theory is not developed. Not only does the research bear no fruit but the obstacles which prevented fruition could have been foreseen from the start. It would seem that either methods should have been devised to overcome these obstacles or the problem should have been abandoned.

ROBERT C. ANGELL

University of Michigan

Government Statistics. By the COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT STATISTICS AND INFORMATION SERVICES, sponsored by the AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION and the SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL. ("Social Science Research Council Bulletin," No. 26.) New York: Social Science Research Council, 1937. Pp. xiv+174. $1.00.

This report is based on studies carried on by the committee during the period June, 1933–January, 1935. Included in the committee's general recommendations are: (*a*) the continuance of the Central Statistical Board as a planning and co-ordinating agency, (*b*) the maintenance of decentralized authority and division of labor in the collection of statistics, (*c*) more adequate provision for the analysis of collected data, and (*d*) a plan for the development of a personnel qualified for statistical research. Specific recommendations are made concerning the work of a number of existing agencies, and special attention is given to the need for developing statistical services relating to individual and family consumption and expenditures. There are appendixes covering the scope of federal statistics and the history of central statistical organizations in the United States.

FELIX E. MOORE, JR.

University of Washington

The Influence of Nursery School Experience on Children's Social Adjustments. By ARTHUR T. JERSILD and MARY D. FITE. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939. Pp. viii+112. $1.60.

This study of eighteen three-year-olds, though the sample is small, advances our knowledge of the individual in a group situation. The valuable "modified diary technique" used has emerged during ten years of research at the Child Development Institute.

The children, half of them new to the group, were observed in the fall and in the following spring, for number and type of social contacts. It was found that on the average such interchanges occurred during 58 per cent of all thirty-second intervals in the spring, as compared with 35 per cent in the fall, largest gains being made by the "new" children. The study, though with different terminology, confirms Lois B. Murphy's conclusion that *range* of behavior may well replace the familiar concept of personality *trait*, since one's behavior in a given situation, at any age, seems to depend largely on his degree of security—i.e., the meaning of the situation to him.

RUTH PEARSON KOSHUK

Chicago

A Short History of Political Thinking. By PAUL W. WARD. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1939. Pp. 127. $1.50.

This is a very brief and sketchy study of the general development of political philosophy from the Greek city-state to the modern world, under such rubrics as the Greek city-state, the Roman Empire, the Roman church, absolute monarchy, and democracy and the nation-state. Professor Ward presents scarcely more than a bird's-eye view and, according to many, leaves out some of the most significant thinkers in political philosophy produced by the modern world. For example, he does not mention Gumplowicz or Pareto, Sumner or Lester F. Ward. He pays attention to Marx, but has nothing to say of the racial theories which lie back of Hitler's political philosophy. The sociologist will find little to amplify his knowledge of political evolution in Western civilization in this book.

C. A. ELLWOOD

Duke University

The Problem of Leisure. By HENRY W. DURANT. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1938. Pp. 276. 10*s.* 6*d.*

This discussion of recreation in England is based on careful studies of the existing situation and presents an illuminating picture of leisure-

time trends in that country in recent years. The author first analyzes the problems of leisure that confront different classes in English society—the aristocracy, the middle classes, the working class, and the unemployed. Then follows a description of the machinery of amusement with special emphasis upon moving pictures, football, racing, and gambling. The final chapters point out the progress that has been made in establishing public and private organizations designed to facilitate the use of leisure in a wholesome and constructive manner.

This volume, without being burdened with many statistical tables, is crowded with factual data. Moreover, it has been written with real insight into the problems of modern leisure and is a valuable contribution to the literature.

J. F. STEINER

University of Washington

The Effect of Praise and Competition on the Persisting Behavior of Kindergarten Children. By THETA HOLMES WOLF. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1938. Pp. 138. $2.00.

This exploratory study was in the hands of a research student who understands the complexity of behavior and recognized the great number of variables that condition the effect of praise and competition on the "persisting behavior" of five-year-old children. Praise and competition are seen as interactive elements rather than isolated causative factors. The effect of each "incentive" was found to be relative to various stimulating conditions in the permanent environment as well as in the research situation. The child is seen as an organic-social-psychological unity. This point of view tends to minimize the usual academic bias in terms of one discipline.

L. GUY BROWN

Oberlin College

Plant and Animal Communities. Edited by THEODORE JUST. Notre Dame, Ind.: University Press, 1939. Pp. 255. $2.50.

This is a reprint of the proceedings of the Conference on Plant and Animal Communities, held at the Biological Laboratory, Cold Spring Harbor, New York, in the summer of 1938, originally published in the January, 1939, issue of the *American Midland Naturalist.* The book is, therefore, a more or less comprehensive statement of the present position of plant and animal ecology by ten leaders in the field. The discussion in each paper is thoroughly documented with up-to-date as well as older

research contributions in the several specialties. The so-called "ecological school" of sociologists should find this volume of great interest as it summarizes present-day theories held by plant and animal ecologists, which, incidentally, are considerably different from what many sociologists have assumed. The reviewer believes a careful reading of this volume and a study of pertinent references cited by the several authors would result in a better understanding of the interrelations and differences between plant, animal, and human ecology. Furthermore, the plant and animal ecologists have made considerable contributions to theory and research techniques in the last decade that have not, as yet, had any appreciable influence with human ecologists. More reading in fields related to ours ought to aid us in formulating new hypotheses and in abandoning untenable ones.

A. B. HOLLINGSHEAD

Indiana University

Trends in Size and Production of the Aggregate Farm Enterprise, 1909–36. By RAYMOND G. BRESSLEE, JR., and JOHN A. HOPKINS. (National Research Project on Reemployment Opportunities and Recent Changes in Industrial Techniques, Report No. A-6.) Philadelphia: Works Progress Administration, 1938. Pp. xvi+255.

This is one of a series of technical reports dealing with changing techniques and employment in agriculture; consequently, it is not complete in itself. The report presents two sets of index numbers for the United States as a whole and for each of eleven major types of farming areas so defined as to follow state lines. One index measures change in size of the agricultural industry, 1909–36, and the other measures change in agricultural production over the same period. Both indexes are standardized for the labor requirements of crop and animal production prevailing during the period 1924–29. The resulting series show the changes in the size and production of the agricultural industry if the labor requirements throughout the period had been those of 1924–29. As may be supposed, numerous estimates have gone into the construction of these indexes.

The picture suggested by the above indexes is that of an agricultural industry that grew both in size and in annual production from 1909 to 1925 and, after some fluctuation, declined subsequent to 1933. Greatest gains were made in the western half of the United States. It is suggested that further expansion in the eastern part of the country may grow more difficult because of soil depletion, erosion, and competition.

Sociologists interested in the physical basis of society and in the problems of utilization of man-power will be interested in this report.

C. E. LIVELY

University of Missouri

Leisure—a National Issue. By EDUARD C. LINDEMAN. New York: Association Press, 1939. Pp. 61. $0.50.

This brief monograph by the consulting director of the Division of Recreation on the Works Progress Administration is concerned primarily with the problem of working out a satisfactory national policy for meeting the recreational needs of the American people. The plan suggested is the establishment of a central bureau in the federal government to co-ordinate the recreational activities of various federal bureaus and to promote and guide a national program of leisure. Considerable space is given to a discussion of the possibility of developing such a plan without doing violence to traditional democratic principles. According to the author, organized public recreation is becoming more widely accepted as a necessary function of government, and the time is now ripe for a more comprehensive national approach to the leisure-time problem.

J. F. STEINER

University of Washington

At the Bar of Public Opinion: A Brief for Public Relations. By JOHN PRICE JONES and DAVID MCLAREN CHURCH. With a Foreword by GUY EMERSON. New York: Inter-river Press, 1939. Pp. xix+181. $2.00.

This book contains a fairly simple statement of one firm's philosophy of operation in the "public relations" field and of its defense of that philosophy or—to be more direct—of its "sales line." It is thus in a class with such documents as Ivy L. Lee's *Publicity* (1925) and Edward L. Bernays' *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (1923), to name but two.

Social psychologists will find the terminology of the authors rather surprising and sometimes amusing. For example: "Public relations . . . . has been employed to describe press agentry, publicity, promotion, and propaganda. *It is none of these*" (italics mine). As the Introduction brings out, there is "much confusion on the subject." Much of the confusion still awaits an objective analysis of the subject.

The chief merit of the book is that its authors make a convincing plea to businessmen to devise better and better methods for learning the opinions of customers, employees, and the public at large and to take these opinions into account in formulating corporate policies.

ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE

New York University
and
Raymond Rich Associates

Mental Health. Edited by FOREST RAY MOULTON and PAUL O. KOMORA. ("Publication of the American Association for the Advancement of Science," No. 9.) Lancaster, Pa.: Science Press, 1939. Pp. 470.

From the symposium on mental health in Richmond, December, 1938, ninety contributions, including discussions as well as papers, are here gathered

together. The participants include not only medical men but also sociologists, anthropologists, and related specialists, and the mixture of such diverse types of interest seems to have been not without effect. If it has seemed that the old standard psychiatric point of view had sunk too deep into a rut, there are signs here that the forces are gathering to pull it out and reshape it. The merit of the collection is not in its organization but in its evidence of ferment and intention to work toward a new and better organization. To sociologists it is cheering to find signs of respect for their potential contributions.

Apart from its value as a sign of a trend, the volume has many very stimulating statements and brief reports of research which are worth the trouble of digging out. It would be easier to find these if there were an index.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

McGill University

Migrant Families. By JOHN N. WEBB and MALCOLM BROWN. (Works Progress Administration, Research Mono. XVIII.) Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938. Pp. xxx+192.

This study of migrant families on federal relief is made primarily from the point of view of administrative policy. The principal findings are: These migrant families had previously been self-supporting and had migrated in search of more favorable opportunities. They received relief for a shorter period of time than did the resident families. Much of the migration of relief families from state to state was reciprocal, with a slight balance of northward migration in the South and of western migration elsewhere; these trends are in the same direction in periods of prosperity. The legal residence requirements for local relief are not justified and should be abolished. Since these residence requirements will probably be retained, the relief of transients should be assumed permanently by federal agencies.

EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND

Indiana University

Peasant Life in China. By HSIAO-TUNG FEI. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1939. Pp. xxvi+300. $3.50.

As there is a scarcity of firsthand accounts of village life in China, Dr. Fei's book on a peasant village in the Yangtze Valley is a welcome contribution.

Kaihsienkung is a village of three hundred and sixty households dependent for a livelihood on rice and silkworms. A full account is given of agriculture and sericulture, with attention directed toward the recent changes due to contact with the West and competition from Japan. The account of seasonal occupations suffers from the shortness of the author's stay in Kaihsienkung (two months), but the chapters on marketing and local finance give a good picture of the economic relations of the villagers with the towns and with one another. The author also gives a detailed description of the household and family as they

function in village life. Something of a surprise is the fact that there is an average of but four persons per household.

The title of the book is rather too general, since the study is of but one village in China and, furthermore, of only the economic aspect of life in that village. Religion, for instance, is not included. It is to be hoped that Dr. Fei will include this and other aspects of village life in another volume.

This book contains an appendix on Chinese kinship terms and a preface by Bronislaw Malinowski.

JOHN F. EMBREE

University of Hawaii

The Tobacco Night Riders of Kentucky and Tennessee. By JAMES O. NALL. Louisville, Ky.: Standard Press, 1939. Pp. viii+221. $2.00.

American history is replete with extralegal activity, ranging from the Regulators of Colonial days and the famous San Francisco Committee of Vigilance down through the modern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Each vigilante group possessed its own peculiar local color which it gained from the particular combination of circumstances out of which it arose.

In this well-documented work the salient features of the Tobacco War are clearly presented, the economic and social conditions of the tobacco planters fairly stated, and the origin, development, and activities of the Tobacco Night Riders thoroughly considered. Organized in 1906 as a secret oath-bound order, the Night Riders carried on three years of intense warfare against the tobacco trust. Fire, gun, and lash were their weapons. For the student of vigilante groups this book offers a rich fund of well-integrated material heretofore known only through scattered references.

HERBERT T. SCHUELKE

Chicago

The Canadian Family. By A. J. PELLETIER, F. D. THOMPSON, and A. ROCHON. (Census Monograph No. 7; reprinted from *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931*, Vol. XIII.) Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1938. Pp. 228. $0.35.

This reprinted monograph of the Canadian census isolates the data regarding the family. It analyzes the 1931 data, employs new materials supplied by the Bureau of Vital Statistics, and provides a historical background. The historical viewpoint is that of a devout French Canadian. The theme of the monograph is the decreasing size of the family; the analysis is confined to the conventional census categories.

The ingenious statistical handling serves mainly to emphasize the difficulties involved in securing dependable knowledge from small, arbitrarily selected groups of questions; the work illuminates the problems of census-taking as effectively as it does the composition of the family.

OSWALD HALL

Brown University

Medicine at the Crossroads. By BERTRAM M. BERNHEIM. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1939. Pp. 256. $2.50.

The general thesis of this polemic is that the physicians, and especially the more successful among them, are courting government interference by their insistence that all is well when everyone else knows that all is not well. The author, himself a surgeon and one of four hundred and thirty who signed the notorious manifesto in defiance of the American Medical Association, thinks that the profession has not faced even its inner problems, such as fee-splitting, and that the American Medical Association does not afford any facilities for that disagreement and discussion by which alone an intelligent professional public opinion might be developed.

There is more in this vein, written in a lively style. It is evidently meant to arouse discussion within the profession.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

The Log Book of a Young Immigrant. By LAURENCE M. LARSON. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1939. Pp. vii+318. $3.00.

This autobiography of the early career of a Norwegian immigrant who rose to become the president of the American Historical Association is an interesting record of life in a frontier Norwegian-American community. It brings out the extent to which such a community was based upon the transferred Norwegian culture, something about its gradual Americanization, and a good deal about the youthful problems and adjustments of Laurence Larson, who left the immigrant community to seek his future in the broader American environment. The balance of the book lies on the side of sober external description in which the historian's caution and literary skill are both evident, but occasionally the author gives us a glimpse of his own feelings and opinions. On the whole, these suggest that he was able to adjust himself to the two cultures without any acute travail of spirit, although one also feels that the tolerance and balance of the narrative may have been tempered in retrospection. Little is said of his outmarriage, and nothing of the latter half of his career. Sociologically, if not historically, this document should be classed with those of the second generation, since the author was less than two years old when he arrived in America.

EVERETT V. STONEQUIST

Skidmore College

Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri. Edited by ANNIE HELOISE ABEL. Translated from the French by ROSE ABEL WRIGHT. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939. Pp. ix+272. $3.50.

This narrative, written by an educated French-Canadian trader who spent the year 1803–4 among the Arikara and other tribes of the Upper Missouri River region, is of unusual interest, both for the new light it sheds on the commercial

and political rivalries of the Spanish, French, English, and Americans in this region and for its illuminating picture of the first effects of European trade on aboriginal Indian tribes. Dr. Abel's excellent and scholarly Historical Introduction places the narrative in its full historical setting and incidentally furnishes the ethnohistorian with new materials for the study of culture contact and change. The ethnographic materials are somewhat disappointing, in view of Tabeau's unusual opportunities, but there is a great deal of miscellaneous information on the Arikara, Mandan, Sioux, and other tribes which will be useful for specialists in the Plains area. Much of the information gathered by Lewis and Clark for this region was apparently furnished by Tabeau.

FRED EGGAN

University of Chicago

Disadvantaged People in Rural Life: Proceedings of the Twenty-first American Country Life Conference. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. 176. $2.00.

This little volume consists of fourteen major papers and various lesser statements delivered before the named conference in 1938. Among the more factual topics are the reports on national income and low-income farms, people on poor land, and the farm laborer. The discussions dealing with reformative and administrative methods include such items as causes of low income among farmers, credits, producer-consumer relations, land use, ownership, and federal bureaus dealing with specific agrarian operations. The range of topics involved gives some indication of the complexity of the technological, economic, aesthetic, and social content of this modern world as it is viewed by leaders in the agrarian movement. The reader readily perceives that the authors are concerned primarily with control rather than with theoretical insights into these tangled practical questions.

E. T. HILLER

University of Illinois

The Industrial Worker: A Statistical Study of Human Relations in a Group of Manual Workers, Vol. II. By T. N. WHITEHEAD. Drawings by HELEN M. MITCHELL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938. Pp. 162. $5.00 (set of 2 vols).

This volume consists of 81 pages of charts with text facing each, and represents the statistical findings supporting the text of Volume I, which, it may be recalled, is an intensive experimental study of the industrial worker from the standpoint of the conditions that influence his efficiency. The present volume is not subject to appraisal apart from its text except to note the clearness and occasional ingenuity of the graphics employed. The format of the volume is excellent throughout.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

Bennington College

Geography and Society. By JAMES FRANKLIN CHAMBERLAIN. New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1938. Pp. 676. $1.80.

This book, written for use in the secondary schools, gives a comprehensive survey of world-geography. It touches little upon modern problems produced by changes in the relations between geography and society. Our own country is still the "land of opportunity," with no questions raised as to future limitations on opportunity.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

Glenview, Illinois

Dances of the Hungarians. By ELIZABETH C. REARICK. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939. Pp. 151. $2.10.

This is a transcription of words and music used in the Hungarian dances, with a brief account of life in Hungarian villages and the place which these dances hold in the traditional festivities. Miss Rearick writes from firsthand observations.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

Glenview, Illinois

Of Ants and Men. By CARYL P. HASKINS. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. vii+244. $2.75.

After many years' observation of the behavior of ants, the author has written a popular book attempting to show how ant societies function, how they solve many of the same "social problems" confronting man—war, reproduction, sustenance, pressure groups, security, democracy, and totalitarianism. In addition, one finds a tracing of the rise of the ants as a race, their diversification, their struggles for dominance, their tastes for odors, forms, and textures, their modes of "gossip" and memories, as well as descriptions of the lives of the harvesting ants, the fungus growers, and the slave keepers.

Financing Government. By HAROLD M. GROVES. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1939. Pp. xvi+777. $3.75.

This volume undertakes to cover the principles, practices, and problems of public finance. The material is divided into thirty-three chapters under six main sections: Introduction, "Public Revenues," "Institutions and Problems of the Revenue System as a Whole," "Public Expenditures," "Public Borrowing," and "Problems of the Fiscal System as a Whole."

Readings in Social Case Work, 1920–1938: Selected Reprints for the Case Work Practitioner. Edited by FERN LOWRY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. xiv+810. $3.50.

The seventy-odd papers here assembled deal with the philosophy of case work, its technique, professional standards, the relations of case work to other types of social work and to the community at large, and the bearing of social and biological sciences upon social work. Although the technical matters of social

work are by no means neglected, the thing that strikes a sociological reader is the wide and intelligent use of material from the social sciences.

Those Gay Middle Ages. By FREDERICK D. KERSHNER. Chicago: Willett, Clark & Co., 1938. Pp. xiv+235. $2.00.

Dr. Kershner, dean of the school of religion, Butler University, sets the moral idealism and artistic excellence of the Middle Ages against a background of cruelty, stupidity, superstition, intolerance, and unhygienic conditions in an attempt to correct for the bias of those contemporaries who yearn for a return to that period.

The Girl in the Rural Family. By NORA MILLER. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Pp. ix+108. $1.50.

The author presents brief generalized descriptions of type families in type agricultural and industrial communities in the South, with emphasis on out-of-school girls. The material is based on experiences of an agricultural extension worker.

A History of Western Civilization, from Ancient Greece through the Renaissance, Vol. I. By ARTHUR P. WATTS. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. xxxvii+786. $3.75.

A political history tracing the development of Greek culture, the Roman Republic, the Roman Empire, the beginnings of the Christian church, ten barbarian invasions, Mohammedanism, the medieval church, feudalism, medieval towns and trade and culture, and the period of the Renaissance.

This Is War: Everyman's Guide to Modern Warfare. By LUCIEN ZACHAROFF. New York: Sheridan House, 1939. Pp. x+342. $2.50.

This book attempts to analyze the principles, weapons, and techniques of modern warfare. With entertaining anecdote and graphic description, the author takes the reader behind the scenes of the first World War and the invasions of China, Ethiopia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Albania.

Public Health Law. By JAMES A. TOBEY. 2d ed. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1939. Pp. xx+414. $3.50.

An up-to-date discussion of matters pertaining to the legal aspects of public health administration. While of special value to local and state health officers, it also has value for teachers of public health and nurses.

Transportation in the United States. By T. W. VAN METRE. Chicago: Foundation Press, 1939. Pp. viii+403. $6.00.

This volume is apparently designed primarily for use as a textbook in general transportation courses in schools of business administration and for certain economics courses. The discussion centers mainly upon the forms of domestic transportation, with special reference to railroad transportation. The four parts

of the book are: "The History of American Transportation," "The Business of Transportation," "Shippers and Carriers," and "Regulation of the Transportation Business."

Year-Book of Labour Statistics, 1939. Washington, D.C.: International Labour Office, 1939. Pp. viii+239. $2.00.

This fourth annual yearbook covers figures for most of the countries of the world on population, employment and unemployment, hours of work, wages, cost of living and retail prices, family-living studies, migration, industrial disputes, and special economic statistics.

Unemployment Relief and the Unemployed in the San Francisco Bay Region, 1929–1934. By EMILY H. HUNTINGTON. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1939. Pp. xi+106.

A statistical study produced under the auspices of the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics dealing with the social and economic characteristics of families applying for relief during the depression period.

Religious Liberty in the U.S. Today. New York: American Civil Liberties Union, 1939. Pp. 48. $0.10.

This is a very brief survey of the "restraints on religious freedom" in this country and deals with such topics as "Restraints on Religious Denominations," "Religion in Public Schools," "Oaths," "Compulsory Military Service," "Sunday Laws," "Religious Intolerance," etc.

Leisure Time Needs and Resources in Swoyersville, Pennsylvania. By EVELYN BUCHAN CROOK. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Bros., Inc., 1939. Pp. viii + 86. $1.95.

This competent and unpretentious survey of a small Wyoming valley mining town was undertaken with a view to ascertaining what need there might be for a community house to serve young people. Although apparently meant mainly for local people, it is a useful addition to the list of descriptions of American communities.

Statistics Applied to Education and Psychology. By CLARENCE T. GRAY and DAVID F. VOTAW. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1939. Pp. xiv+278. $3.25.

Taking a minimum for granted with respect to the student's mathematical background, the authors offer a text suitable for a first course in educational statistics.

Herbert Spencer Betrayed. By ALFRED W. TILLETT. London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1939. Pp. x+67. 4*s.* 6*d.*

An attack upon Spencer's trustees for having paid Dr. Rumney to write a critique of Spencer's sociology, and upon Dr. Rumney himself for having, the author alleges, misrepresented both Spencer and his work. Mr. Tillett adds nothing to sociological theory and nothing to our knowledge of Spencer's work.

Twenty-eight Years of Sterilization in California. By PAUL POPENOE and E. S. GOSNEY. Pasadena, Calif.: Human Betterment Foundation, 1938. Pp. 47. $0.25.

An awkward attempt to popularize the practice of sterilizing defectives.

E. B. REUTER

University of Iowa

Work Accidents to Minors in Illinois. By EARL E. KLEIN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. Pp. xi+248. $1.00.

This study makes available the facts of the inadequate work-accident protection of young workers in Illinois. It includes the history and present provisions of the Illinois law and compensation for work accidents; an analysis of accidents filed with the industrial commission; minors' account of injuries and compensation; and the procedure and results of compensation; concluding with specific recommendations for changes.

A Challenge to Sex Censors. By THEODORE SCHROEDER. New York: Privately printed by the Free Speech League, 1938. Pp. 159.

A prospectus from a larger work by a man who has devoted a long life to comparing sex censors with witch-burners, both of whom, he believes, project their sense of guilt into the thing they destroy.

Gold and Poverty in South Africa. By MAX YERGAN. The Hague and New York: International Industrial Relations Institute, 1938. Pp. 24. $0.15.

This pamphlet calls attention to the very high national income of South Africa, based on the export of gold, and the miserably low wages and standards of living of the natives, who constitute a large proportion of the working force of mines and other industries.

Mexico's Resources for Livelihood: A Study of the Influence of Foreign Ownership. By ALEJANDRO CARILLO. New York: International Industrial Relations Institute. Pp. 34. $0.25.

The pamphlet presents Mexico's difficulties in giving her own people the benefits of her great natural resources. The struggle was once against feudalism; now it is against foreign owners of her resources.

A History of World Civilization. By JAMES EDGAR SWAIN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938. Pp. xix+615. $4.00.

A good way to illustrate what this tome attempts to encompass within its pages is to list some of the main chapter headings: Prehistoric Man; Age of Ancient Empires; Classical Civilization; Middle Ages; Development of National Cultures, 1500–1789; From the French Revolution to the World War; Beginning of an International Culture; and Civilization and Culture in the Twentieth Century.

Changing Countries and Changing Peoples. By HAROLD RUGG. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1938. Pp. xvi+586. $1.88.

This is the second volume of "the Rugg Social Science Course: Man and His Changing Society." It is designed as an introduction to world-geography with historical backgrounds for junior high school students, in order to help them understand the principal world-cultures and their history.

Tax Exemptions. By JAMES W. MARTIN *et al.* New York: Tax Policy League, Inc., 1939. Pp. viii+237. $3.00.

This volume takes up the general theory of tax exemption first and then considers subsidy exemptions, intergovernmental exemptions, subsistence exemptions, and exemptions to stimulate improvements.

The Daily Newspaper and Higher Education: A Report on Certain Findings and Inferences of the Stanford School-Press Relations Investigation. By REX F. HARLOW. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1938. Pp. xviii+44. $1.00.

If the newspapers control college news, it will be personal, incorrect, and insignificant; controlled by the colleges, it will be incorrect and unreadable. This conclusion, presented in twenty-three "inferences," was arrived at by perusing what forty-four West Coast daily papers published about thirty-three colleges and universities and by interviewing editors and college presidents.

Man the World Over. By C. C. CARTER and H. C. BRENTNALL. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939. Pp. xxii+508. $3.00.

This is a profusely illustrated geography for those of the general public who have forgotten their sixth-grade lessons. It contains a wealth of factual up-to-date information on the physical features, climate, races, natural and political divisions, industries, etc., of the various countries.

Our Changing Social Order. By RUTH W. GAVIAN, A. A. GRAY, and ERNEST R. GROVES. Rev. ed. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1939. Pp. x+684. $1.80.

This is a revision of a widely used textbook in high-school social-sciences classes studying contemporary social problems from the sociological point of view. New chapters have been added on public opinion, dictatorships, the farm problem, the family, etc.

Social Case Records: Family Welfare. Edited by ELIZABETH S. DIXON and GRACE A. BROWNING. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. Pp. x+312. $2.00.

The editors compiled for textbook purposes seventeen cases drawn from public and private social agencies in Chicago.

You and Your Hospitals: A Digest of the Hospital Survey for New York. By R. A. and O. P. GOSLIN. New York: United Hospital Fund, 1938. Pp. 59.

A brightly written and well-illustrated pamphlet of information about the hospital services of New York City.

ABSTRACTS OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

The persons who have aided in the preparation of the material for this issue are: Hubert Bonner, Robert Dubin, George B. de Huszar, Shotaro F. Miyamoto. The numerals and letters appearing after each abstract correspond to the items in the following scheme of classification:

I. THEORETICAL SOCIOLOGY
- *a*) Sociological Theory
- *b*) History of Sociology
- *c*) Methods of Research
- *d*) The Teaching of Sociology

II. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY
- *a*) Human Nature and Personality
- *b*) Collective Behavior

III. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
- *a*) The Family
- *b*) Ethnic and Racial Groups
- *c*) Social Stratification
- *d*) The Church and Religion
- *e*) The State and Political Process
- *f*) The School and Education
- *g*) Economic Institutions
- *h*) Voluntary Associations

IV. POPULATION AND HUMAN ECOLOGY
- *a*) Demography
- *b*) Ecology
- *c*) The Rural and the Urban Community

V. DISORGANIZATION
- *a*) Personal Disorganization
- *b*) Social Disorganization

323. **Social Utopias in American Literature.**—English utopias recall a lost paradise, but the American at all times depicts the present. The significance of American utopia lies in its applied character. It removed the romantic dress, adapted and exaggerated the usual utopian mechanization, rationalization, regulation, and calculation, and produced utopian schemes for immediate application, sometimes as prescriptions against hard times and panics, often as propaganda for a new currency or a tax system. There was no place in America for a utopian dream because America was itself a utopia. For the children of pioneers utopia was the present reality. The growth of the real American utopia, however, seems now to have come to an end. Is there now room in America for utopian thought? Each epoch of great social and political disturbance creates new utopias—a fact that would seem to forecast a renaissance of utopian thought.—**J. F. Normano,** *International Review for Social History,* III (1938), 287–300. (I*a*, III*e*.) S. F. M.

324. **Puritanism and Democracy.**—The thesis here presented is that the concept of democracy was significantly influenced by the Puritan religion, two aspects of which are liberalism and reformism. The first view espoused by the Levellers led to the position of equality for all believers, the latter espoused by the Millenarians promoted a dichotomous inequality between the elect and the reprobate. A partial reconciliation of this antithesis was the tendency of dogma to break down, but the main solution was the doctrine of separatism which gave equal status to the state and the church, to the secular and the sacred. With this separation an equality in the natural order parallel to spiritual equality is made possible, and Calvin's undemocratic doctrine of predestination is made ineffective in the secular sphere. The Christian doctrine of liberty, though consistently overlooked by historians, is as important as the idea of equality. It resulted from the abrogation of subjection to the letter of biblical law, in favor of inward law written by

the spirit in the heart of the believer. To secure this liberty of conscience it became evident that civil liberty is necessary. The analogy of liberty in the spiritual order and liberty in the natural order are reproduced even to the special features of Christian liberty: its individualism and anarchism. The belief of the Levellers in the possibility of arriving at truth through free and equal discussion, even at the expense of Parliament, was a response to the restrictions placed on them by arbitrary government. The issue has not lost its relevance in democracies today.—**A. S. P. Woodhouse,** *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* IV (1938), 1–21. (III*e*.) S. F. M.

325. **Why Study Business History.**—Business history is the study of the development of business administration. There are two parts to this history—the history of policy formulation and the history of business management. Despite the significance of business histories no serious research based on actual records of business firms has been produced. Business history is sharply differentiated from economic history. The former studies primarily the business firm and the factors involved in their effort to yield a profit; the latter views the whole history of economic life, so broadly as to edge off into a philosophy of history. The first philosophical recognition of the life of business came from pragmatism. Like pragmatism, business accepts freedom of will, for in business the will must be free to choose policies and to execute them in the interest of profit. Policies must be formulated with respect to production, market distribution, and financial management, and it is clear that there are many alternatives of choice. What often appears as economic determinism in economic history, therefore, reveals itself as essentially economic libertarianism in business history. The choice of deepest significance in business history lies in the selection of a general policy. There have been five policies in business history: petty capitalism, mercantile capitalism, industrial capitalism, financial capitalism, and national capitalism. Each of these stages resulted from the selection of methods and policies in business administration. When we turn to the history of business management, we discover another kind of periodization, namely, the secular trend in which profits are alternately easy and hard to make. The understanding of these cycles lies in the study of internal business sequences.—**N. S. B. Gras,** *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* IV (1938), 320–40. (III*g*.) S. F. M.

326. **Industry and the Rural System in Quebec.**—There is a general functional relationship between the growth of industry and the traditional family system in rural Quebec which makes for the continuation of the latter. Traditionally farms are inherited by one son, the remainder being forced to migrate from the land. The farm is operated as a familial enterprise and passes on intact and undivided to the inheriting son. Thus, in this area of extremely high birth rates, the system of land inheritance requires a large emigration if the system is to persist—an emigration which has long operated so that the rural population of Quebec has remained relatively stationary. Into this region has come a spreading industrial culture employing native labor but ruled by a culturally alien managerial class. The ability of these industries to absorb the excessive rural population is of considerable importance to the continuation of the rural family system. The town of Drummondville illustrates the process of rural population absorption. The influx of new industries into this stagnant town at the instance of companies operating elsewhere has seen the development of a numerous class of French industrial workers who live in satellite villages—a reversal of the typical American pattern of settlement, for here the poorest sections are being occupied by natives. The alien managerial class (English) is ecologically separated in the more desirable outlying territory. The business and professional class is almost completely French and largely native to the city or its immediate hinterland. Drummondville is believed to be typical of other Quebec industrial towns and illustrates a crucial new feature in the old migration pattern, the continued residence of the migrants in the midst of their native region. This is of social-psychological portent, for a mass of *déracinés* near home is more likely to express collective discontent with their position, as an ethnic group, in the new industrial system than is the emigrant *déracinè* who lives far from home and is more likely to express his dissatisfaction as an individual.—**E. C. Hughes,** *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* IV (1938), 341–49. (III*b*, *g*.) R. D.

327. Geography the Correlative Science.—A most fruitful concept in recent geographical research is this proposition: if there be a center where evolution (organic or inorganic) is taking place, after a reasonable lapse of time the various differentiated classes will be found to be arranged in zones, so that the most primitive is at the periphery and the most advanced at the center of the series of zones. Such a theory applied to racial evolution and migration leads to the view that the Negro (and the Negrito) who are found in marginal areas were surely the earliest forms of man. The same principle is used in urban ecology. For example, in 1846 Chicago was but the site of a fort and a group of huts and farms. By gradual stages the city evolved from this center, until now the houses, farms, and woodlands have been pushed out to the periphery of the city, miles away from the original center. Similar conclusions are to be drawn about language, viz., that the oldest forms have been pushed into marginal areas.—**Griffith Taylor,** *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* IV (1935), 535–50. (IV*b*.) S. F. M.

328. The Recent History of Professionalism in Relation to Social Structure and Social Policy.—The organizations in free professions are characterized by three factors: (1) the association guarantees the technical efficiency of its members by testing their ability before they are admitted to practice; (2) it imposes a code of ethics; and (3) it does what it can to protect the field from invasion by the unqualified. There is a real problem as to whether or not the professional codes are arbitrary fabrications of the professional mind or whether they reflect some real characteristics which distinguish the professions from the trades. These ethical codes are based on the belief that between professional and client there is a relationship of trust and that between buyer and seller there is not. There are two reasons for this: (1) professional service is not standardized but unique and personal and (2) the client is ignorant of the specific professional relationship and has to depend upon the professional for services for which the client has no training. There is involved the additional problem of the balance between duty to client and duty to community. The two are not incompatible if the true interests of society and the individual are harmonious. A profession proceeds on the assumption that they are. Authority passes to the professional who must give his client what he needs rather than what he wants. But need is a social concept which can only be assessed in relation to the social order within which the individual is living, and in assessing it the professional must draw on standards which are within his own mind and conscience. The individualism of the professions has been viewed in terms of the professional working on his own for fees paid directly by his clients. But individualism may also mean that the individual is the true unit of service because service depends on individual qualities and individual judgments, supported by an individual responsibility. In addition the professional cannot, except within narrow limits, distribute his skill through subordinates. He is unable to go in for mass production and is forbidden to offer cheap lines for slender purses. These features of professional individualism are not incompatible with a general trend toward a broad conception of social service by the professions.

The most obvious trend in the shifting social structure has been the weakening of the aristocratic prejudices against trade and the consequent amalgamation of the upper levels in the worlds of business and the professions. Social structure, in terms of a second trend, in so far as it reflects occupational structure, is frozen as soon as it emerges from the fluid preparatory stage of schooling. Mobility between generations is increased, but mobility during the working life of one generation is decreased. Thus, there appears to be a trend toward the transfer of individual competitiveness from the economic to the educational world. This is typified in the many semiprofessions of the business and administrative world. Each semiprofession represents a subordinate grade in the middle of the hierarchy of modern business organization and, while there is a little mobility within the semiprofession, interprofession mobility is at a minimum. These semiprofessional groups will probably turn most easily to the administrative or socialized professions for leadership and not to the competitive professions, the workers, or the capitalists.—**T. H. Marshall,** *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* V (1939), 325–40. (III*c*, *h*.) R. D.

329. **Problems of the Expanding Metropolis.**—The problems of the industrial-commercial metropolis are chiefly problems associated with the socially and ecologically distinct lower population strata. The conditions which destroy social control are the conditions which limit the interest of persons in one another. Characteristically disorganization and corruption are found chiefly among the recent urban immigrants who come either from foreign countries or from rural regions. The older residents are probably of all classes the best adapted not only to living in a civilization but to living in harmony with other peoples in a common civilization. While the disorganization is found chiefly among new city residents, it is the fact of the expansion of the city itself rather than the size of any other characteristics of the city which is chiefly responsible for this disorganization. Eventually with a halt in urban expansion the outlook is for a gradual and automatic amelioration until these problems pass out of the class of major ills of civilization.—**R. E. L. Faris,** *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* V (1939), 341–47. (IV*c*.) R. D.

330. **Sociology and Canadian Social History.**—Historical social phenomena can be included within the scope of sociological investigation, as a result of which the principles of sociology will be enriched through the support of a new body of material. The social history of Canada provides an admirable field for sociological investigation. Its characteristic feature has been the recurrent emergence of areas of social life involving new problems of social reorganization and adjustment. The emergence of new culture patterns in Upper Canada or the western prairies indicates that the transfer by migrant groups of old culture patterns to new settings at the "margins of society" is not complete. The typical pattern of emergence of new behavior may be summarized in four steps. (1) A period of social disorganization results during which individuals seek to solve the problems imposed by the new environment. (2) Social movements develop around the leadership of particular individuals or groups of individuals who attempt to secure converts for their particular solution to the new problems. To the extent that the social movements secure a broad support they provide the basis for social control and unification. (3) With the broadening of the social base of particular movements, they take on institutional characteristics—a doctrine or dogma, functionaries and offices, and a clientele. For the most part both the leaders and the followers of new movements were recruited from those sections of the population denied leading roles in old or "respectable" organizations. These new movements do not invariably replace older ones, but they have the advantage of greater adaptability because of greater freedom from the forces of tradition. (4) Finally, the new movements themselves become the old institutions. The establishment of systems of education, health and relief institutions, penitentiaries, asylums, etc., marks the stage when movements become fully institutionalized and mores grow up to sustain their control. This cycle is an idealization, but it is of considerable value in the study of the organization of life in the diversified areas of Canadian culture.—**S. D. Clark,** *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* V (1939), 348–57. (I*a*.) R. D.

331. **Some Implications of Prospective Population Changes in Canada.**—The population of Canada in 1931 is projected through 1971 by decades using the birth rate for 1931–36 and the mortality rates derived from the official all-Canada life-tables for 1931. Certain inferences can be drawn from the resultant projections. The rate of population increase will decrease from 18.2 per cent between 1921 and 1931 to an estimated 8 per cent between 1961 and 1971. This will involve economic adjustment such as the increasing use of capital investments for improvements and replacements rather than for expanding and new enterprises. Capital should be plentiful relative to the demand owing to increasing domestic supplies and the influx of foreign capital from countries whose populations are already approaching a stationary condition. There will be restricted opportunities for profitable investment and a relative decline in the importance of capital goods industries. The number of young adults between twenty and thirty-five will increase by half a million between 1931 and 1941 and by 180,000 between 1941 and 1946, while after 1946 a drop will occur. This growth in absolute numbers of persons at marrying ages will be favorable to the building and building-supply industries as well as the household-supply industries. In 1941 there will be 168,000 fewer children between five and fourteen than in 1931. However, between 1941 and 1951 there should be an increase of 287,000 children (14 per cent) at these ages. Thus grade schools will expe-

rience increased enrolments during that decade and textbook publishers increased business. If the same proportions of youth continue to attend high schools and universities, the decade 1941–51 will witness a consolidation of school facilities corresponding to a decrease of 162,000 in persons fifteen to twenty-four as contrasted with an increase of over 208,000 between 1931 and 1941. The prospect of fewer in absolute numbers of school-leaving age in 1941–51 should help the unemployment situation. The coming decade will be marked by a noticeable drop in the average age of business executives. In addition, the age distribution will become less favorable to radicalism than the current decade with a decrease in the numbers of young, immature voters. The number of persons seventy years and over by 1971 will be 2.7 times the 1931 figures. But the burden of supporting the aged will be somewhat compensated for by the reduction in the proportion of dependent children.—**W. B. Hurd,** *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* V (1939), 492–503. (IV*a.*) R. D.

332. **The Social Distribution of University Education.**—The central problem is to determine whether admission to the controlling minority of English life is open equally to all mentally capable of belonging to it. An examination is made of the relative proportions of graduates of state-supported (free) schools who go to universities and private-school graduates attending the same universities. Using census material to determine the proportion of the population in the various classes, and using achievement of full-time students on Otis Group Advanced tests as an index of mental ability, it is concluded that 81.1 per cent of all the university students should come from among the graduates of the state-supported schools, and 18.9 per cent from among the graduates of private preparatory schools. The actual distribution is 40 per cent and 60 per cent, indicating that the free students have not quite half, and the fee-paying students more than three times, their proper share of the university population. Similar results have been obtained for Switzerland, Italy, Sweden, and Germany, where it has been found that families of high socioeconomic status have proportionally more of the children in the universities than families of low status as measured by occupation of father. Were statistics available, it would be of great interest to see how the present picture of differential educational opportunity would be changed by taking part-time university students into account.—**Major Greenwood,** *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society,* CII (new ser.; 1939), 355–72. (III*f.*) R. D.

333. **Juvenile Delinquency.**—Based upon the annual report of the Home Office for 1934–36, the criminal statistics are examined in three major categories: metropolitan London, other cities having over 40,000 inhabitants and separate police forces, and the remainder of the country or the so-called counties. The major conclusions based upon a definition of crime as "being found guilty of indictable crimes" are: (1) juvenile delinquency is almost entirely confined to males; (2) both juvenile and adult convictions are positively correlated with degree of urbanness; (3) the incidence of juvenile delinquency rises with a rise in proportion of juveniles in the population (the correlation of gross reproduction rates with juvenile conviction rates based upon the total population is 0.48); (4) with towns having roughly the same proportion of juveniles, as judged by the gross reproduction rate, there is a greater incidence of both juvenile and adult crime where there is more unemployment; (5) in the years 1934–36 for those towns with an increase in the number of adults found guilty of crimes there is also an increase in the number of juveniles found guilty.—**E. C. Rhodes,** *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society,* CII (new ser.; 1939), 384–94. (V*b.*) R. D.

334. **A Note on Migration and Verhulst's Logistic Curve.**—An examination of the growth of the Jewish population of Palestine since 1914 reveals that there have been two logistic cycles (1914–27 and 1927–38) which are intimately related to the population increase due to migration. It is concluded that "a population growing by immigration thus follows Verhulst's logistic curve in the same manner as populations growing by natural increase." In their ultimate results immigration and natural increase play analogous parts and represent merely two parallel and complementary factors in the biological phenomenon of population growth. The value of the logistic curve in predicting the future Jewish population is limited, however, and it is necessary to await the the political decisions which will determine the extent of migration before the third logistic cycle can be accurately forecast.—**Helmut Muhsam,** *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society,* CII (new ser.; 1939), 445–48. (IV*a.*) R. D.

335. **Statistics Relating to the Deterrent Element in Flogging.**—From the examination of the pre- and post-incarceration record of four hundred English prisoners it is established that the only statistically valid conclusion reached about them by the Cadogan Committee studying prison flogging as a punishment is that such punishment is imposed more freely on persons having a previous record of serious crime. The study of the published records on robbery with violence, and of the number of persons sentenced to be flogged for this crime during the period 1863–1936, shows that there is no evidence that the infliction of corporal punishment has in any way acted as a deterrent to prevent others from committing such crimes. Broadly, the annual amount of this type of crime has diminished from seventy cases per million population in the 1860's to less than twenty since 1921. The amount of flogging before the war of 1914–18 bore no relationship to this type of crime. Since 1921 there has been a rise in the percentage of those convicted of this crime who have been sentenced to be flogged. This seems to indicate that, as robbery with violence has decreased in frequency, it has tended to be treated with more severity. Thus flogging has come more and more to be imposed as a retribution rather than as a deterrent.—**E. Lewis-Faning,** *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, CII (new ser.; 1939), 565–78. (V*a*.) R. D.

336. **Critique de la notion d'équilibre des psychismes collectifs [A Critique of the Notion of the Equilibrium of Collective Minds].**—In the conception of equilibrium and harmony there is a correspondence to an aspect of totalitarian ideology which holds that the political leader should place himself above the interest of the parties and classes to maintain the social balance. This totalitarian ideology is the most naïve expression of collective psychism. In Hegel the "objective spirit" becomes a principle of absolutism, a suppression of all particular manifestation of communal life, classes, churches, professions, and parties. This collective monism does not admit any fundamental distinctions within a community. It is revolutionary, for it destroys the community, which is the basis of society, and strives for a community based on force invested with authority by the collective consciousness. The psychological explanation of society employs the concept of a common spirit. Lazarus, Steinthal, Wundt, and Herbart conceive of the *Volksgeist* as a common element existing in individuals. Such an organismic thinker as Schaeffle was skeptical of the existence of the collective consciousness. The question of the soul of a people reduces itself to the notion of public opinion. In the "collective consciousness" school the postulate of social realism is implicitly accepted, and an individualistic explanation is thus made possible. There is a resemblance between the theory of Durkheim and that of those who maintain the existence of a *Volksseele*. It is evident that these theories have as their object the legitimation of the established order during the Third Republic in France and the worship of the state in Germany during the period of the idealists. Tarde refutes the theory of Durkheim by rejecting the scholasticism which takes us back to the realism of the Middle Ages. The monistic conception of a collective soul is a fundamental error. Social pluralism should be the basis of a realistic study of society. There is always a plurality of circles in the social context—families, professions, sects, nations, armies, etc.—to which one can attribute a certain common spirit. Those who maintain the existence of a collective consciousness postulate a metaphysical position which views collectivity not as a synthesis or as a product but as an entity which is neither empirical nor psychological. Scheler and especially Litt developed a more realistic approach to the problem by avoiding the concept of collective consciousness and talking about the interaction of individual minds.—**Gottfried Salomon,** *Revue internationale de sociologie*, XLVI (1938), 35–49. (II*b*.) G. B. de H.

337. **Le Substratum social du phénomène littéraire [The Social Substratum of Literary Phenomenon].**—All literary productions can be divided into three fundamental types: lyric, epic, and drama. Lyric poetry is the first. Society furnishes the least material for the lyric poet, more for the epic, and the maximum for the author of dramas. There are three factors which make the birth of epics possible: (1) a rich and differentiated past, (2) a social power interested in making this past known, and (3) a public capable of appreciating the epic. Epics are usually the "official" literature, whereas lyric poetry is left to private initiative.—**E. Diaconide,** *Revue internationale de sociologie*, IX–X (1938), 527–43. (I*a*.) G. B. de H.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE STATUS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY[1]

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ABSTRACT

Some system of social psychology is stated or implied in most writing of social import or reference. Often no problem of personality is recognized, but in much of the scholarly work it is seen as the central problem. However, owing to the relatively recent isolation of social psychology as a field of research, there is some confusion and conflict in the scholarly conceptions and points of view. The present interest is in the effort to understand the person. One group of students approaches the problems from an essentially neurological point of view and set of assumptions. The other group conceives social nature to be developed through interaction from an active but relatively amorphous and plastic original nature. The basic differences between the two groups of students seem to be inherent and irreconcilable, but the fundamental character of the disagreement is not always recognized.

I

The study of personality and social behavior lies, I assume, at or very near the center of sociological interest. In some form a more or less coherent body of social-psychological theory or doctrine appears, specifically or by implication, fractionally or *in extenso*, in most of the texts and scholarly general publications in the field. But the interest is not limited to the professional sociologists. In several other areas of scholarly endeavor—notably certain branches of psychology—theories of personal organization and social behavior have been industriously and systematically elaborated. Other scholarly disciplines present or utilize a body of social-psychological doc-

[1] Paper read before Mid-West Sociological Society, Des Moines, Iowa, April, 1940.

trine of imported or indigenous origin. At another level, in the general folk literature—fiction, religious exposition, accounts of religious experiences, editorial commentaries, autobiographical catharsis, and other popular types of verbal expression—there is implied or expounded some system, commonsense or sophisticated, of social psychology. In the writings of social workers, teachers, psychiatrists, and other professional and vocational practitioners there is much interest manifested in human nature, in the development of personality, and in the determination of social behavior.

In certain large bodies of writing, the nature of the person is the point of departure. Because of indoctrination, personal acquaintance and observation, or introspective discovery the assumption runs that personality is a given and known fact. Human nature and personality are tools for analysis and explanation; no problem of individual social organization is involved or recognized. From the security of this position, based upon personal knowledge and inner experience, it seems to be a relatively simple and wholly satisfying procedure deductively to reconstruct, elaborate, and explain overt behavior and social and cultural phenomena. From this standpoint, the varieties of personality and the individual differences in human nature present no problems; on the contrary, they provide additional simple and convenient means for understanding character differences and explaining nonconformist behavior.

At a somewhat different level of reflection, the human personality is a phenomenon to be understood rather than something immediately known; it does not appear as a datum to be used in explanation, but as a problem for study, as a conceptual item to be investigated, analyzed, and understood. The numerous contrasts and likenesses from group to group in manner of life, in range of interests, in mental content and modes of thought, in temperament, character, and social behavior arouse curiosity and lead to inquiry concerning the causal sequences. The change, like the continuity, in human beliefs and moral practices, in institutions and ideologies, in objectives and methods, in values and attitudes, in ideals and behavior, as manifested in the temporal order, attracts attention and leads to reflection and speculation, and to attempts so to order the phenomena that they become comprehensible. Within the single cul-

ture group and at a given time the divergencies in personality, character, temperament, and interest are quite obvious, and variations in sentiment, attitude, belief, opinion, and personal difference have been made the objects of much investigation and discussion and of some scholarly research. But, aside from the numerous variations in personality and social behavior, whether they be judged important and interesting in their own right or treated as trivial, curious, and spectacular vagaries, there are questions of a somewhat fundamental nature—questions in regard to the body of phenomena itself, in regard to the nature of the reality and the factors in its determination and control.

II

The various questions centering about the determination of social behavior and the development of human nature and personality have come to be more or less segregated in the category "social psychology." This chapter in general sociology is very recent in origin, somewhat miscellaneous in content, and still quite fluid in nature. Around the beginning of the century, when the phrase was first used, its chief reference was to discussions of the "group mind" and to the interest manifested in the somewhat spectacular forms of behavior that the group-mind doctrine was used to explain. But, aside from the content, the phrase had a good sound. Psychology was then in good repute; sociology, on the other hand, had little scientific standing. In consequence, certain individuals sought the prestige and status that was not to be found under the sociological banner by establishing a tenuous verbal affiliation with the more reputable discipline. Other individuals, who desired to discuss sociological questions but did not choose to be classed as sociologists, resolved the dilemma by being "social psychologists." Still other persons, who were interested in the group of problems having to do with the development of the person, came to be classed as social psychologists to indicate their somewhat specialized sociological interest.

The occupation of the new field by the migration of men from other areas of intellectual interest—men tempered in the doctrinal waters of their intellectual homelands and disciplined by the ritual of the orthodox in research and recitation—brought into social

psychology a variety of contradictory theories and principles, divergent ideas as to the basic object matter and problems, conflicting methods and points of view, and irreconcilable conceptions of research procedure. In the beginning and in some cases the books on social psychology had little in common other than their titles. The migration continued, and, intellectually, the social-psychology population became increasingly polyglot. Certain Freudian and other psychoanalytic conceptions and terms came in to supplement or supplant "group mind," "crowd spirit," "folk soul," and other philosophical and folk-psychology conceptions. Directly or indirectly biology contributed a philosophy of instincts, certain genetic conceptions, and a little later the endocrinological theories of personality. John Locke's concept of the conditioned response came in by way of Pavlov's physiological laboratory; the doctrine of physical types also came from physiology. The Gestalt psychology and the naïve behaviorism of Watson came from, or by way of, psychology. Other theories, methods, and points of view were borrowed from psychiatry, cultural anthropology, mathematics, and other disciplines. The various concepts and points of view did not always keep their virgin purity in the new habitat: there was a good deal of illicit trafficking among the strange welter of words and ideas, some miscegenation of intellectual species to the production of infertile offspring; the mating, mismating, and cohabitation of irreconcilables in the books and other publications assumed the dimensions of a scandal.

But social psychology has continued to grow and to flourish. The college courses have increased in number, and they have become increasingly popular. Publication has increased. Specialized aspects of the discipline—public opinion, political psychology, propaganda, and other specialties—have come into being, and the general discipline, or some of its dependent offshoots, has been made the basis for public-opinion polls and similar undertakings.

III

The present status of the discipline seems to be set out rather neatly in the textbooks. The publications used as a basis for undergraduate class instruction seem to provide a valid index of academic

practice. These books are commonly prepared by men of some standing in the field or by men who hope by the publication to acquire standing or raise their status in the field. It is here assumed that the books reflect with some fidelity the mental organization of their authors. Since they are fed to students by the authors and other teachers of the subject it is assumed they represent reasonably well the content of the subject at the college level.

In general, the authors show a catholic generosity toward the various theories, doctrines, problems, and methods currently set out in the journal and treatise literature. They give a warm welcome to a great variety of verbal refugees, accepting them without prejudice or discrimination. I recall one recent volume in the general field which devotes an opening chapter to quotations culled by the author from the various formal definitions of the subject. He closed the chapter by stating that the lack of agreement among the definitions made it clear that there was some difference of opinion as to the subject matter of the discipline and that he would not add to the existing confusion by giving any definition of his own. He was thus free in the subsequent chapters to use any conception and point of view that appealed to him at the moment.

It is, perhaps, too much to expect that the writers should be familiar with the whole range of the literature; the writing is quite extensive and teachers are busy men. One scholar, for example, published a long and learned encyclopedia article on social psychology without reference to the work of George Mead. It is not surprising that when a busy man has collected enough to fill a volume he should cease his endeavors—after all, he could not use any more; a man cannot include everything—all that he can do is to present what he knows or what he has room for. But it is truly amazing how many diverse things some authors do succeed in including.

There are, of course, some exceptions to this encyclopedic type of procedure. Certain writers have undertaken to present a coherent system of thought, to maintain a single point of view, to keep to a single system of harmonious concepts, to observe consistently one order of explanation. But such books commonly have few readers and little use.

The more usual procedure in preparing these treatises seems to be

to determine what topics are most often included in courses on social psychology and allow the current usage to determine the content of the volume. Some authors proceed in a very orderly manner: they circularize the possible users of a book with queries concerning the topics they treat, in regard to the amount of attention given to each topic, in regard to the concepts used, and in regard to other matters of similar import. Other authors follow a different method: they use the books already in print on the subject, and from a composite summary of tables of contents find the topics commonly treated and the space allotted to each. In this way they get at the lowest common denominator of the object matter. But either method, or a combination of the two, gives something that is definite and tangible. The procedures are empirical; the data are assembled objectively; the data can be manipulated statistically and can be evaluated quantitatively. The procedures are quite completely in the current scientific mode.

These methods sometimes produce unfortunate results—as when they lead the unsuspecting author into giving opposing presentations of the same phenomenon because it is elaborated in different terminology in different books. But, even so, the outcome of this type of scientific procedure, on the whole, is probably superior to what the author could hope to achieve unaided, and it saves the author much time and mental effort. These volumes give a sampling if not a complete cross-section of current social psychology. They are somewhat unsatisfactory if one wants a coherent body of thought. On the other hand, they make it possible for the authors to use various principles of explanation and to include subject matter that would otherwise have to be excluded. If these volumes are pieced together with a modicum of skill, only the more mentally alert students will find them unsatisfying.

IV

There has been, however, a continuous development, as well as a growth and expansion, in social-psychological study. The changes in interest and in problems, points of view, and methods of research have pretty much transformed the content and character of the

field. The older philosophical manner of thought has fallen into disuse and the concepts and terminology now rarely appear in the social-psychological writing. They are, of course, still current in popular thought and literary discussion and seem to exercise a considerable if subtle influence in various fields of thought. There was a parallel and largely contemporaneous shift of attention in folk psychology which was largely tied up with the Hegelian metaphysical "group mind" concept. Deprived of this explanatory hypothesis, there was no recognized internal unity in collective phenomena and systematic study declined. Unable to order these phenomena in the conventional modes of procedure, the students of social psychology tended to ignore them or to treat them as matters of such minor importance as to merit only passing notice. In the present, the reorganization of these and related phenomena is taking place in relative independence of the current interests of social psychology.

The psychological doctrine of instincts tended to dominate social-psychological thought for two or three decades around the turn of the century. The sterility of the school that grew up was soon recognized, and its vogue had passed by about 1920. But its influence and mode of thought are not yet wholly gone; in some quarters the terminology persists intact and determines a way of thought; some writers retain the essence of the doctrine but revise the vocabulary —instincts become drives, wishes, prepotent reflexes, and the like. In still other cases one may observe the doctrine functioning as an unrecognized bias toward the "natural"—i.e., biological—as the ultimate basis of social explanation. Among the other cultist procedures interrupting, or advancing, the development of social psychology one may mention the psychoanalytic movement and Watsonian behaviorism.

At present social-psychological interest is restricted to an effort to understand the development of the person. This effort is divided into two distinct and mutually exclusive schools of thought. The one is represented in the main by psychologists and is essentially neurological in method and point of view; the other, represented in the main by sociologists, is essentially sociological analysis.

V

In general, the psychological school expounds a modified behavorism based on the idea of "conditioning" of original physical reflexes into social responses and on the development of habit mechanisms. It is the most prosperous system of social psychology at the present time. The system is fundamentally biological in philosophy and statistical in technique. As set out by such leading students as Floyd Allport, Luther Bernard, and Kimball Young, it rests immediately and directly on a special neurological conception; it undertakes to derive social behavior and personality from the reflex responses to external stimulations.

The basic assumption on the side of original nature is that the infant has a rich complement of definite and specific reflex responses. In addition to such familiar reflexes as the eye wink, sneezing, sucking, and crying, and those that control the so-called vegetative processes of the organism, there are dozens, perhaps hundreds, of others. Each of these is, by definition, a specific and definite response to a clearly defined stimulus. But in infancy they are unorganized; the development of the child into a social person is simply, or in the main, the process of their organization and orientation.

The second major assumption of neurological social psychology is a nominalistic position in regard to society and the group. Without denying all reality to the group, it holds that the group is simply a number of discrete individuals. What is commonly called group behavior is merely that behavior which is common to the associated individuals. The only realities are individuals; the only behavior is individual behavior.

On these basic assumptions the problem is to discover and explain how the original reflexes are transformed into languages, beliefs, moral standards, and other systems of social behavior. Since the whole mechanism involved in behavior consists of a stimulus, a nerve current, and a response, the problem reduces to the study of specific units of behavior. The question is always concerning the response that comes from a given stimulus, or concerning the stimulus that causes a given response. This type of study can be done under controlled conditions, and extensive quasi-laboratory work

has been carried out. It can also be done by means of tests, questionnaires, and the like where a stimulus is given in the form of a question and a response recorded. A great number of tests has been devised and standardized and used in innumerable studies.

The research procedures in this type of social psychology are "objective" in character: the whole stimulus-response cycle is observed. Moreover, the stimulus and the response are subject to measurement and exact record, and the results can be handled quantitatively. The various tests and questionnaire procedures give results that can be numerically ranked or rated. The generally empirical, factual, quantitative character of the research is in harmony with the currently favored scientific usage.

The great and long-continued vogue of this type of social psychology has been due in considerable part to its quantitative and statistical aspects. It has flourished in the period of the rise of the statistical techniques and in part as a corollary of that development. Its vogue seems to have persisted somewhat beyond the period that would seem to be justified by the scientific fruitfulness of the point of view and the procedures. But work of this order will doubtless continue; probably it will increase as facility in the manipulation of the simpler statistical techniques becomes more general. A growth of this type is determined by facts quite unrelated to the question whether the procedures are to be classed as science.

VI

The sociological or social-interaction school of social psychology is in some ways somewhat sharply contrasted to the neurological or conditioned-reflex school of research. It dates from the type of study initiated by Charles Horton Cooley and in part from that of J. Mark Baldwin. Thus in point of time it antedates the stimulus-response school, though the two have been largely contemporaneous in development. The interaction point of view was developed by the work of Thomas, Dewey, Mead, Faris, and others in their studies of social behavior and the development of the person.

The sociological view conceives of personality and social nature as realities developed through the interaction of original nature and the group patterns.

On the side of original nature, it is assumed that the child at birth is amorphous and unformed, plastic and unorganized. It is active in response to organic needs and external stimulations but the behavior is random and undirected. There are few if any reflexes or other bits of original organic equipment that biologically determine the immediate behavior or the subsequent development.

On the side of the social order, the interactionists take a realistic position in regard to the group and the products of social life. The group is real; it is more than an aggregation of discrete individuals, it is in reality not the individuals but the interaction among the individuals; in every aspect of human life, behavior is in terms of a common body of expectations and understandings. The essential reality is not the grossly observable behavior forms but the body of meanings shared by the participating individuals.

The problem of personality and social behavior is to understand how the unchannelized and random activity of the infant comes to be replaced by organized activity controlled by wishes and images and directed toward the achievement of specific objectives. The current explanation runs, on the one hand, in terms of the ways in which the child's needs are satisfied and his distress associated with an image of its relief and his behavior oriented toward definite ends, and, on the other hand, in terms of external controls by means of which the child achieves and comes to participate in the going definitions, thereby controlling his behavior in accord with the group standards because he shares the standards.

The research procedures of the sociological-social psychologists, at least since the definitive work of George Mead, have been controlled by the concept of "the act." It is recognized that the stimulus-response investigations of the psychological students segregate and give attention to a single aspect or item of behavior; that is, to those aspects that are overt, external, and unequivocally observable. The act, in the view of the sociological-social psychologists, has a long history before it reaches, if it ever does, an overt expression. The man who kills his wife may have contemplated the line of behavior for months or years before the overt behavior. Any real understanding requires knowledge in regard to the complete act; its inner growth and evolution must be known as fully as its external

aspects. In consequence, research tends to take the form of autobiographical analysis, the study of life-history documents, and work on related types of material the examination of which enables the student to penetrate to and understand the act in its entirety.

The differences here pointed out, and others not mentioned, between the two present-day schools of social psychology are fundamental and apparently irreconcilable. But as pointed out in an earlier part of the paper, they are not generally recognized to be in fundamental disagreement. In consequence, a good many writers combine elements of each into some sort of composite presentation by selecting items and topics that are interesting and providing the explanations that are immediately plausible without much regard for the fundamental conflict.

One may summarize the development of social psychology without undue distortion by reducing it to three stages: childhood, adolescence, and maturity. The childhood stage was the period of fairies and witches, the period when men were concerned to explain behavior phenomena in terms of "group minds," "instincts," and similar metaphysical entities and mystical concepts. The adolescent stage is the period of youthful activity, the period when men are busy with sports and tests, games and correlations, and with gadgets, questionnaires, measurements, and other forms of extroverted activity that enable them to avoid direct contact with essential reality. The stage of maturity is reached when men put away the make-believe of childhood and the romantic games and gadgets of restless youth, free themselves from seductive methods of manipulating irrelevant data, and turn to the statement and analysis of fundamental problems.

A systematic social psychology at the present time would be very incomplete since there are many gaps in our body of knowledge, but the basic outlines are reasonably clear. If it proceeded with due regard for realities and relevant problems it would lie, I assume, wholly within the framework of social interaction or, more specifically, within the system of human relations. It would concern itself with the patterning of acts which are determined by relationships, with the development of personalities in response to expectations and demands, with the formation and change of attitudes through

participation in the culture, with the definition of types as systems of roles, and with other matters related to the person and to social behavior.

A treatment that thus restricted itself to the relevant and pertinent material would of necessity exclude a very large part of the material now included in the conventional texts and treatises. For example, the whole mass of material commonly subsumed under the term "trait psychology" would have no place in the system. One raises no question concerning the value or competence of such work; one simply asserts that, to employ the verbose tautology of the legal profession, such material is irrelevant, immaterial, impertinent, and it operates to confuse the study and hopelessly to befuddle the untrained and the uninitiated. It deals with the "individual," and there is no individual in social psychology—or, for that matter, in any other phase of genuine sociology. The individual is a biological concept, and the traits of the biological organism lie outside the sociological orbit of interest. The body of discussion of original nature that often bulks large in the social-psychology books is in the nature of extraneous material. All that social psychology has to say about original nature, all the interest that social psychology has in original nature, may be stated in the single brief sentence: "The human infant is an active and plastic organism." Again, the body of material denoted by the term "collective behavior" lies outside the orbit of social psychology. Here we have to do in the main with the origin of behavior patterns and their evolution into culture forms and institutional structures. This is not social psychology unless you desire to use that term to include all of sociology.

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AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CITIES

WILLIAM F. OGBURN AND LOLAGENE C. COOMBS

ABSTRACT

The economic factor has long been recognized as an important one, and many attempts have been made to measure its influence. In this investigation of two groups of small cities in the United States in 1930, economic level is found to be correlated with the rate of growth, the age and racial composition of the population, the sex ratio, with birth and death rates, with opportunities for education as indicated by teachers' salaries, with magazine circulation and expenditures for libraries, and with the presence of various occupations, particularly the professions. In general, however, the correlations are rather small, indicating the presence of many other factors affecting these social characteristics.

The economic influence in society was early discussed under the subject of the economic interpretation of history. Historians saw in the movements of history economic causes; thus the Crusades, it was argued, were the result of competition for trade routes, which was a force that utilized the religious emotion. The conquest of the Holy Land was seen as something of a rationalization to cover up the economic motive. Similarly, it was argued that in the war between the states in America in 1861–65 the victory of the North was inevitably determined by economic factors. Economic determinism came to overshadow the freedom of will of the great man. Such conclusions have been attacked, and rightly so, for they are in large part personal interpretations resulting from insight and resting upon subjective emphasis.

That there is vitality in this idea of the economic influence in modern society is evidenced by the growing interest in the subject which lasts over the centuries. The idea was born in the atmosphere of philosophy, where the great intellects, studying history, saw certain forces at work. In more recent times the approach is somewhat different, inasmuch as the influence is now regarded as little more than a hypothesis which must be verified by data and if possible by quantitative measurement.

Such measurement, particularly when it can be put into abstract

coefficients that are comparable, may show relative influences. The problem of the economic interpretation of history is to measure the economic factor as compared with the influence of other factors, such as the religious factor. The first task is to express the economic factor in some comparable coefficient. When this approach is taken, it is soon seen that the economic factor is quite complex and may appear in various forms. Thus, one type of change in income may be accompanied by an increase in the percentage married; but, when another type is measured, the change in income may be accompanied by a decrease in the amount of marriage.[1]

Indeed, most of the questions which are first asked by human curiosity arise from observations which are too simple. Such questions must be broken down into a number of specific questions susceptible of measurement. Thus, the economic factor in modern society may be broken down into various types of influences that can be measured. One of these, for instance, is the variation of the economic factor as seen in the fluctuations of business. The business cycle has thus been shown to influence marriage and divorce, births and deaths, crime, suicide, and so on.[2] Elections have also shown themselves to be quite susceptible to the influence of the economic factor.[3]

Another kind of economic force is the variation of income in different areas. Ogburn and Jaffe have shown that variations in income from one city to another affect urban crime rates.[4] During the election of 1932 the areas of low income were found to have a high positive correlation with the votes for Roosevelt.[5] Similar cor-

[1] E. R. Groves and W. F. Ogburn, *Amercian Marriage and Family Relationships* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1928), chap. xviii.

[2] W. F. Ogburn and Dorothy S. Thomas, "The Influence of the Business Cycle on Certain Social Conditions," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XVIII (September, 1922), 324–41.

[3] W. F. Ogburn and A. J. Jaffe, "Voting in Presidential Elections," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII (September, 1936), 186–201.

[4] "Factors in the Variation of Crime among Cities," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXX (June, 1934), 12–34.

[5] W. F. Ogburn and Estelle Hill, "Income Classes and the Roosevelt Vote in 1932," *Political Science Quarterly*, L (June, 1935), 186–93.

relations by areas were found by Gosnell[6] in his studies of elections and by Lang[7] in his work on education.

I

This article is an attempt to describe the influence of the economic factor on the variation of certain social characteristics found in cities. No attempt is made to prove any particular hypothesis; the article is descriptive, utilizing the data that are readily available from the Census and other sources of wide coverage. The description is limited by the amount of data available. The method used is that of correlation, which, of course, measures concomitant variation. Hence, it will show only the association of the variation of the economic characteristics with other characteristics. Some of these associations will probably be readily admitted as ones of causation. In other cases the causal connection may be questioned.

The selection of the cities.—The cities studied are in the United States, and the data are for 1930. There are two groups of these cities—one consisting of fifty-seven, and the other of one hundred and thirty-one. The first group varies in population from thirty thousand to fifty thousand. The second group, used to get a larger sample, increased the population range from twenty thousand to seventy-five thousand. Geographically, the cities are distributed over the East, Middle West, and the West. Few cities from the South were included in the study because of the biracial factor in the population statistics. In selecting the cities no strictly residential suburbs were included, and an effort was made to avoid extraordinary types of cities, such as recreation centers like Atlantic City, governmental cities such as Washington, D.C., college towns, health resorts, and other cases of extreme specialization.[8]

[6] Harold F. Gosnell and Norman N. Gill, "An Analysis of the 1932 Presidential Vote in Chicago," *American Political Science Review*, XXIX (December, 1935), 967–84.

[7] Richard Lang, "The Relation of Educational Status to Economic Status in the City of Chicago, by Census Tracts, 1934" (Ph.D. diss.; University of Chicago, 1936).

[8] The cities included in the sample of fifty-seven cities were Arizona: Tucson; California: Santa Barbara, Stockton; Illinois: Alton, Aurora, Bloomington, Elgin, Joliet, Moline, Quincy, Rock Island; Indiana: Anderson, Danville, Elkhart, Kokomo, Richmond; Iowa: Dubuque, Waterloo; Maryland: Hagerstown, Cumberland; Massachusetts: Fitchburg, Pittsfield, Taunton; Michigan: Battle Creek, Bay City, Port

Economic index.—When it came to figuring the economic conditions of the cities, it was at once apparent that the economic life of the city is complex. Many indices might have been selected; those used were thought to give the best indication of per capita income in the cities.

It is necessary to appraise first the adequacy of the indices as measures of the per capita economic income of the communities. First, the economic index for the smaller group of fifty-seven cities will be presented. In constructing this index the first item used was wages in manufacturing establishments.[9] It was not feasible to use wages other than in manufacturing. Of course, not all cities have the same amounts of manufacturing, but it is probable that the

Huron; Missouri: Joplin; New York: Amsterdam, Auburn, Elmira, New Brunswick, Newburgh, Poughkeepsie, Watertown; Ohio: Lima, Lorain, Mansfield, Marion, Newark, Portsmouth, Steubenville, Warren, Zanesville; Pennsylvania: Easton, Hazelton, New Castle, Norristown, Williamsport; South Dakota: Sioux Falls; Utah: Ogden; Washington: Bellingham, Everett; Wisconsin: Green Bay, Kenosha, La Crosse, Oshkosh, Sheboygan.

The cities added to make the sample of one hundred and thirty-one cities were California: Alameda, Alhambra, Bakersfield, Fresno, Glendale, Riverside, San Jose, Santa Ana, Santa Monica; Connecticut: Bristol, Meriden, New London, Torrington, West Haven; Illinois: Belleville, Decatur, Galesburg, Granite City, Waukegan; Indiana: Michigan City, Mishawaka; Iowa: Burlington, Cedar Rapids, Clinton, Council Bluffs, Ottumwa; Kansas: Hutchinson; Maine: Bangor, Lewiston; Massachusetts: Arlington, Beverly, Brackton, Chicopee, Everett, Haverhill, Holyoke, Malden, Medford, Salem, Watertown; Michigan: Dearborn, Jackson, Muskegon, Pontiac, Wyandotte; Missouri: Springfield; Montana: Great Falls; New Hampshire: Concord, Nashua; New Jersey: Clifton, Passaic, Perth Amboy; New York: Jamestown, Kingston; North Dakota: Fargo; Ohio: Elyria, Hamilton, Massillon, Norwood; Oregon: Salem; Pennsylvania: Bethlehem, Johnstown, Lebanon, McKeesport, Sharon, York; Rhode Island: Cranston, East Providence; West Virginia: Wheeling; Wisconsin: Appleton, Eau Claire, Fond du Lac, Superior, West Allis.

The ten cities having the highest economic index (in rank order) were Arlington, Massachusetts; Watertown, Massachusetts; Norwood, Ohio; Elyria, Ohio; Steubenville, Ohio; Great Falls, Montana; Santa Barbara, California; Bakersfield, California; Waukegan, Illinois.

The ten cities having the lowest economic index (ranked from lowest up) were Newark, Ohio; Springfield, Missouri; Kokomo, Indiana; Joplin, Missouri; Chicopee, Massachusetts; Bay City, Michigan; Hutchinson, Kansas; Lebanon, Pennsylvania; Belleville, Illinois; Salem, Oregon.

[9] The figure used was the total annual pay roll in manufacturing divided by the number engaged in manufacture. This series was weighted by the percentage of the population occupied in manufacturing industries.

yearly earnings in other economic fields correlate quite highly with the yearly earnings in manufacturing.[10] The second component of the economic index was rent and value of homes. Monthly rental of homes has frequently been used as an index of income and has been very little criticized. Cost-of-living studies show that total rent and total income of families are highly correlated. The combined index of value of homes and rental was correlated with wages to the degree of +.42. The third component of the index was the percentage of the population over twenty years of age who were income-tax payers.[11] The proportion of the adult population paying income tax was found to be correlated with wages to the degree of +.45, and with rent the value was +.66. These correlations are not particularly high, but they do represent samples of the wage-earning population and the higher-income brackets, while a general coverage is obtained through the rent figure. The city with the lowest economic index was Newark, Ohio, and the one with the highest economic index was Arlington, Massachusetts.

As the study progressed, it was thought desirable to have a larger number of cities than the original fifty-seven, hence the population range was extended, and the number of cities increased to one hundred and thirty-one. In constructing the index for the larger group of cities the factor of manufacturing wages was omitted. The correlation of the index secured for the larger group and that computed for the smaller sample was +.86. This economic index for the larger group of cities is composed, then, of rent and value of homes and of the percentage of the adult population paying income taxes. It is thought that these indices show a rough measure of the differentials in the per capita income of the population of the different cities.

II

Population growth.—The cities which had the highest per capita income, as measured by the economic index, were also growing faster than the cities that had the lower incomes. The relation,

[10] Supported by unpublished data in the authors' possession.

[11] The three components of the economic index were combined by the familiar procedure of combining the index derived for each series by dividing the deviations from the mean of each series by the standard deviation.

however, was slight—the coefficient of correlation for the smaller sample of cities being +.25 and for the larger group +.28. A higher relationship might have been expected, since the big factor in growth of cities is migration. The rate of growth was measured from 1920–30, and that may not be as good an index of rate of growth as if the measure could have been taken during a five-year period. The rate of growth, which is an index fairly easy to obtain, cannot be looked upon, then, as an extremely satisfactory index of economic status because of the low correlation with the more comprehensive, and probably truer, index used in this study.

The rate of growth may not be so significant an index of economic opportunity as the change in the rate of growth. Thus, a city that has doubled in population in one decade may increase only 10 per cent in the next decade and may represent a situation of declining economic opportunity. However, the change in the rate of growth is not correlated with our economic index of levels of income at all. The change in the rate of growth was based upon a comparison of the rate of growth in the period 1910–20 with that in the period 1920–30. These are rather long periods, and the index may be somewhat inadequate for this reason. The increase or decrease in rates of growth may be found equally among the rich and poor cities. We may conclude, then, that the high levels of income in cities are somewhat associated with greater rates of growth, and it seems reasonable that this is a causal connection.

Population characteristics.—The cities with the largest per capita income have the largest percentage of males, as measured by the sex ratio, defined as the number of men to one hundred women. The correlations are +.18 and +.26 for the two groups of cities. It is, of course, quite possible that the cities developing manufacturing which employs woman labor might have a higher income and a lower percentage of males. But for the United States in the twentieth century this excess of females is the exception. At least, manufacturing cities, on the average, do draw more males than females.[12] Since the occupied population is predominantly male, it is to be expected that cities with the higher-income levels would attract more males.

[12] Groves and Ogburn, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

In the United States the cities with the higher incomes have a larger percentage of foreign-born (correlations +.25 and +.39) and a lower percentage of native white of native parentage) −.31 and −.34). This fact may be contrary to popular opinion, which associates the foreign-born with low wages. However, cities of higher-income level attract the foreign-born. It may be that the foreign-born are somewhat more mobile and energetic in finding economic opportunities or that the cities with higher incomes are in the path of the stream of immigrants. Careful observers have noted that among the very large cities immigrants have found their way to the places of the greatest opportunity and to places which may have the highest standards of living. These data show that the same phenomenon is found in the smaller cities.

This characteristic under discussion is no doubt a temporary one, since migration from foreign countries has at the moment almost ceased. Also, since the restriction of immigration in 1924 there has been considerable movement of the native-born of native parentage outward from the South to the North and West.

Births and deaths.—The birth rates for these samples of cities are slightly lower in the cities with the higher economic level (−.13 and −.13). The correlation, however, is extremely low, and not much significance should be attached to it. Such a result, however, is in harmony with expectations, for we know that, in general, the classes of the population with the higher incomes have the lower birth rates.[13] The birth-rate figures used were crude rates averaged for the three-year period, 1929–31. Births over total population, of course, are quite crude indices, affected by age distribution, and hence not many conclusions may be drawn from these correlations.

The infant death rate is definitely lower in the cities with the higher incomes, although the degree of the relationship is not very large (−.21 and −.33). This connection is in line with expectations also, since it is known in general that sickness and death rates are less high among those of higher incomes.[14]

[13] National Resources Committee, *Problems of a Changing Population* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938), pp. 139 ff.

[14] U.S. Public Health Service, National Health Survey, "Disability from Specific Causes in Relation to Economic Status," Bull. 9 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938).

Age.—The cities with the high incomes have very definitely a smaller proportion of old persons. This is shown by several correlations; the ratio of old persons to middle-aged is negatively correlated with the economic index (−.33 and −.41); similarly, the correlation of the economic index with the age of the head of the family is negative (−.28 and −.41). Old persons have been defined as those over fifty-five years of age, and middle-aged as those between twenty and fifty-five. Furthermore, the cities with the wealthier populations have a smaller percentage widowed, who are of course in the older ages. Why is it that cities with high incomes have fewer old persons? The answer is probably migration. The cities with the higher incomes have probably had a greater growth of the young adult population due to migration.

The cities with the high incomes also have a lower percentage of young persons under twenty in ratio to those of twenty to fifty-five years (correlations, −.25 and −.24). This fact again is probably due to the larger migration of young persons over twenty years of age. Cities in general, we know, have a larger proportion of young and middle-aged adults in relation to the youth and elders than does the population in general. The cities with the higher economic level manifest this phenomenon merely to a higher degree.

Other economic characteristics.—Our economic index is an attempt to measure per capita income. There are, of course, many other economic manifestations in city life. The relation of a few of these to the economic index may be pointed out. For instance, the percentage of families owning their own homes is somewhat lower in cities with higher incomes (correlations, −.23 and −.23). It is not quite clear just why this should be the situation. It may be due to the fact that there are more apartment houses in the cities with higher incomes, for there is a slight degree of correlation between the number of apartment houses and the economic income of the community (+.26). In regard to this question of owning homes in cities, it is argued by the experts that it is cheaper to rent than to own a home. How widely distributed, apart from the experts, this information may be is a question. On the other hand, where cities are growing very rapidly, owning a home is a business venture to take advantage of the unearned increment. The rate of change of

growth is correlated positively with the number of families owning homes (+.28) for the small sample of cities. It is not quite clear, then, just what home-ownership may mean. It may signify a desirable consumer's good, an expensive item in the cost of living, or a business venture.

For the smaller group of cities, those with the higher economic status have a larger percentage using home telephones (+.19), and the government debt seems to be greater also (−.33). With regard to work, the cities with the higher incomes have a larger proportion of their adult population generally occupied in gainful occupations (correlation, +.22). This index does not measure unemployment, defined as those able, willing, and looking for employment. This larger group at work is almost surely a function of the age distribution. For, as we have shown, the cities with the higher income have a larger proportion of their population in the employable ages.

Occupations.—In the records of the Bureau of the Census there is some information regarding different occupations that is of interest. The professions, including teaching and education, are seen to be highly developed personal services. Lawyers, physicians, dentists, in general, are thought to seek, as the best places to locate, those cities that give the best promise of economic return. The correlations of the percentage of lawyers in the working population with economic level (+.23 and +.12) indicate that the lawyers are found more in the cities with the higher incomes. Such, however, is not the case with physicians, for there is no correlation. Dentists, however, are more numerous in the wealthier cities, the correlation being +.29 for the large sample of cities. The reverse is true with regard to the clergy. They are relatively more numerous in towns with lower incomes. This somewhat unexpected result is probably explained by the fact that the ratio of clergy to church membership is lowest in the Roman Catholic church and in the older Protestant faiths. Hence, it is the newer sects and faiths that have a relatively large number of clergy in proportion to the church membership. It is probably true that the towns with lower incomes are likely to have smaller membership in the Roman Catholic church. Recent immigrants to the United States have been one of the factors in the

greater extension of the Roman Catholic church, and the foreign-born, it has been shown, are more numerous in the wealthier cities.

If we take the professions as a whole, there is a larger proportion in the wealthier cities—the correlations being +.25 and +.27. The rate of growth of cities is also correlated with the development of the professions to about the same extent as is the economic index. This rather higher development of the professions in the more wealthy cities is to be expected.

It is also interesting to see that the number of police per hundred of the occupied population is somewhat greater for the wealthy cities (correlations, +.32 and +.34). But there seems to be no correlation between the rate of growth and the number of police, the correlation being zero. It has been shown elsewhere that in the case of extreme growth and extreme decrease the cities that are growing fast have fewer police per adult than the cities that are decreasing in population.[15]

One or two other random occupations that have to do with family life have been singled out for observation. The growth of hotels is supposed to be negatively correlated with the growth of family life. However that may be, it is possible that the cities that have the greatest wealth have a somewhat higher development of hotels. It is seen that there is a slight correlation between the economic status of the community and the number of hotel-keepers in the population, though it is true that the correlations are not very high (+.07 and +.18). On the other hand, there is a slight correlation between domestic servants and the economic index in the smaller sample of cities (+.18). One would expect, of course, more domestic servants in the wealthier cities.

There does not seem to be any correlation between the percentage of married women employed and the economic status of the community, the correlations being −.14 and +.05.

Education.—There are several indications that the educational status is better in the cities with higher incomes. In the first place,

[15] William F. Ogburn, *Social Characteristics of Cities* (Chicago: International City Managers' Association, 1937).

the teachers' salaries are higher (correlation +.33).[16] The same correlation exists for per capita public library expenditures. In the wealthier cities are found larger magazine circulations per hundred population of fifteen years and over. The correlation for the Crowell publications with the economic level of the community is +.13, and for *Time* it is +.34. Also the proportion of families owning radios is found to be greater in the cities of higher incomes, the correlations being +.45 and +.31 for the two samples of cities. It may be, of course, that the radio is used for recreation purposes as much as, or more than, for education, but it does serve as an educational medium in regard to music and also in regard to political and social events. All the indications are that the wealthier cities have more favorable conditions for education.

Conclusions.—This investigation of small cities in the United States in 1930 shows that those cities that have higher incomes, as measured by our economic index, have special social conditions associated with this higher-income level. The correlations, however, are in general quite small, and there must be many factors affecting these social conditions other than the particular index used. This conclusion seems quite reasonable, in view of the fact that urban conditions are affected by a wide variety of causes. However, it is interesting to show that the economic index is associated with the rate of growth, with the racial composition of the population, the sex ratio, probably with the birth rate, with the proportion of old people in cities, with the proportion of young people, with the infant mortality rate, with teachers' salaries, magazine circulation, expenditures for libraries, with the possession of radios, home telephones, with the ownership of homes, and with the presence of various occupations, particularly the professions.

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[16] With respect to teachers' salaries and magazine circulations, data were not readily available for the larger sample, and it was thought that the differences would not be of such magnitude as to warrant the additional labor of obtaining and analyzing the data.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE

C. WRIGHT MILLS

ABSTRACT

An epistemological haziness has prevented a fruitful grasp of those junctures of actual thinking that are open to social-historical influences. The mooted problem of the logical consequences of sociology of knowledge has not been adequately instituted. One of the implications of the American pragmatism of Peirce, Dewey, and Mead for a sociology of knowledge is a fresh definition and solution of this issue. This article derives and elaborates this implication. Concrete studies, instances, and *modus operandi* of the methodological consequences of sociological studies of inquiry are cited and analyzed

Many thinkers who have addressed themselves to the problem hold that the sociology of knowledge has no relevance for epistemology; that sociological investigations of inquiries have no consequences for norms of "truth and validity."[1] It is possible that the problem has been instituted in too narrow and yet in too gross a fashion. It is true that from knowledge of the "social position" of a thinker one cannot deduce that his statements are true or false. In this crude sense sociology of knowledge is epistemologically inconse-

[1] Von Schelting's review of Mannheim's *Ideologie und Utopie* concludes: "The nonsense first begins when one believes that factual origin and social factors . . . . in any way affect the value of ideas and conceptions thus originated, and especially the theoretic value . . . . which is to say, the truth . . . . of cognitive achievements" (*American Sociological Review*, I, No. 4, 634). Thus the relating of modes of thought to social-historical situations is conceived to carry with it no legitimate criticism or reformulation of "traditional" criteria of validity and truth (cf. T. Parsons' review of von Schelting's *Max Webers Wissenschaftslehre* [*American Sociological Review*, I, No. 4, 675 f.]). Hans Speier, in recording a similar belief, speaks of the "encroachment of sociology upon a philosophic domain" and distinguishes between "promotive" and "theoretical" thought; the latter, conceived to have "truth" alone as its aim, apparently is not to be analyzed sociologically. With Grünwald, Speier says: "The validity of a judgment does not depend upon its genesis" (*American Sociological Review*, I, No. 4, 682, in reviewing E. Grünwald's *Das Problem einer Soziologie des Wissens;* cf. also Speier, "The Social Determination of Ideas," *Social Research*, V, 2). Thus, on epistemological grounds, von Schelting and Speier would limit the subject matter and implications of sociology of knowledge. R. K. Merton apparently accepts this negative position in "The Sociology of Knowledge," *Isis*, XXVII, No. 3 (75), 502–3. R. Bain and R. M. McIver, in papers read at Atlantic City, 1937, also indicate that they see no epistemological consequences of sociology of knowledge. G. H. Sabine takes this position in "Logic and Social Studies," *Philosophical Review*, XLVIII (1939), 173–74.

quential. But the matter is more complicated; the consequences are less direct.

An analytic examination of the negative positions concerning the epistemological consequences of sociology of knowledge and a resolution of the generic issue to which it is presumably addressed will advance obliquely and will include answers to the questions: (1) What is the generic character, derivation, and function of epistemologic forms, criteria of truth, or verificatory models? (2) Exactly wherein, at what junctures, and in what types of inquiry may social factors enter as determinants of knowledge?

It is apparent that "truth" and "objectivity" have application and meaning only in terms of some accepted model or system of verification. He who asserts the irrelevance of social conditions to the truthfulness of propositions ought to state the conditions upon which he conceives truthfulness actually to depend. He ought to specify exactly what it is in thinking that sociological factors cannot affect and upon which truth and validity do rest. Those who take the negative position must state what sort of things these criteria of truth and validity are, how they are derived, and how they function. There have been and are many ways of determining "truth" and "validity." Which specific criteria do they have in mind? The canons of Aristotelian logic?

Fritz Mauthner conducted a vigorous, if brief, sociological examination of these canons, suggesting that the diffusion of Indian grammatic studies and traditional cultural factors influenced their formulation and persistence.[2] Dewey has offered an empirically based theory which views this logic culturally as formulatory of the categories of speech prevalent in Greek society. He has also shown the operation of class and consequent social-aesthetic factors in these criteria of validity, and the conditions under which they arose.[3]

The official and monopolistic paradigm of validation and truth accepted by medieval scholasticism was most certainly influenced by such factors as "the hierarchically centralized position of the intellectual élite with its political as well as intellectual power and

[2] *Aristotle*, trans. C. D. Gordon (New York, 1907).

[3] *Experience and Nature* (New York, 1929), pp. 48–50, 87, 91–92. For references to and a statement of a sociological theory of the character and shifts in logics cf. my "Language, Logic, and Culture," *American Sociological Review*, IV (1939), 5.

its strict memory, faith, and dialectical norms of recruitment. Also by the fact that by virtue of this social organization for several centuries, the *logica utens* and the perceptual schema of each individual thinker were common to major sectors of the élite."[4]

Does the position under question invoke some more modern epistemological formulations, say those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? Mannheim has soundly suggested that these were conditioned by the revolutionary status of the middle class, particularly by its "individualistic" character.[5] E. Conze has capably suggested the "Bourgeois Origins of Nominalism."[6] Certainly Descartes's protestant epistemology is open to sociological investigation. And the "utilitarian" and "experimental" canons of verification were certainly given impetus by the social ethos of seventeenth-century Puritanism.[7]

There have been and are diverse canons and criteria of validity and truth, and these criteria, upon which determinations of the truthfulness of propositions at any time depend, are themselves, in their persistence and change, legitimately open to social-historical relativization.[8] Moreover, we have at hand sociological theories concerning the character and emergence of certain of them. Criteria, or observational and verificatory models, are not transcendental. They are not drawn theoretically pure from a Greek heaven, although "choice" and usage of one set of them may be so justified. Nor are they part of an a priori, or innate, equipment of "the mind" conceived to be intrinsically logical.[9]

[4] C. Wright Mills, "Types of Rationality" (unpublished MS).

[5] K. Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, trans. L. Wirth and E. Shils (New York, 1936); Part I, esp. pp. 24–28.

[6] *Marxist Quarterly*, I, 1; Nos. 2 and 3 contain discussions; see also P. P. Wiener, "Notes on Leibnitz's Conception of Logic and Its Historical Context," *Philosophical Review*, November, 1939.

[7] See R. K. Merton, *Science, Society, and Technology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Bruges, Belgium, 1938), and references therein.

[8] In addition to studies cited above, see Sorokin, who isolates and utilizes several different forms of validation as key items for study (*Social and Cultural Dynamics* [New York, 1937], Vol. II).

[9] E.g., Hans Speier speaks of "a property of human nature which enables man to search for truth" ("The Social Determination of Ideas," *op. cit.*, pp. 186, 193). For a contrary view see below; also A. Goldenweiser's *Robots or Gods?* (New York, 1931), p. 53.

On the contrary: the historical diversity of such models supports Dewey's view that they are generated by and are drawn from inquiries proceeding in given times and societies. Dewey's thesis concerning the character and historical occasion of logical and epistemological (re)formulations[10] empirically accounts for the historical data. For forty years he has contended that the verificatory models upon which imputations of truthfulness rest are forms drawn from existent inquiries and have no meaning apart from inquiries: "Inquiry (logic, e.g.) is the *causa cognoscendi* of logical forms, primary inquiry is itself *causa essendi* of the forms which inquiry into inquiry discloses."[11] Careful examination reveals no fundamental disagreement between Dewey's and Mannheim's conceptions of the generic character and derivation of epistemological forms.[12] "The indirect approach to truth," states Mannheim, "through social history will in the end be more fruitful than a direct logical approach." Mannheim's view overlaps the program that Dewey has pursued since 1903, when he turned from traditional concerns and squabbles over the ubiquitous relation of thought in general to reality at large to a specific examination of the context, office, and outcome of a type of inquiry.[13]

In terms of the norms upon which ideas were accepted and rejected, C. S. Peirce analyzed four segments from Western intellectual history.[14] His comparative and quasi-sociological work was preliminary to his own acceptance of an observational and verificatory model which he himself analyzed out and generalized from laboratory science. But not all thinkers, even philosophers, have

[10] *Logic; The Theory of Inquiry* (New York, 1938), chap. i; "Philosophy," *Research in Social Science*, ed. W. Gee, pp. 251 ff. See also H. Reichenbach, *Experience and Prediction* (Chicago, 1938), chap. i.

[11] Dewey, *Logic*, p. 4.

[12] E.g., ". . . . the representative modes of thought and their structure, from which a conception is built up as to the nature of truth in general . . . . the concept of truth itself is dependent upon the already existing types of knowledge" (Mannheim, *op. cit.*, p. 262).

[13] *Studies in Logical Theory* (Chicago, 1909), chaps. i–iv.

[14] "Methods of Fixing Belief," *Collected Papers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), Vol. V, Book II, chap. iv, sec. v. Peirce's pragmatic papers contain very suggestive leads for the sociologist of knowledge (see esp. secs. ii and v).

gone about the "choice" of what verificatory model was to guide their thinking so consciously and thoroughly as Peirce. The "acceptance" (usage) and "rejection" of verificatory models by individual thinkers and by élites is another juncture at which extra-logical, possibly sociological, factors may enter and be of consequence to the validity of an élite's thinking.

Mannheim's "total, absolute, and universal" type of "ideology" in which social position bears upon "the structure of consciousness in its totality," including form as well as content, may be interpreted to mean this social-historical relativization of a model of truth, or the influence of a "social position" upon "choice" of one model as over against another. Mannheim's remarks do not contradict this more explicit and analytic statement.

Those who contend that sociological investigations of thinking have no consequences for the truth or validity of that thinking misunderstand the source and character of the criteria upon which truth and validity are at any time dependent. They also overlook the fact that these criteria themselves and the selective acceptances and rejections of one or another of them by various élites are open to cultural influence and sociological investigation. Apparently they assume, without surveying the possibilities, that whatever validity depends upon, it cannot be examined empirically and sociologically. This view is underpinned by a blurred theory of knowledge and mind that prohibits analysis of those aspects or junctures in knowledge processes at which extra-logical factors may enter and be relevant to the truthfulness of results. For their attack is often against the view that the validity of a judgment depends upon its genesis, and they are inclined to interpret "genesis" in terms of an individual's motivation for thought.[15]

It is true that the current "scientific" thought-model, drawn in the main from post-Renaissance physical inquiry, distinguishes between the truth of the results and the motives and social conditions of an inquiry. For this paradigm demands that assertions be verified by certain operations which do not depend upon the motives or

[15] E.g., Speier distinguishes the type of thinking that in his view is not open to sociological investigation from the "promotive" type which is on the basis of the individual thinker's epistemological motivation and intention (see below).

social position of the assertor. Social position does not directly affect the truthfulness of propositions tested by this verificatory model. But social positions may well affect whether or not it or some other model is used by types of thinkers today and in other periods. By no means have all thinkers in all times employed this particular verificatory model. Indeed, many do not now accept it. Many contemporary social scientists only know this physical-science model by name, and their "usage" is limited to the sprinkling of a few terms through their writings. This particular model did not and could not have existed prior to the wholesale rise of physical science in western Europe, for it was drawn from this type of inquiry.

But even in inquiries satisfying this paradigm the motives or social positions of the thinker do not exhaust the aspects of inquiries which may be relative to social factors. Any observational and verificatory pattern may itself be socially relativized, and the "selection" and use of any model (as well as its specific diffusion pattern across variegated élites) is open to sociological explanation. Two other aspects of inquiries that are open to possible social-historical influences and that may bear on criteria, and hence on truthfulness and validity of results, may be mentioned:

1. The categories upon which all discourse and inquiry depend are related to social situations, to cultural determinants. Numerous investigators[16] have indicated how concepts, as surrogates of societal contexts, may shape inquiries that apparently are foot loose and socially free. Detection of the societally conditioned meanings of the terms upon which an inquiry depends may be viewed as a critique of the warrantability of this inquiry's results. In C. W. Morris' terms the "pragmatic" (which includes the sociological) dimension of the language process is basically related to the semantical and syntactical.[17] What is taken as problematic and what concepts are avail-

[16] Dewey, *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*, chap. i; E. Vivas, "A Note on the Question of Class Science," *Marxist Quarterly*, I, No. 3, 437 ff.; see Mills, "Language, Logic, and Culture," *op. cit.*, pp. 676–80, for a statement and references; and particularly M. Granet's application of Durkheim's sociological theory of categories, *La Pensée chinoise* (Paris, 1938); also C. Wright Mills, "M. Granet's Contribution to Sociology of Knowledge" (mimeographed material, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin [1940])—available upon request.

[17] *Foundations of the Theory of Signs* ("International Encyclopedia of Unified Sciences," Vol. I, No. 2 [Chicago, 1938]). This book and the movements it represents are very suggestive American sources for sociology of knowledge.

able and used may be interlinked in certain inquiries.[18] It should be noted that within the sociological perspective, the problems which occasion reflection may be viewed from numerous angles as connective of intellect and culture. Viewing the selection of problems in terms of motivating values is only one, the grossest, mode of connection.

2. Closely linked with such a view of categories is the social theory of perception. In acquiring a technical vocabulary with its terms and classifications, the thinker is acquiring, as it were, a set of colored spectacles. He sees a world of objects that are technically tinted and patternized. A specialized language constitutes a veritable a priori form of perception and cognition,[19] which are certainly relevant to the results of inquiry. Epistemologies have differed widely as to the manners in which empirical elements enter into knowledge. But however variously they have incorporated empirical elements, in looking at the world for verification their concepts have conditioned what they have seen. Different technical élites possess different perceptual capacities. Empirical verification cannot be a simple and positivistic mirror-like operation. Thus the observational dimensions of any verificatory model are influenced by the selective language of its users. And this language is not without social-historical imprint. The implications of this social view of perception for simple correspondence theories of truth, e.g., are obvious. Failure to recognize such junctures in inquiry that are relevant to the "truthfulness," "objectivity," and "impartiality" of the results of inquiry issues in an arbitrary limitation of the legitimate subject matter of an empirical sociology of knowledge.

An argument long used against all forms of relativism frequently appears in discussions[20] of the present problem: either the rela-

[18] Mills, "Language, Logic, and Culture," *op. cit.*, pp. 675 ff.

[19] See G. A. DeLaguna, *Speech* (New Haven, 1927), p. 344 and Index: "Perception"; also M. Sherif, *The Psychology of Social Norms* (New York, 1936) (see references).

[20] E.g., von Schelting, *American Sociological Review*, p. 667. I am leaving open whether or not von Schelting's is an adequate statement of Mannheim's position. I am concerned not with defense or appraisal of Mannheim's work, nor of von Shelting's *in toto*, but only with the one point. In general, however, I find Mannheim's "relationism" (*Ideology and Utopia*, esp. pp. 253 ff., 269–70) quite tenable. The position is logically imperfect and unsatisfactory only from an absolutist viewpoint.

tivist's own assertion and argument are themselves relative, in which case he has no grounds for denying or imputing truth to the thought of others, or his argument and assertion are unconditionally true, and hence relativism is self-contradictory.[21] This argument may be put in strict logical form: (*a*) Thinking is functional of cultural factors. (Hence, its "objective," "impartial validity," is destroyed.) (*b*) The sociology of knowledge is a type of thinking. (*c*) Therefore, the sociology of knowledge is functional of cultural factors. (Hence, it cannot be "objective," "valid.") Now Mannheim himself has empirically documented *abc*-linkage.[22] He has indicated the cultural and political conditions of the sociology of knowledge. It is the premises hung after the "hence's" and their assumptions that we need to examine.

These antirelationistic arguments apparently ignore the character and status of epistemological forms (see secs. 1 and 2 above). They assume the existence of an absolute truth having no connection to inquiry; and they are significant only from an absolutist viewpoint. The imputations of the sociologist of knowledge may be tested with reference to the verificatory model generalized, e.g., by Peirce and Dewey. Their truthfulness is then in terms of this model. Granted that this model is no *absolute* guaranty, it seems the most probable we have at present. (As a practical fact, if we would socialize our thought among professional thinkers today, we must cast it in such terms.) Criteria are themselves developing things. A precondition for "correcting" the model for future use is self-consciously to use it now. "Inquiry into inquiry [logic] is . . . . a circular process, it does not depend on anything extraneous to inquiry."[23]

The assertions of the sociologist of knowledge escape the "absolutist's dilemma" because they can refer to a degree of truth and because they may include the *conditions* under which they are true. Only conditional assertions are translatable from one perspective to another. Assertions can properly be stated as probabilities, as more or less true. And only in this way can we account for the fact that

[21] Cf. E. Vivas' statement and able dissection of this argument (*op. cit.*, p. 443).

[22] *Ideology and Utopia*, chap. i.

[23] Dewey, *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*, chap. i.

scientific inquiry is self-correcting. The sociologist may without contradiction also point out social factors conditioning failure to use this particular model. Mannheim quite correctly claims that new criteria for social science may emerge from the inquiries of the sociology of knowledge. It is entirely possible. I shall elaborate the point below. It is enough here to realize that "traditional criteria" emerge from logical analyses of "traditional" types of inquiry. The attempt to restrict the object matter and implications of the sociology of knowledge in order to save its assertions is mislocated and not consonant with modern theories of knowledge.[24]

Another such attempt is advanced by those who would limit the sociology of knowledge to investigation of the conscious attempts of a promoter to find a public; the social conditions of types of promoters; means of diffusing ideas persuasive of values, etc.[25] From this point of view the sociology of knowledge can have no epistemological relevance or object matter because it can study thoroughly only a "promotive" type of thought. In so far as it examines "theoretical thinking" ("the aim of [which] is . . . . simply truth"), it is apparently limited to examination of "the selection of certain problems." In addition to individual motivation, there is a second differentiation of the two types of thinking: the public of the philosopher (theoretic) is "the timeless ranks of those who seek the truth." Neither of these differentiations is analytic enough. It does not help any to say that they are different "qualities of thinking." I take this public of the "theoretical" thinker to be the members of a technical élite, generically delimited as (*a*) those who read his work or who he thinks will; that is, those participating, more or less meaningfully, in his universe of discourse. (*b*) They are persons engaged in doubting, criticizing, and fixing their beliefs, i.e., in think-

[24] Moreover, in his criticism of Mannheim, von Schelting does not appear to take into account the fact that the existence of *purpose* and *perspective* does not necessarily mean that the results of inquiry must be false; it merely means that its truth is always conditional, not absolute. Since the turn of the century many logicians and social psychologists have contended that all inquiry has a purposive element and is within a particular perspective. Mannheim's epistemological work, fragmentary as it is, does not deny the fact of purpose and perspective in an effort to save some "traditional conception of truth" framed on a spectator, godlike theory of mind.

[25] E.g., Speier, "Social Determination of Ideas," *op. cit.*, pp. 199 and 200.

ing,[26] (*c*) in a way that satisfies the conditions of some thought-model, the forms of which they are more or less aware of and which they strive to follow. This is what "seeking truth" means. Thus analyzed sociologically, "philosophers" and "theoretic" thinking certainly constitute data for the sociologist of knowledge. The very existence of such a group is sociologically significant. The origins and consequences of such groups in various contexts have received little explicit attention. I have already indicated how the "selection" of criteria, and criteria themselves, are open to sociological investigation, how the categories of technical discourse, the problems addressed, and perceptual schemata may influence the direction and validating forms of thinking.[27]

Furthermore, for a thinker merely to wish, or to be motivated, to attain truth does not guarantee or imply whether or not his assertions are true. Much less, whether he or they are open to social relativization. "True" is an adjective applied to propositions that satisfy the forms of an accepted model of verification. In the model now dominant among secular, professional thinkers, verification is independent of the individual's motive for thinking, whether it be "truth" or "persuasion." I do not see that we are justified at this stage of research in differentiating types of thinking in terms of epistemological motivation. Such are not the kind of types we need and can use in dissection. For it would take a social-psychological analysis of a thinker to determine whether or not he really was, or believed he was, aiming at truth, i.e., following or attempting to follow a verificatory model. One could properly identify "theoretic" thinking only in terms of a given verificatory model. In research we cannot fruitfully impose "ours" upon past thinkers. There have been several models in Western thought, and I have already indi-

[26] See Peirce, *op. cit.* Also E. Freeman, *The Categories of Peirce* ("Chicago Series" [Chicago, 1937]), pp. 39–40.

[27] Speier's failure to recognize these points as open to social influence is probably conditioned by exclusive concern with one type of socio-psychologic mechanism connecting ideation and culture. In his article he accepts only "need," "problem," and "interests" of the thinker. "The relations between ideas and social reality is . . . . constituted in the medium of needs" ("Social Determination of Ideas," *op. cit.*, p. 183). See my "Language, Logic, and Culture," *op. cit.*, in which this view is criticized and other modes of relation advanced.

cated that they are themselves open to social-historical relativization.[28]

There is in our time no common form of validation to which all will submit their assertions. This epistemological condition presents an opportunity to study comparatively the diverse norms themselves, their function, and genesis. In the face of epistemologic diversity and confusion it seems foolish to call our work irrelevant to some one arbitrarily selected set of norms which were derived from a particular gamut of inquiry or concocted from miscellaneous beliefs. But the tasks for sociologists of knowledge implied by such statements are not too clear. They need to be indicated more precisely. Of course, as Wirth has indicated, we aspire to contribute to "the social-psychological elaboration of the theory of knowledge itself." I am here concerned with pointing up the usefulness of such work to sociologists, i.e., the methodological function of sociology of knowledge.

The sociologist of knowledge need not rest with factual examination and relativization of aspects of knowledge processes. For such experience places him strategically, on a comparative and contextual basis, for positive methodological construction. We need here to realize Dewey's identification of epistemology with methodology. This realization carries the belief that the deriving of norms from some one type of inquiry (even though it have wide prestige, e.g., "physical science") is not the end of epistemology. In its "epistemologic function" the sociology of knowledge is specifically propaedeutic to the construction of sound methodology for the social sciences.[29] Had Mannheim consistently recognized this, he would have avoided ambiguities and mislocations in his work. But, on the

[28] Speier's paper ("Social Determination of Ideas," *op. cit.*), is valuable in its acute remarks on "social actions" and the ambiguity of the term "need" as it appears in many sociologies of knowledge; but he has failed to analyze what he terms "theoretic" thinking. The limitations he would exact of sociology of knowledge are without adequate justification.

[29] L. Wirth has correctly indicated that an incipient sociology of knowledge has often been an unexploited by-product of methodological discussions (Preface to Mannheim, *op. cit.*, pp. xvii–xxiii).

whole, Mannheim as epistemologist is concerned with the detection and correction of limitations of social-political inquiries.[30] In his review of Rice's *Methods*[31] he abstracts some notions and forms which control inquiries of American and German sociologists, criticizes each style of study by the other in supplementary fashion, and briefly links the two in a general research model which he submits social inquiry should follow if it would issue in firm knowledge.

Von Schelting is incorrect in implying that Mannheim does not "postulate the possibility of objective validity for cognitive achievements."[32] In fact, Mannheim does not stop with the mere assumption. He goes on as a sound methodologist to attempt formulations of criteria for social inquiry in terms of existent modes of social thought as empirically ascertained by logic and a contextual sociology of knowledge. If Mannheim has fallen short in his attempts to enunciate sound criteria for social inquiries, it is not due to misconceptions of the character of epistemological forms nor to "epistemological inconsistency."

> The desire to treat politically important problems without being a victim to bias was responsible for the development in Germany of . . . . *Wissenssoziologie.* This new branch of research, intended to be an organ of critical self-control has already succeeded in detecting and subjecting to control important sources of error.[33]

This certainly is indicative of one generic meaning of the epistemological relevance of sociology of knowledge. The sociologist of knowledge joins the alive logician and social methodologist in the critical building of sounder methods for social research.

[30] As was Spencer, *Study of Sociology* (1873) and J. S. Mill, *A System of Logic*, Book VI. Notice the manner in which Spencer moves from discovery of procedural fallacies having social sources, from "the many modes in which evidence may be vitiated," to the construction of methodological techniques designed to obviate such fallacies and vitiations. The idea that detection of social sources of error may lead to sounder methodology is clearly evidenced. In this connection cf. E. Durkheim, *Règles de la méthode sociologique* (Paris, 1895), chap. ii.

[31] *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2 (1932).

[32] *Op. cit.*, p. 667.

[33] Mannheim, *op. cit.*, p. 281; also see Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* (New York, 1940), in which methodological problems of "social planning," as a type of thought, are constructively presented.

Among the specific issues which he may fruitfully problematize are those concerning the respective methods of physical and social inquiry. There are those who, in the name of science, would impose the procedural forms of the former on the latter in wholesale fashion; and there are social students who will have nothing to do with physical science. The sociologist of knowledge grounded in comparative understanding may not only establish social sources for the two extreme positions, but, constructively, he may implement the planned alteration of certain physical forms that are found advisable to achieve fruitfully the transfer.

"Experiment" as a verificatory form is an instance in point. Dewey, e.g., has abstracted this form from physical inquiry and has attempted to generalize it for all "inquiry *qua* inquiry." His writings are informed by failure to see fully and clearly the difficulties and the ambiguities associated with the physical paradigm of inquiry and particularly, "experiment," when applied to social data. Experiment in a societal situation does have characteristics and problems which experiment in a laboratory does not possess. For instance, the "control" and manipulation necessary to "experimental" work as it occurs in physical science often assume political and evaluative dimensions that experiment in laboratory contexts does not.[34] And the "reconstitution" of an object, which according to Dewey is necessary before it can function as an object of knowledge, involves many issues. To say the least, the attempt to carry this laboratory technique over into social data precipitates methodological and political problems to which Dewey and his disciples have not squarely addressed themselves.

Inadequacy at this point, and others, suggests that there is need to analyze social researches in their cultural and intellectual contexts and attempt to articulate the inchoate rules implicit within them. In this manner we may empirically supplant the a priori assumptions that there is or is not, that there should or should not, be any essential difference between social inquiry and physical sci-

[34] See L. H. Lanier's recent presentation of the point (*Southern Review*, Vol. V, No. 1, [1939]). For comprehensive documentation and partial ramification cf. my "Reflection, Behavior, and Culture," pp. 91–102, available at the University of Texas library.

ence. Such analysis would also enable explicit and sophisticated formulation of problems peculiar to social inquiry.

Problems of "value" arise within and frustrate social inquiry. To state one aspect of the problem: how do the research problems actually addressed by social scientists involve evaluations and how, if at all, do such involvements condition the truthfulness of results?[35] Questions of value should not be taken *überhaupt.* Located as snarls in social inquiry, questions of value become specific and genuine. They need to be answered by sociological analyses of specific disciplines and problems arising in them. Not only the content of values in social inquiries should be detected, but how values creep in, and how, if at all, they condition the direction, completeness, and warrantability of the results of research. In this way we may gain a position from which to formulate rules of evidence that will prevent exhortation from informing our results. Such contextual examinations will permit precise definition of issues that are now vague.

Perhaps the central methodological problem of the social sciences springs from recognition that often there is a disparity between lingual and social-motor types of behavior. Now the sociologist of knowledge is explicitly concerned with factual investigations of the verbal components of action, with the "common sense," e.g., articulations of various cultures. In this field one of his problems is the ascertaining of differential disparities obtaining between overt systems of behavior and what is said by the actors in different cultural contexts. Such systematic investigations would have consequences for the construction of techniques of investigation.[36] They should enable the methodologist to build into his methods standard margins of error, different rates of discount for different milieux. They would show (for various cultural actions, types of subjects, and various modes of verbalization) *how much* and *in what direction* disparities between talk and action will probably go. In this way factual in-

[35] Cf. T. Parsons' (*Structure of Social Action* [New York, 1937], pp. 593, 601 ff.) references to and discussion of Max Weber's "Wertbeziehung."

[36] Since the writing of this paper, R. K. Merton has indicated the point with reference to a specific study ("Fact and Factitiousness in Ethnic Opinionnaires," *American Sociological Review,* February, 1940, pp. 21–22).

vestigations should provide a basis for rules for the control and guidance of evidence and inference.[37]

Because of its dominantly academic position, in American sociology systematic theorizing has proceeded in textbooks for students, not for research. What effect has this had on the research model to which sociologists have looked for verification of their work, and hence on its validity?

The ideal of intimacy of contact to which Cooley practically assimilated the conception of society, with consequent distortion and partiality, has its roots in certain American cultural traditions[38] and in compensation for the actual depersonalization and secondary character of life in an urban-industrial order.

The emphasis upon continuous process as a central category in American sociology has perhaps aided the overlooking of revolutionary dislocations in "social change." Safe multiple-factor views as to historical causation are very convenient to a "liberal democratic" view of politically implemented social change. Pluralistic causes are easily carried to a point at which no action is possible; revolutionary manipulation calls for belief in a monistic cause.

These are fragmentary items close at hand which the sociologist of knowledge is in a position to examine. The detailed self-location of social science, if systematically and sensitively performed, not only will lead to detection of errors in methods under way but constructively will result in presentations of sounder paradigms for future research.

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[37] Here sociologists can garner suggestions from critical historiography which attempts to locate (culturally and biographically) observers (e.g., Roman popes) of social events in order properly to discount their recorded observations. This method is aware of the differences of societal occurrences as seen and written of by variously situated reporters. See A. W. Small, *Origins of Sociology*, esp. pp. 48, 84, 85, 98; H. E. Barnes, *A History of Historical Writings* (Norman, Okla., 1937), chap. x.

[38] T. V. Smith, *Beyond Conscience* (New York, 1934), e.g.: "Social distance is [considered] a dire fate . . . . immoral in our Christian tradition" (p. 111).

THE PARTICIPANT-OBSERVER TECHNIQUE IN SMALL COMMUNITIES[1]

FLORENCE R. KLUCKHOHN

ABSTRACT

The quest for general and specific roles, in the playing of which one can be regarded by the members of a community as a participant in their activities and interests, is the key to the use of the participant-observer technique. Though some disadvantages in participant observation are admitted, the paper sets forth a number of respects in which the range, relevance, and reliability of field data are usually increased. It is maintained that a use of the technique will provide a desirable balance between the more purely behavioristic type of investigation and the type which seeks some measure of insight into the "meanings" current in the community. The investigator, forced to analyze his own roles, is, on the one hand, less misled by the myth of complete objectivity in social research and, on the other, more consciously aware of his own biases.

Participant observation is conscious and systematic sharing, in so far as circumstances permit, in the life-activities and, on occasion, in the interests and affects of a group of persons. Its purpose is to obtain data about behavior through direct contact and in terms of specific situations in which the distortion that results from the investigator's being an outside agent is reduced to a minimum.[2]

In the application of the technique it is essential to realize that it is not only the investigator himself but also the members of the group being studied who are to regard him as a participant. This means that he must achieve status within the community organization, must play his part

[1] The paper as here presented is a considerably abbreviated version of a much fuller manuscript. The full text has been deposited with the American Documentation Institute and may be ordered as Doc. 1336 from Science Service, 2101 Constitution Ave., Washington, D.C., remitting 44 cents for microfilm (images 1 in. high on standard 35-mm. motion-picture film) or $2.60 for photoprints (6×8 in. in size) readable without optical aid.

[2] The method here described has been employed in a study of a Spanish-speaking village in New Mexico. Because of the nature of political and general ethnic conditions in New Mexico, it was not advisable to approach this community—whose population is a part of a strong minority element that none too scrupulous politicians have kept inflamed on ethnic issues—through direct methods. Initially it was expediency and self-preservation which prompted the writer to be a participant-observer, but the fruitfulness of the technique in providing detailed and intimate information on the community's activities suggested that an explicit discussion of it might be suggestive to other field workers. For financial aid in conducting the field work basic to this paper I am indebted to Radcliffe College.

in a constellation of roles. (We use here Linton's distinction of status as the abstract social position of which the role is the dynamic aspect.)[3] This cannot be done haphazardly if the technique is to be used successfully. Our definition calls for conscious and systematic sharing, which is to say: the investigator must survey his field for roles in the playing of which he will be regarded as a participant, he must analyze these roles for the data and insights they afford, and he must examine them for the biases inherent in them.

The quest for the roles, in the playing of which one can be regarded by the members of a community as a participant in their activities and interests, is the key to the use of this technique. A systematic search for such roles involves a distinction between roles which are general and specific in character. For this purpose the general role is defined as that role which one plays without reference to any particular person. It is played in relation to various persons, and, although it becomes a part of the specific relationship with each of these persons, it is general in terms of all of them. The specific role is that which one plays in relation to a definite person. The role of a married woman of the upper class is, for example, a general role; the role of a wife is specific. Individuals have many specific roles but few general ones. Most of our attention will be devoted to the general role, for it is the orientation role, and in some measure it governs all specific ones. A middle-class woman may play the role of friend to a duchess and also to a servant, but the specific role of friend is substantially different in the two cases because of the general roles of the three persons involved.

The basic factors which determine general roles are such objective states or conditions as sex, age, position in a caste or class, and race. Although these factors are used as points of reference in various ways by different types of social organizations, they are, as Linton points out,[4] the factors according to which activities and attitudes are ascribed. One of the activities which is so ascribed is occupational activity, and out of the process of ascription come general occupational roles—the roles, for example, of banker, doctor, housewife, etc.

This occupational ascription has particular interest for us in terms of role assumption in small communities, which are our primary concern. In the small community where occupations are likely to be ascribed quite rigorously according to age and sex, where occupations open to the individual are relatively few, and where only certain occupations are regarded

[3] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), pp. 113 and 114.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 115–32.

as being consonant with community interests, the occupational activity itself tends to become an integral part of the general role. It is not separated as a special type of general role to the extent that it may be in more differentiated communities.

The significance of this for the investigator seeking roles is that it raises the question of whether the general role of the investigator, which includes as one of its marks of definition the activity of and interest in research investigation, will seriously limit the possibilities for participation. Will community members regard him as a participant if they do not regard his general role as being possible of integration in terms of their own organized set of statuses? Further, if they do not regard him as a participant in a general role, will this not produce an undesirable kind of distortion in all specific roles? Cases of variability in information given to such persons as missionaries, teachers, and traders who have moved into primitive groups are well known. Is it not because the group adjusts to the outsider playing an unfamiliar role?

The means of overcoming this limitation to participation is the assumption of a general role or roles which have definitions in terms of the community's set of organized statuses. To do this, one's research intentions cannot be disclosed. One must engage in an occupation which is in accord with the community's organized activities.[5] This in turn limits one to the use of "passive interview,"[6] and prohibits open recording of notes.

The phrase "in so far as circumstances permit" contained in the definition above of participant observation has reference to three sets of conditions which may provide possibilities for or impose limitations upon participation and therefore may determine whether or not one's research intentions should be concealed. One set includes such factors as "cultural distance"; the temperamental affinity of the investigator with the group;[7] the relative homogeneity or heterogeneity of the group to be studied; the segmentalization of the group through stratification; and the relation of the group to other and larger groups of people. These factors should be considered as carefully as a general knowledge of the community permits before the study is undertaken, and they should be the basis of the investigator's decision (1) as to whether participant observation is possible at all and (2) as to whether it is advisable to reveal his research objectives.

[5] Cf. J. D. Lohman, "Participant-Observation in Community Studies," *American Sociological Review*, VI (1937), 890–98, esp. 893.

[6] For a discussion of "passive interviewing" see Cora Du Bois, "Some Psychological Objectives and Techniques in Ethnology," *Journal of Social Psychology*, III (1937), 285–301.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

If on the basis of such considerations, the choice is to conceal one's intentions, there remains the problem of determining the general role or roles to be played. Here the second other set of limiting factors, the investigator's sex and age, becomes relevant. The would-be participant must learn something of the manner in which these determinants of general roles are dealt with in the social organization of the particular community in question. If a general knowledge of the social organization is not obtainable from studies of similar communities, there must be a period of watchful waiting. Such procedure is possible, I believe, if the appearance of the investigator in the community has had a plausible explanation A brief account of my own experience in general-role assumption may serve to clarify this and other statements which have been made.

When I first entered the community, I had only vague notions of the social structure gained from popular writings, but it was possible for me to stay in the background and merely observe for a time because my presence had a plausible explanation. I was a friend of the trader,[8] and my husband was working in the neighboring territory.

Being a novice in participant observation, I did not immediately realize that I had fallen into a general role—that of housewife—by the very manner I had entered the community and the activities which I took up. The married women or housewives of the village—the terms are synonymous, since no other occupation is open to the average married woman—are occupied chiefly with keeping their houses and managing the children. Much of the time they live alone with their children, by themselves if there are no children, for the men of the village, who are stockmen, camp out on the range.

When my husband and I went to the village and took a house, I found myself in a situation very similar to that of the village housewives. My husband, who was working with a group of Navaho near by, like the husbands of the other women, was in the village only occasionally. When he did come in, he had to be fed just as did the other husbands. When he was

[8] The chief trader in the village was an Anglo woman whom I had known for several years. She and her husband, who was Spanish-American but not a native of the village (he also was in the trading store part of the time, but for most of the period he was teaching in another town), provided an entree. These two people, neither of whom was related to other community members, had some knowledge of my research work. In order to obtain the store records, I told them I wished to make a study of income and expenditures. They were two of the many persons who warned me that I had better not attempt any kind of direct study, and it was their desire that I not allow their assistance ever to become known.

away, I occupied myself with making the house livable and in talking to a few women whom I met through the trader. In outline, at least, my general role of married woman–housekeeper fitted the community pattern very well. My husband's occupation was different from that of the other women's husbands, but that was a matter of his role, not mine. My husband returned to the east after a time, but there was nothing peculiar in this, for there were even during the very period of the study two local men who were away on jobs for over six months.

Space does not permit the detailed story of how I fitted myself into this role so that it was more than just generally similar. I do not claim that I ever learned to play the role perfectly. For one thing, my Spanish was not sufficiently fluent. Also I admit the process of learning the requirements of the role was not a simple one; but this was not without value in itself, for some of my best instructions in the attitude toward the stranger came out of it. The important result of assuming the role was that I had access to the homes and could talk as one housewife to another in a very natural way. More than that, I was ignorant and had to be taught. The teaching, direct and indirect, varied from such objective matters as how to make the native food (chiefly Mexican *chili*, beans, and *tortillas*) and how to repair and make adobe walls and floors to instruction in appropriate behavior at dances and the conditions under which I could converse freely with the men. My ignorance gave me absolution for breaches of etiquette and a perfectly plausible excuse for questions. I believe it reasonable to assume that one learns more from a person if he thinks you want to be like him than if he suspects you are trying to find out why he is different. But this leads to the matter of evaluation of the technique. What of the other roles and why were they necessary?

I wished to evade the bias of viewing the culture entirely from the married-women's field of participation. To do this, I had to seek other acceptable general roles. Two such were found. I entered the high school as a bona fide member of the eleventh grade and assumed the role of schoolgirl. I also became a part-time clerk in the trading store, thus adopting the role of woman-trader.

I found that my enrolment in the high school opened up a field of participation on a different age level without in the least interfering with my role of housewife. The shift was acceptable to housewives on the grounds that I had to learn Spanish better. They themselves did not go to school, but then I was ignorant. The role of housewife, on the other hand, did not appear to interfere with my student role.

In making this shift, I was able to minimize the limiting factor of age to

some degree, but my sex was still a limitation in participation. My contacts with village men in terms of the two roles were as companion of the men's wives or daughters or as a dance partner. While I could never hope to participate in the men's activities as such, could never hope to know them as I did the women, it was desirable for my purposes to observe them as men in groups and talk with them in situations where there were no other women present. Since the village store is the community center for the men, I was able to do this by assuming the role of trader. In addition, I obtained a wealth of firsthand information on the trader-villager relationship which is of primary importance in the socioeconomic life of the villagers.

In taking on this role, which was an occupational variant of my married-woman–housekeeper role, I was still within the realm of integrated roles, for the person who has run the store for some ten years is a woman. True, she is an Anglo, but her husband is a Spanish-American, and villagers have at times in the past seen women of their own group in this role. Although village women almost never go to the store—their life is that circumscribed—the men seem to regard it as quite proper to talk to a woman on the other side of the counter. It is almost as if the wooden counter were a substitute for the sex barriers of the mores. My ostensible reason for playing the role was also understandable enough. The trader had been a friend of mine for several years, and I was helping her as a friend.

Such was my experience with general roles. My specific roles, which were numerous, were, I believe, greatly affected by my general roles. Being a friend to a person who views you as a housekeeper like herself is obviously different from being the friend of a person who views you as a research investigator.

It has not been forgotten that the investigator in some way remains an outsider. Although I was accepted by the community in terms of roles within the culture, I know all too well that had I, for example, committed murder, I would have been quickly and firmly cast into the category of an outsider. Responsibility for my act would not have been assumed by the community. Here we are dealing with the third set of limiting factors—a lack of either blood or marriage relationship with a local person.

The investigator is never able to shake off entirely his role of outsider, and I am in accord with those who maintain that it is not advisable for him to do so. Some exceedingly valuable information comes to the outsider simply because he is one. It is the investigator's task, however, to fashion all his roles, including this one, into tools; and the role of out-

sider can be an excellent device if one is in command of it. The critical point here would seem to be whether the community categorizes one as a particular kind of outsider or just vaguely an outsider. It is once again a matter of orientation. If both one's relationships and one's activities and interests are regarded as belonging in an outside sphere, one will almost certainly be oriented in terms of that sphere. If, on the other hand, one plays roles which are defined within the culture and seemingly has interests which are synonymous with those of the community members, orientation will be in terms of the community except when it is either remembered by an individual or called to his mind that there are no existent relational (blood or marriage) ties. Such a situation permits use of the role of outsider and, more important, affords a measure of command over it. In specific relationships an awareness of one as a person who is not related to anyone in the village may well mean that certain group repressions will cease to operate in the relationship. At the same time there are not present in the relationship those other repressions which result from a recognized or suspected dissimilarity if not actual conflict of interests.

What is the value of being a participant-observer? First, it would seem probable that the opportunities for observation are increased and that in some respects greater objectivity and accuracy insured. Second, it would appear that a use of the technique will provide a desirable balance between the more purely behavoristic type of investigation and the type which seeks some measure of insight into the "meanings" current in the community.

In treating the technique comparatively its advantages and disadvantages are considered in terms of what we shall call the three "R's" of evaluation, the *range*, *relevance*, and *reliability* of the data obtained. Does the technique increase the field of selection? Does it provide data which are more relevant to the interests and activities of the group in question? (Relevance to theoretical concepts is, of course, of another order and is a problem of selection which is outside the scope of our present interests.) And does it provide more reliable data than certain other techniques?

In four rather obvious respects the range of data would seem to be increased by use of the technique. First, it affords access to the data which come from observation in the current situations in which the community members are involved. The possibility of a large and consistent body of such information is peculiar to the technique in question, for, if the investigator seeks to gain information by the direct interview, the questionnaire, or the life-history, he is creating special situations, not participating in those which arise within the group itself. Interviewing indirectly while

helping a woman with her washing is very different from interviewing directly in the woman's parlor or one's own temporary office. Even though the answers to the questions may be the same, which is doubtful, what one observed is far from the same.

To some extent, of course, even the participant-observer has an effect upon situations. He cannot wait, for example, for persons to recall voluntarily past events or to explain the relationship of A to B. He asks leading questions at some points and, in doing so, alters the situation, but he is altering given situations in varying degrees, not creating special situations.

The range of available data is likely to be increased in a second respect. There are in all groups certain kinds of data which are guarded more closely than other types. Direct questions regarding such information may be met with evasions if not outright misrepresentations. Indirect questions may also fail. Simulation of behavior made possible by participation may, however, open the door to this guarded realm. Space does not permit illustration of this point, but to indicate what is meant: It was through a gradual simulation of the Spanish-American's woman's fear that I obtained most of my information about witchcraft and other beliefs which are jealously guarded by the Spanish-Americans.

The ready access to gossip is the third respect in which participant observation serves to increase the range of information. Gossip is an important source of information both for what is said and for what is not said. The comments made about behavior often give checks to and judgments upon behavior which can be obtained in no other way. Moreover, it is especially important to listen to gossip if one wants to discover the patterns of "socially approved" behavior. A bit of behavior is observed. It may strike the outsider as unusual. If community members begin to comment upon it, and especially if they condemn it, it is relatively safe to assume that it is unusual behavior for the community in question. If, however, there is no comment whatsoever, it is also reasonably safe to assume that it has not struck community members as being deviant behavior.

The fourth respect in which range is increased has already been suggested. It lies in the advantage derived from being in the position of the person who is being taught.[9] It has long been an argument of field research workers that the prestige of being an outsider is of great importance, that people talk because they are flattered by attention from an outsider. This does apply to a certain type of person, but it may be

[9] Cf. Du Bois, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

added that all people, even the simplest, have "egos." While some individuals are flattered by attention and are happy for the opportunity to talk at length, the egos of research workers themselves have led to overemphasis of this factor and to too little regard for the detrimental effects of a suspected attitude of superiority and condescension.

There is no need to engage in the methodological argument of whether behavior and rationalizations of it can be observed as are sticks and stones or whether different concepts and categories must be utilized, but I do maintain that in interviewing human beings they must be treated as such even if one does it hypocritically. Obsession with one's own interests should never be such that an informant is pushed beyond his desire to speak.[10] Participant observation increases in many instances the desire of informants to speak because the interviewer is an apprentice who is learning, not an all-seeing demigod who has come to question coldly and record. A stick or stone has no curiosity, no sensitivity, no desire for ego expression, but human beings have, and to ignore these by appealing solely to vanity, local pride, and economic advantage or by depending upon personality attraction is to my mind a serious mistake.

There are, of course, some disadvantages in participant observation. Participation in a community's general roles may well restrict the range of observation and interview in one direction while increasing it in another. In a rigidly stratified community it may be disadvantageous inasmuch as participation in one segment may preclude participation in another. Even in relatively homogeneous communities there is always some restriction. Participant observation may also force one to sacrifice a certain type of uniformity in data. It will not be possible to put a given question to a large number of people—at least not in the same form. Attitude tests, for example, or house-to-house inquiries on various matters cannot be made. For those problems where such inquiries are essential participant observation will be a hindrance rather than a help. But in small communities such information can often be obtained indirectly and more accurately, for there will be less danger that surface uniformities are obscuring subtle differences.[11]

In the matter of the relevance of the data obtained there is the question: Is that which one observes and investigates regarded by the com-

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

[11] George A. Lundberg and Margaret Lawsing ("The Sociography of Some Community Relations," *American Sociological Review*, III [1937], 318–36, esp. 326–27) point to certain limitations of the questionnaire method in procuring friendship patterns which would seem to bear out this point.

munity members themselves as important or significant in their lives? This question, which may be of little importance in some types of research, is vital in a community study where the interest is in the dynamic functioning of a given community.

The fundamental consideration is the type of situation in which observations are made and questions asked. It has already been pointed out that participant observation permits questioning in *current* situations, whereas direct questioning is in terms of specially created situations. It would seem evident that questions posed in terms of created situations are in terms of other situations which are either *hypothetical* or at best *reconstructed* situations. And there is always the danger that a situation hypothetically conceived will have little relevance to the group's orientation of activities and interests. There is also the possibility that the question in the reconstructed situation will be answered by the way something should have happened, not the way it did happen. But indirect questions in current situations are immediately relevant to them. The question is not "What would you do?"—the hypothetical—or "What did you do?"—the reconstructed—but "Why are you doing it?" (if indeed there need be a question at all). Even when necessity demands information of the "what would you or what did you do" type, the participant-observer is in a position to ask such questions in relation to observed activities which are similar or related, and they can be asked indirectly and repeatedly.

In so far as this last point has to do with the particular answers given, we are dealing with the reliability of the data. It has frequently been remarked, and we repeat, that the average mind deals mostly with the specific and does not generalize easily or well. Any field worker knows how difficult it is to get a reliable generalization for even such a simple matter as the amount of flour used a month. Frequently in such matters the investigator himself must make the generalization from an enumeration of the specific details. Yet often the same person who admits this difficulty accepts the generalization of such an illusive thing as an attitude as a valid statement of that attitude. It is my opinion that the expressed attitude toward behavior and the rationalization of it, if they are to be of any very great significance, should be, as often as possible, linked directly with the behavior they attempt to explain, not with ideal practices or with bygone happenings which are robbed of specificity by faulty memory and deleted by unconscious repressions.[12] The direct, or even indirect, question which is hypothetically stated or oriented toward past behavior and

[12] This is not to say that by the use of psychoanalytic techniques the deletions due to unconscious repressions may not be overcome.

the life-history are dealing with the ideal or the past practice, though it is not my intention to question the worth of the continuous life-history. But where the procedure is by observation and interview it is essential to observe the act being rationalized and hear the immediate rationalization. Participant observation affords a means of catching the telling remark which accompanies behavior, the thoughtless "giving-away" which is so common with us all, and there is no doubt as to what is being rationalized.

In two other respects participant observation may be said to afford opportunities for more reliable information than either the use of selected informants or direct questioning. First, one can very probably gain information, of the more intimate kind at least, from a greater number of persons. Second, there is not the same amount of danger that one's informants will be the aberrant, atypical, or maladjusted individuals of the community. Is it not often the person with exhibitionistic tendencies or the person who is maladjusted whose vanity and desire for gain or recognition are most easily appealed to? There is every reason to believe that, had I used direct methods in my recent study, the persons who would have been willing to give me the most information were the members of two quite Anglicized and relatively atypical families whose answers to indirectly posed questions I found to be the least reliable of any obtained. Their answers were valuable as rationalizations after I learned the facts from observation and from other persons, but their rationalizations could not be regarded as statement of fact.

The final point in evaluation of participant observation is its worth in providing a means of gaining insight into the interests and affects of the persons being studied. Does the technique provide a means of gaining insights or does it tend to destroy objectivity? There is, as I see it, as yet no definite answer to this question, and in dealing with it I shall simply cite briefly from my own experience.

My participation was in most respects hypocritical, but in some instances I found myself a more or less genuine participant. Being isolated and alone in that I had no one with interests similar to my own to talk to, I inevitably acquired some of the interests held by those whom I saw constantly. It is, in fact, important in the use of this technique to be isolated from others of one's own ilk, for, if at the end of the day one can easily revert to one's own milieu, there will never be very much sustained participation. The village dances, for example, became as important a source of recreation for me as they were for villagers. I came to look to them for relaxation, not as an event to be studied. Although I made my-

self study them in retrospect, I did not always go to them with an eye to my work, and while there I was, I believe, as conscious of the social repressions and liberties as any of the other women.

I had, for example, much the same fear of the drunken man that the other women had. I used the same tactics in avoiding him, and I was not an investigator when I used them. I felt a real dependance upon the community for protection, I had a feeling of solidarity with it, and concomitantly I had a suspicion of the outsider. At *fiesta* time a village boy had a friend from the city visiting him. At the first of the two *fiesta* dances this man asked me for four successive dances. I was emotionally disturbed because only engaged couples dance together so often, and yet a woman in the community rarely refuses the request for a dance. Since the man, an outsider, was not heeding these conventions, I was forced to make a decision. Finally I refused the fifth request but did not refuse it without some misgiving. And there was still more in my emotional responses. The man had, during one of the dances, indicated that he had asked where I was living in the village. Since my house was somewhat removed from the center of the village, I decided I did not want to stay in it alone while he was about. This particular emotion would have been normal in similar circumstances anywhere, but the others were more relevant to my participation in the community life—as was also my feeling that the community would take care of the situation. Several of the women watching the man's behavior decided I was not to stay alone. The next day I was quite prepared to laugh at myself, but the affair was not ended. That night, at the second of the dances, the man came to ask for a dance. His first remark was: "I have been told that I annoyed you last night, that I asked you for five dances. I am afraid I did not know what I was doing. I am sorry." After the dance was over, he took me back across the room, and he never came near me during the rest of his stay in the village. I never knew definitely which men called him to task. One asked me during the second dance if he had apologized, or words to that effect, and when I said "Yes," no more was said.

This and other experiences may well be explained in part on grounds other than participation in the community's interests and emotional responses, but they were real participation to the extent that I lived them and gave no thought to analyzing them until afterward—real also in that I was reacting in terms of values and standards of behavior which certainly were not those of my own culture. I found, however, that I could always subject them to analysis and could objectively link them to the behavior of others as observed or related.

In my opinion I gained understanding and insight by such experiences. I think I gained more than I lost by the temporary lapses of cold objectivity. The important point would seem to be that such experiences should not be so frequent or continuous as to make for a more permanent loss of objectivity. To become seriously involved emotionally in a liaison with a community member, for example, or by really trying to "go native" is quite a different matter from what we have just spoken of. Studies made in such circumstances have their value, but one is always privileged to question their objectivity. They are the products of a more or less complete "emotional consolidation with the society."[13] Purely behavioristic studies, on the other hand, are products of a sustained aloofness from the interests and emotional life. If there is value in a combination of the two approaches, participant observation would seem to provide a means of achieving it. And objectivity, far from being sacrificed, is increased. The investigator, forced to analyze his own roles, is, on the one hand, less misled by the myth of complete objectivity in social research and, on the other, more consciously aware of his own biases.

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[13] John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven, 1937), p. 19.

TOPICAL SUMMARIES OF CURRENT LITERATURE[1]
SOCIAL ATTITUDES

H. WARREN DUNHAM

In 1934 Droba[2] presented a summary of the literature on social attitudes which included the significant books and articles for the previous twelve years. This present paper proposes to summarize the contributions on this general subject which have accumulated during the period, January, 1933–July, 1940, inclusive. The literature for this period may be grouped roughly into six divisions: (1) theoretical problems of attitudes; (2) physiology of the attitude; (3) construction of attitude scales; (4) measurement of attitudes; (5) studies of attitude changes; and (6) attitudes as revealed through case analysis.

I. THEORETICAL PROBLEMS OF ATTITUDES

Current definitions of "attitude" are not wholly in agreement. Theoretical considerations are concerned with attempts to obtain better definitions, to determine in what instances and under what conditions verbal response will be closely correlated with overt behavior, to speculate on those variables which condition and influence attitudes, and to develop an adequate scheme for classifying attitudes. Thus, Allport and Schanck (6)[3] claim that attitudes, although their roots are instinctive, may be influenced by the culture but that attitude motivation is always personal. Hiller (88) follows Thomas and Znaniecki's conception by correlating attitudes and values and emphasizes that they are determined by the group's heritage, its present status, and its future career. Anderson (8) views the behavior of the parent as the focal point in understanding the attitude

[1] This topical summary was made possible through the joint co-operation of the members of Professor Ellsworth Faris' final seminar in "Social Attitudes" held at the University of Chicago during the academic year of 1938–39. This seminar included: Hugh Bonner, A. Berne Briggs, Robert Dubin, Hugh Duncan, H. Warren Dunham, C. Ned Elliot, Oswald Hall, Lambert Malyneux, Felix Moore, and Samuel M. Strong. Additional assistance was rendered by Daniel Glaser, Donald Reuter, and Anselm Strauss.

[2] "Topical Summaries of Current Literature," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX (January, 1934), 513–24.

[3] Figures in parentheses, following names, refer to the bibliography at the end of the article.

and behavior of the child. Block (17) stresses the social basis of attitudes and emphasizes the necessity of studying the interrelationships among events if logically consistent attitude questionnaires are to be constructed. Bonaparte (22), with a Freudian orientation, attempts to show the interrelation and distinction between the attitudes of passivity, masochism, and femininity, through an analysis of (*a*) the pain inherent in the female reproductive functions, (*b*) erotic pleasure in women, and (*c*) the infantile sadistic conception of coitus, while Bornstein (23), in a similar fashion, elaborates the role of the parental unconscious mental life in the development of attitudes in the child. Blumer (18) suggests that the level of nonsymbolic interaction creates the setting which forms the feelings basic to social attitudes.

Carlson (31), by multiple-factor analysis, using Thurstone's scale, concludes that an intellectual, a liberal, and a religious factor operate to produce attitudes, while Whisler (253), by a similar method, attempts to find generalized attitudes. Remmers (182) proposes a program of research in reference to the use of his generalized attitude scales. Breslow (25) suggests that the home and a person's social life outrank the more intellectual aspects in the development of a political attitude.

In regard to the nature of attitudes Brown (27) contends that an "attitude is a tendency to act in a more or less specific way toward some object," and holds that attitudes are built up through action. Sutherland and Woodard (234) agree in definition with Brown (27) but emphasize the close relationship of attitudes to biological drives, asserting that the former have become attached to external values through the learning process. For Murray (159) an attitude is an obvious readiness to act in a fixed way and can be subsumed under the term "need," which is more intensive. Gurnee (75) broadens the concept as signifying only a readiness or tendency to react and claims that they are formed not only through direct personal experience but also through various secondary contacts, such as books, movies, etc. Allport (5) wants to distinguish between attitudes and other forms of readiness to response: attitudes have objects, either material or conceptual; are pointed in some direction with reference to this or that object; are always inferred rather than observed; and are real and substantial ingredients of human nature. Horne (91) examines the nature of the attitude with respect to its object, which he defines as "any effective stimulus to which an individual may react." Stagner (230) claims that an attitude is always characterized by (*a*) object, (*b*) direction, and (*c*) intensity. He feels that "opinionnaires" measure attitudes and so sees no basis for a sharp separation of verbal

response and overt behavior. La Piere and Farnsworth (125) regard an attitude as "a latent adjustment pattern to some specific situation" and classify attitudes as (*a*) person to person, (*b*) ethical, and (*c*) abstract. Success in measurement has been mainly with the latter because of their symbolic nature. Mead (146) regards attitudes as the "beginnings of acts." He states: "The organization of the social act has been imported into the organism and becomes then the mind of the individual. It still includes the attitudes of others, but now highly organized, so that they now become what we call social attitudes rather than the roles of separate individuals."

Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb (157) review the studies discussing the nature of attitudes, formation of attitudes, and changes of attitudes. They indicate that attitudes may be studied with respect to (*a*) the method of ascertaining an attitude or (*b*) according to the variables whose relation to the attitude is examined. Kulp (121, 122), in two articles, discusses the apparent confusion between attitude, opinion, fact, judgment, and belief and criticizes current attitude tests by showing that they contain a varied mixture of these elements. Noll (165) attempts to analyze the component parts of the scientific attitude. Rosca (201) indicates the possibility of three kinds of attitude as a result of three different kinds of life-adaptation—success, failure, or compromise. Ojemann (169) discusses the theory underlying learning studies and finds that knowledge and attitudes are interrelated. Fortanier and Hugenholtz (65), in discussing attitudes toward life, develop a dichotomy, namely, toward identification with the world, leading to a surrender of individualization, and animosity toward the world, leading to an intensification of individualization. Harms (78) suggests the thesis that many activities of city life are traceable to rural social attitudes. Forster (64) and Gatti (70) both consider the industrial worker's attitude with reference to accidents on the job and in relation to certain factors embodied in his working conditions, while Remmers (183), in measuring attitudes toward the job, claims that single-scale reliability is equal to standard intelligence and achievement tests. Groeneveld (74) shows the conflict in the child between fantasy life, which displays a primitive aggression, and the work attitude, which demands adaptation. Strong (233) points out the necessity of learning to measure such factors as "morale," "purpose," and "interest" in order to improve vocational guidance, while Kaufman and Bolyanski (102), in a manual containing directions for studying the social status of adolescent children of laborers, stress methods for developing an interest in the social structure of the country.

Roucek (205), in discussing attitudes of the soldier in war, reports that patriotic motives are not the original incentives for enlisting and that reckless curiosity is replaced by fear at the front. Simoneit (216) reinforces this view by pointing out that freedom and mobility of action for the solider can be secured only by educating the soldier to respect fate or a "higher force" in contrast to a blind belief in chance. Keilbacher (103) shows that individual attitudes toward war are influenced by profession, nationality, and individual differences. Carr (33) discusses two opposed attitudes toward experiments in psychology under the terms "constance" and "relativity." The former attitude assumes the presence of constants which are the true values even though hidden from view because of variable conditions which cannot be controlled, while the latter notes the variations and attempts to determine why and how an obtained value varies with the conditions of which it is a function. Corey (40, 41) considers the relative merits of signed-versus-unsigned attitude questionnaires and also criticizes the studies of attitudinal differences between college classes because they are made of different groups rather than following the same group for four years. Hancock (76) shows that the attitude scale is reliable statistically regardless of whether the short or long form is used. Kirkpatrick (108, 109) considers the significance of a number of assertions for the construction of attitude scales as well as the problem of inconsistency as shown between actual behavior and verbal response. Remmers (184) gives a summary of attitude studies dealing chiefly with the development of generalized attitude scales, while Vernon (247) considers the attitude of the subject toward personality-testing and the methods for securing his co-operation. Korngold and Levy (120) attempt to get at the factors behind errors and the failure to follow directions in mental tests, and Neumann (164) distinguishes between personal and objective constants of value with specific reference to Spranger's "political type."

In regard to the possibility of affecting attitude changes, Znaniecki (269) states that "the existence of potential tendencies as attitudes and the capacity of attitudes to be empirically modified by observable influences are all we need for a scientific study of those changes in human conduct which occur while no overt actions are being performed." Plant (179) regards attitudes as fixed stereotyped responses which are changed by subtly changing the environment and are never changed by the exclusive alterations of mental mechanisms within the person. Lichtenstein (128), in reviewing the thirty-one studies of effect of instruction on attitudes, finds that about the same number report change as report no

change. He suggests that "some means other than pencil-paper responses should be worked out to get at actual conduct in a given situation." Finally, Beck (13) discusses the inner dynamics of attitude changes which take places in areas where different ethnic groups come into contact.

II. PHYSIOLOGY OF THE ATTITUDE

Research which has attempted to get at the neurological basis of attitudes has generally ended with a completely different type of entity from that obtained by pencil-paper tests. Research on this level is tending more toward the study of children to determine the significance of the child's impulses in ordering his environment. For example, Kempf (105) offers a neurological definition of attitude as

> any postural organization of the simultaneous functionings of the many cellular units constituting the organism, repetitiously stimulated through viscero-, proprio-, and exteroceptors to maintain a counterbalancing conscious unity; experiencing sensation and affective tone, with feeling of adequacy and fitness or inadequacy and unfitness in reaction to the increases and decreases of supporting or destructive environmental forces.

He then reviews the accumulated physiological evidence and emphasizes particularly the significance of Cannon's thesis that all changes in feeling are accompanied by concomitant changes in the postural tensions of the autonomic and somatic muscles.

In relation to perception, Henneman (87) finds that a change in the attitude of the observer is more significant than a change in the stimulus. Wohlwill (260) attempts to isolate certain types—the "analytic," the "totalizational," and the "shifter"—by introducing certain interfering conditions into the act of perception; and Zangwill (265) concludes that recognition occurs only if a perceptual response to a given stimulus is co-determined on the original and subsequent occasions by the same schema.

Huth (96) reports that the attitudes of individuals and groups can be characterized by four different types of temperament, two of which are biologically detrimental and two of which are biologically advantageous. These conditions are typical of the four races of Germany, respectively, the Western, Eastern, Nordic, and Dinaric. Razran (181) concludes that human conditioning must be interpreted in terms of controlling attitudes, integrated with the subject's total experiential behavior. Taylor (238) finds that physiological fatigue is rarely encountered in the psychological laboratory, but that feelings of tiredness and boredness are largely determined by pre-experimental attitudes rather than by the nature of the work itself. Parrilla (171), on the basis of a series of thirty-six questions

answered by college women, reports that the development and elaboration of world-consciousness is related to temperamental oscillations and phases of the menstrual cycle, while Stone and Barker (232) find that post-menarcheal girls show greater interest in maturity, heterosexuality, self-adornment, and daydreaming than do premenarcheal girls.

III. CONSTRUCTION OF ATTITUDE SCALES

The construction of new attitude scales appears to be partly determined and influenced by present popular controversies about types of behavior or objects. Here research appears to be largely in the direction of further refinement of existing scales and of administering the scales to a wider variety of groups. Only slight interest in developing and validating a generalized attitude scale appears in the literature examined, although Bues (29), Grice (73), Hawkins (79), and Remmers and Silance (191) give some consideration to this problem. Miller (152) concludes that a generalized scale can be used in place of a specific scale. Ferguson (60) reports favorably on Thurstone's assumption that the values assigned to the test items are not affected by the attitude of the raters. Horst (93) discusses various methods in the construction of an attitude scale, using Thurstone's factorial method. Likert, Roslow, and Murphy (129) propose a new method for scoring the Thurstone schedule by assigning the responses along a five-point qualitative scale. Rosander (198, 199) examines the problem as to whether the Spearman-Brown formula predicts adequately the reliability coefficients of the sorters used in the construction of attitude scales and also presents a scale composed of short statements of behavior situations. Seashore and Hevner (211) show that having judges rate items along a point-scale is equivalent to the usual procedure and is also a time-saving device. Williamson and Darley (259) present the validation of two tests used to measure attitudes of college students.

Merton (150) critically examines the Thurstone attitude scales by challenging the assumption that items which compose the scale constitute a "linear continuum" and consequently can be summed and averaged. Lorge (135, 136) shows that a psychological-logical difference exists between acceptance and rejection of scale items, and hence items rejected should not be given the same weights as items accepted and also reports that older adults show greater consistency in their replies than do younger adults. Ferguson (61) outlines, with reference to the literature, seven criteria for an adequate attitude scale. Whisler (254) finds that, in scoring attitude scales, measures of central tendency are more reliable than meas-

ures based on the "most favorable" accepted items, while Hancock (77) shows that with an increase in items checked on a scale measuring attitude toward vocation the score is lowered in favorable attitudes and raised in unfavorable attitudes.

During this period numerous special scales have been constructed to measure attitudes toward candidates for elective office, nursery schools, dramatic productions, social distance, scientific curiosity, teachers, institutions, work relief, feminism, children's freedom, occupation, parents, social actions, and civic beliefs. Scales were prepared for measuring attitudes toward these various entities, respectively, by Beyle (15), Cunningham (42), Dimmitt (44), Dodd (46), Edwards and Robertson (53), Hoshaw (94), Kelley (104), Hinckley and Hinckley (89), Kirkpatrick (111), Koch *et al.* (114), Miller (153), Stagner and Drought (230), Thomas-Baines (240), and Wrightstone (264). Huffman (95), in constructing two scales to measure attitude toward any social situation, one specifically designed for stutterers, finds no differences between the scales. Pace (170), in a situation test to measure political and social attitudes, discovers a satisfactory difference between the responses of known conservatives and known radicals. Finally, Draser (47) constructs a scale to measure a general attitude of nationalism-internationalism.

IV. MEASUREMENT OF ATTITUDES

In the field of attitude measurement, studies following the original work of Thurstone keep piling up at an increasing rate. Here, research is tending gradually to cope with qualitative materials in order to reduce them to quantitative symbols. Then, too, there is the attempt to construct novel testing situations to find out, if possible, whether verbal response actually indicates potential behavior in a situation. Murphy *et al.* (157) have adequately summed up the arguments in favor of the verbal response. Research in measuring what Allport (5) calls "common attitudes," as distinguished from "individual attitudes," constitutes by far the major interest in this period. Thus, Beckham (14) attempts to measure the emotional effect of first contact with race prejudice among Negro delinquent and nondelinquent boys, while Davis (43) and Johnson (99) study the attitudes of Negro college and grade-school children concerning Negro-white relations. Bolton (20) shows that Seniors have a more liberal attitude toward the social rights of the Negro than do Freshmen. Sims and Patrick (218) find that the different college class levels in both northern and southern schools display the same attitude toward the Negro but that northerners in southern schools show an in-

creasing prejudice. MacCrone (138), after constructing a scale to measure the social attitudes toward the native of South Africa, finds that common-in-group and common-out-group factors are significant in determining social attitudes of members of one group toward members of another group. Horowitz (92) shows that among eighth-grade children of white, Negro, and communistic schools only the latter have no prejudice. McCammon (142) shows that children's unfavorable attitudes toward Mexicans are influenced by books read about them, and Zeligs (267) tabulates the racial choices of sixth-grade children from a superior residential section. Princeton students agree with other groups in terms of their preferences for certain ethnic groups, as reported by Katz and Braly (101).

Hayes (81, 82, 83, 84) has measured the political attitudes of voters in thirty-five states in relation to party regularity, occupation, and sex. Their attitudes toward campaign issues (1932) are uncertain because of the doubtful and inconsistent replies to the test items, although socialists are more consistent than members of the major parties. Eldridge (54) finds that, among Kansas voters, women show a slightly higher degree of political intelligence than do men. Stagner (226, 227) explores attitudes toward fascism among college students and finds this group not so conscious of middle-class interests as antagonistic to liberal or radical measures favoring the lower classes. Age, sex, and intelligence were not significant factors, but the economic factor was. Student self-government produces a better attitude toward law observance, report F. and M. R. Peters (174), while Whittaker (256) finds that factors of grade and economic status condition high-school pupils' attitudes toward political and economic problems. Wilke (258) maintains that radical attitudes of students show no relation to age, although women are slightly more radical than men, while Carlson (30) examines the relative importance of intellect, religiosity, and a radical-conservative tendency in the formation of social attitudes of undergraduates. Eckert and Mills (52), considering various ways of acquiring an international viewpoint, find that formal teaching is less effective than religious affiliation or having an older brother or sister who went to college. Koeninger (115) fails to find attitude consistency among high-school Seniors on certain political issues. The students were more liberal on issues about which they had had some personal experience. Fay and Middleton (57, 58, 59) study the relationship between liberal-conservative attitude of college students and such factors as father's vocation, size of town, father's political preference, sex, college class, fraternity membership, and major subject. Students who

come from the country and cities over 500,000 and whose fathers were socialists are the most liberal in political outlook. Seniors, male students, and nonfraternity students are the most liberal. Lentz (126), in studying similar attitudes, argues for the validity of the concept of general conservatism, while Nelson (160, 161), in administering the Lentz conservative-radical opinionnaire to college students of four state universities, finds a slight tendency toward conservatism, although Seniors are less conservative than Freshmen. In addition, he reports that the more liberal students came from homes of teachers and social workers and that father's vocation was more significant as an influence upon student attitudes than was class in college. Chircev (36) discovers that in comparison with other ethnic groups Rumanians are at a mid-point on a rating scale measuring the general factor of conservatism-radicalism.

Ackerley (2) finds that the knowledge and attitudes of parents on child development are unintelligent in comparison with the child guidance opinions of experts. Meltzer (147) measures the attitudes of children toward their parents by the character of their responses to the words "father" and "mother." Peterson (176) reports a fairly high correlation between attitudes of parents and children on social issues, although Remmers and Whisler (195) find the greatest similarity in attitude between father and mother and least between father and children. Psychologists and parents disagree markedly in their attitudes toward the control of children and the preferred type of social behavior, report Stogdill (231) and Gabriel (68): psychologists approve of freedom for children and the development of extravert social behavior, while parents take the reverse position. Corbin (38) reports that student attitude is much more liberal toward certain offenses than teacher attitude. Stagner (229), in considering each item on the attitude scale separately, finds no marked agreement between husband and wife in their responses to statements involving various socio-economic viewpoints.

On the Thurstone-Peterson war-attitude scale, Koga (116) finds a close correspondence between American and Japanese college and secondary-school students in their attitudes toward war. On the same scale Pihlbach (177) reports inconclusive results among college students, as there was surprising unanimity at a point on the scale "mildly opposed to war," no matter whether the students were grouped by geographical location, age, income, occupation of parent, organization, political preference, social science, or military science. Traxler (243) questions the reliability of the Droba-Thurstone war-attitude scale, as the reliability coefficients show a wide range with no consistent trend as a function of edu-

cational level. Rogers (197) finds that the R.O.T.C. leads to a type of indoctrination which favors the military attitude. Stump and Lewis (235), using Droba's scale, report that 95 per cent of ministers have a pacifistic attitude and find a negative relation between age and attitude of pacifism. Chant and Salter (35) question the general belief that attitudes are highly emotional on the basis of the absence of any correlation between responses to individual items on the Droba scale and measured indices of the galvanic skin reflex. Droba (49) reports that attitudes toward war vary with political party affiliation. Smith (224) finds a low correlation between students' attitude toward war and punishment.

While the attempt to measure racial, parental, political, and warlike attitudes constitute the major interests in this field, there are numerous other single studies purporting to measure attitudes toward a great variety of different objects and situations. Gerberich (72) reports that men, more than women, favor giving examinations more weight than recitations and term papers in determining course grades, while Vander Beke (246) gives some empirically derived suggestions for the handling of classroom examinations according to certain principles of mental hygiene. Koga (117) correlates age of the subject with attitude toward sport. Nelson (162) finds that conservative and religious attitudes of students are related to certain extra-curricular activities. Likert (130) reports that, among New York citizens, high-income groups oppose and low-income groups favor the payment of the bonus. Middleton (151) finds that, while the majority of college students think of death very rarely, a large percentage (80 per cent) expressed a wish to live after death. Nystrom (166) reports that prejudice toward Americans among resident Filipinos varies with length of residence and geographical distribution. McGregor (144) shows that workers have no consistent attitude toward layoff policy, while Kolstad (118) finds that morale scores for nonselling employees are significantly lower than for selling employees in a department store.

Ojemann (168) finds that untrained parents differ from trained parents in their attitudes toward self-reliance. Peck and Beckham (173) claim that children from both relief and nonrelief groups are unwilling to receive government aid. Remmers *et al.* (190) find, in general, a neutral attitude among adults toward recent government policies. Uhrbrock (245) shows that attitudes of employees toward the employing firm vary with position held in the firm, while Woolston (263) compares businessmen, union secretaries, politicians, and intellectuals as to their attitude toward participation in social reform. Remmers *et al.* (188) devise a scale

for measuring the student's attitude toward high school, while Taylor (237) finds a low correlation between attitude toward high school and achievement test scores among Negro junior high school students. Bateman (12) brings out certain relationships between attitude toward school subjects and such variables as sex, age, and grade, while Remmers, Taylor, and Kintner (192) study the same problem and show a positive correlation between attitude toward a subject and achievement in that subject. Carson (32) shows that a marked change in the direction of a healthier classroom morale is positively correlated with a decrease in cheating, and that less cheating occurred under teachers who did not blame or shame their students. Eckert (51) concludes that the superior college student spent less time in high school, took more mathematics and Latin, and was less able to meet people than the poor college student. Devising six tests based on Spranger's types of motives in personality, Rothney (204), using the Allport-Vermon value scale, reports no significant correlations between personality quotients and achievement in school subjects. Skaggs (220) finds no difference between the sexes in rating the seriousness of certain acts except extra-marital sex relations. Ellis and Miller (55) revised the Wickman scale for teacher's attitudes so that emphasis is placed on future seriousness of the problem behavior rather than on seriousness from the standpoint of classroom management. They were thus able to raise Wickman's negative correlation between teachers' and psychiatrists' ratings to a positive .49. Peck (172) criticizes Wickman's study by showing that over 50 per cent of behavior problems indicated by teachers could be classified as undesirable personality traits. Kulp and Davidson (124) indicate that the home is more potent than the school in influencing social attitudes. Simpson (217) reports a correlation of .95 between teachers' and criminals' ratings of the seriousness of criminal acts. Tolman (242) shows that repeating criminals make significantly higher attitude scores in relation to political insurgency, antagonism to authority, antagonism to father, and lack of integration with ideal than do first offenders. Kirk (106) correlates ratings of teachers toward types of behavior with attitudes of institutionalized mentally deficient children with reference to these problems.

Remmers and Whisler (194) show that a vocational-guidance program provided more realistic attitudes toward farming and homemaking but did not affect the overvaluation of aviation and secretarial work. Sigerfoos (215) attempts a validation of the Miller scale of attitude toward vocations, while Remmers (185), using a generalized scale for attitude toward occupations, shows variations by school, sex, and subjects taken,

Obrdlik (167) finds that Czechoslovakian peasants regard their own occupations as more important than others, while Wojciechowski (261) reports on the ways which Polish railway employees are influenced by certain items in the psychotechnical tests. Anderson (7) shows that students reveal definite attitudes when asked to rank certain occupations on the basis of (*a*) social contribution, (*b*) prestige, and (*c*) economic return. Lorge (134) arrives at three different hypothetical interpretations in studying the extent of agreement of ninety-five unemployed adults with the political opinions of recognized authorities. Lorge and Curtiss (137) repeat the study with another group of people. Lorge (133) finds, in retesting, that older adults show a greater attitude fixity over short periods of time than younger adults. Schneckenburger (210) reports, inconclusively, on the degree of social consciousness of young children of working parents.

Dresdner (48) finds very few cases of warped development in studying the attitude of cripples toward their handicaps. Israeli (97, 98) compares Scottish unemployed with mental patients in reference to attitude toward the future and also attempts to measure the influence of a psychosis on one's view of the future. Shuttleworth and May (213), after comparing the attitudes of movie-goers with non–movie-goers among grade-school children, conclude that (*a*) movie influence is specific for a given child and a given movie and (*b*) movies tend to fix the behavior patterns and types of attitudes already existing among movie-goers. Sisson and Sisson (219) find little difference between extraverts and introverts on scales measuring attitudes toward music and poetry, but a marked difference on the Allport-Vernon scale of values.

Kirkpatrick (107, 110) constructs a scale for measuring one's attitude toward the feministic culture pattern and then compares the responses of parents and their children on this scale. Kirkpatrick and Stone (112), in a similar study, compare the generations on religious attitudes and find marked differences in scores between those who attend and those who do not attend church. Marqineanu (140), in studying attitudes toward the church, reports that Rumanians are significantly more religious than Americans. Mudrow (156) concluded that the majority of college women do not marry not because of an unfavorable attitude but simply because of a lack of opportunity. Moore (155) reveals that high-school students had, at one time, impulses to fight poverty and injustice but later abandoned them.

Horne (90) shows the operation of geographical and cultural factors in the relative ranking of object categories by different population groups.

Factors of sex, age, and intelligence show positive relationships to constancy of vocational attitudes of students as determined by repeated tests, claims Rock (196). Neprash (163), however, maintains that approximately 20 per cent of responses to social-attitude scales are unreliable. Pintner and Forlano (178) show that the attitude of the judge does not influence his assignment of a value on the scale. Watson and Hartman (248), investigating the effect of pertinent arguments on strong atheistic and theistic attitudinal frames, report that material judged to be effective was recalled to a greater extent than material of less effectiveness, and material which supported the subject's attitudinal frame was retained better than material which opposed it. Ferguson (62), by giving a series of attitude tests toward a variety of objects, finds two significant factors. Factor I was described by tests measuring attitudes toward God, evolution, and birth control; and Factor II, by tests for attitudes toward treatment of criminals, capital punishment, and war.

Wells (251) is unable to support Dunlap's finding that most persons prefer the first alternative when faced with the Dunlap dilemma. Alier i Gomez (4), in using Mira's questionnaire concerning the quality and intensity of external impressions, reports that responses vary by sex and intelligence. Kulp and Davidson (123), applying Spearman's two-factor theory to attitude tests, are able to factor out a central tendency in using five different tests. Longstreet (132) finds that, even if facts are forgotten, attitudes remain to justify social-science courses. Finally, Corey (39) and Whitlow (255) find a marked difference between expressed attitudes and overt behavior, although the latter reports a greater attitude-behavior consistency among girls than among boys.

V. STUDIES OF ATTITUDE CHANGES

Studies of attitude changes attempt to duplicate the controlled experiments of natural science. The experimental procedure is complicated by the gaps in our knowledge concerning all the factors which play a part in the formation and changes of attitudes; and consequently research, which has been confined mainly to student groups, is directed toward the isolation of these factors. Thus Tuttle (244) shows that certain attitudes among college Freshmen are changed by reading magazines, by financial security, and by co-operative service projects. Bain (10) shows certain differences by sex in the discarded beliefs of college students. Boldt and Stroud (19), Bain (11), Gerberich and Jamison (71), Hedrick (85), Manske (139), McConnell (143), Menefee (149), and Telford (239) all report attitude changes among students or teachers in the direction of

greater liberality as a result of specific course instruction in the social and psychological sciences. Wegrocki (250) reports that, on retesting, girls were influenced more strongly and more sympathetically than boys to the stimulus of propaganda. Attitude changes on political issues have been produced by the introduction of a new stimulus, such as an election, a motion picture, a documentary film dealing with soil erosion, a presidential speech, and a League of Nations speech, according to Whisler and Remmers (252), Rosenthal (203), Ramseyer (180), Remmers and Whisler (193), and Remmers (186), respectively.

Farnsworth (56), after retesting his 1932 male college students in 1933, 1934, and 1936, finds little change in attitude toward war among them, although Jones (100) records during the four college years definite changes in attitude toward war, race, and religion, which are influenced largely by the students' major subjects. Smith (221, 222, 223), on the other hand, feels that a slight shift toward pacifism among sociology students was a spontaneous one and was not due to the influence of the course, and also finds little change in attitude due to a course in criminology. On the other hand, after a course in immigration he finds a change in attitude toward fifty national groups equivalent to 2.2 scale points regardless of type of scale used. Sowards (225) reports no statistically significant results in changes in war attitudes due to education, but Remmers (187) claims that attitude changes affected by instructional materials tended to survive after a year's time. Gardner (69) claims that the cumulative effect of three social stimuli—lecture, story, and chalk talk—brought about a change in the intended direction of student attitudes toward war and prohibition. Murphy and Likert (158), retesting for changes of attitudes relative to internationalism, imperialism, the Negro, and the economic order, find that (*a*) a change of attitude is not in the nature of an individual protest but an attempt to see the social situation in broad outline, (*b*) personalities of parents and reading habits determine attitudes, and (*c*) future formation of the problem should allow for the integration of qualitative and quantitative techniques. Knower (113) claims definite attitude changes in reference to prohibition as a result of printed arguments, persuasive oral arguments, and logical oral arguments. Rosander (200), after studying 1,600 youths in nine age groups, concludes that certain attitudes change between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five but others do not. Bolton (21) finds no change in attitude of the southern student toward the Negro as a result of a knowledge of Negro education. Remmers and Morgan (189) think that confusion over the story-stimulus explains the lack of change in attitudes

toward Nazis and Jews. Hay (80) and Millson (154), attempting to measure attitude changes of an audience to a debate, find hardly any modification in attitude. Acheson (1) finds certain changes in beliefs among graduate women, and Buck (28) also finds slight changes in the direction of increasing liberalization among university students over a ten-year period. Adams (3) shows that attitude toward birth control among bishops of the Episcopal church is influenced by schooling and geographical mobility. Institutional attitudes and personal attitudes show the same asymmetrical distribution, according to Schanck (206). Korczak and Paznanska (119) find that, among young children, good will predominates over aversion toward their companions, although this changes with increasing age. Peterson and Thurstone (175), in studying the influence of certain movies in relation to attitude changes of grade-school children, report the most striking change in attitude toward the Negro but indicate, in general, that movies have lasting effects on social attitudes and that a number of movies pertaining to the same issue may have a cumulative effect. Thorndike (241) uses want, interest, and attitude interchangeably and shows that they not only modify the behavior of the organism but are changed themselves. He shows how changes may be produced by (*a*) imitation, (*b*) association, (*c*) conditioned reflex, and (*d*) negative adaptation. McNamara and Darley (145), on testing and retesting one hundred men and one hundred women over a period of nine months, find that the behavior tendencies of women are less stable than those for men. Factor analysis revealed that adjustment to authority, socialized interests, and economic conservatism were psychologically significant for men. Meltzer (148), comparing two different groups of children (one tested in 1934, and the other in 1938), discovers a marked increase in children's awareness of both pacifistic and warlike attitudes. August (9) and Wile (257), respectively, discuss attitude changes among the general public toward mental abnormality and the intact hymen. Finally, Levy (127) shows that attitude therapy is nothing more than a convenient name for a special technique used to modify parental attitudes, and Marshall (141) offers sixteen suggestions on how to influence pupils' attitudes toward enabling them to make more of a success of their classroom work.

VI. ATTITUDES AS REVEALED THROUGH CASE ANALYSIS

The attempt to isolate attitudes through a clinical or life-history approach is the oldest technique in this general field. Psychiatrists, who are primarily concerned with therapy, seem interested in getting at unconscious mental mechanisms in the formation of attitudes, while the sociolo-

gist, with chiefly a research interest, are concerned with refining the life-history instrument in order to adapt it to special phases of the person's experience. Several studies during this period have relied primarily upon this technique. Schilder (207), Schilder and Wechsler (208), and Bromberg and Schilder (26) through their clinical studies report on the death-attitude of murderers, children, and neurotics, respectively. Sicher (214) essays to show how the life-style of a murdered person caused his various misfortunes as well as his murder. Schliebe (209) shows the physiological and psychological changes experienced by a boy of eighteen years by analyzing the letters which the boy wrote to a girl. Shaffer (212), with several illustrative cases, shows how persecution in childhood and a sense of guilt arising through sexual fantasies and conduct in adolescence will cause an attitude of inferiority. Conrad (37) shows that refusal of food is due to certain symbolic meanings of the food. Does the subjective life of twins vary as greatly as nontwins? Bracken (24) admits that his own case material cannot answer this problem. Fitz-Simons (67) describes a scheme of problem classification based upon the parental attitude to the child. Freud (66) shows that students' attitudes toward teachers are transferred from the fathers. Rosenheim (202), by five cases, shows how parental attitudes of overprotection and rejection play an important role in the problems observed in the clinic. Ferguson (63) on the basis of Spranger's theory that men can be understood by their evaluative attitudes, finds that Swift, in his writings, was governed by religious, political-social, aesthetic, and theoretic motives.

Cavan and Ranck (34) report on the attitudes of eighty-three families toward the depression, accepting relief, the relief agency, and reform. In general, the attitude toward the depression was one of docile acceptance; toward relief, one of resistance; toward the agency, one of resentment; and toward reform, one of apathy to any possible remedies. Sutherland and Locke (236), through interviews with unemployed, homeless men, show that in the process of adjusting to shelter-house life marked changes occur in attitudes toward work and in the emotional attitudes of the men. Du Vinage (50), on studying fifty-three Negro families, finds that, in one-third of the cases, accommodative attitudes of Negroes were obstacles to case-work treatment. Wood (262) claims that attitudes have an emotional quality and can be identified with sentiments. Locke (131), through an examination of newspaper and magazine materials, reports a marked change in attitudes toward venereal disease in the last three decades. Among primitives, attitudes toward the stranger vary from cordial acceptance, if the stranger is properly introduced, to extreme

hostility. Bill (16) claims that students have specific feelings toward their speech, and, while they feel superior to those who speak poorly, they are usually well satisfied with their own speech. Zeisl (266), through interviews with shoe-buyers, shows the relation between personal income and the observation of the different qualities such as display, style, variety, and price in shoes. Doob (45) reports that "poor whites" in the South have a neutral attitude toward the Negro, partly due to the fact that their natural stereotyped aggression toward the Negro is displaced by a real hostility toward the planter class. In contrast, Weatherford and Johnson (249) find that, whereas the majority of whites still hold attitudes toward the Negro similar to those of slavery days, the leaders of the whites have individually adopted more liberal attitudes, while the Negro through the years has shown an increased capacity to objectify racial contacts. In conclusion, Hendrickson and Zeligs (86, 268) show that (*a*) the racial attitudes of children obtained through personal interviews check closely with the attitude-scale results and (*b*) that personal experience with a member of a certain race is more influential than any racial ideals in accounting for the attitude which the child assumes toward that race.

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WAYNE UNIVERSITY

EDITORIAL NOTE

The resignation of Dr. E. W. Burgess as editor of the *American Journal of Sociology* was announced in the September issue. As his successor, it is my privilege to voice grateful acknowledgment of the valuable service which he rendered to the *Journal*. During four years of editorship he has striven constantly to raise the *Journal* to the highest order of service in the field of sociology. The steady growth in circulation and improvement in quality of the *Journal* under his direction affirm the success of his efforts. Fortunately, the *Journal* is assured of his continued contribution since he has kindly consented to remain on the editorial board as associate editor.

No change in policy is implied in the transfer in editorship. Since its inauguration some forty-five years ago the *Journal* has endeavored to serve the best interests of sociology in the most effective manner possible. Like his eminent predecessors—Albion Small, Ellsworth Faris, and E. W. Burgess—the present editor will be guided by this abiding aim. As in the past, a consistent effort will be made to publish reports of the most significant research, articles presenting the soundest sociological knowledge, thoughtful discussions of crucial problems, and adequate reviews of important books appearing in the central and peripheral fields. It is the intention to continue the valuable services introduced during the past few years, such as the preparation of special issues, the Sociology Book-Club Plan, and the presentation of abstracts of outstanding foreign periodical literature.

Since the *Journal* is committed to the service of the common interests of sociologists, the editors seek the sincere and active co-operation of its readers. This assistance has been generous in the past. The present editor hopes that it will be even greater in the future. Readers are warmly encouraged to submit suggestions for improvement of the *Journal* and frank criticisms of its shortcomings. Such suggestions will assist the editors in their effort to render the highest order of usefulness in a common endeavor to improve the scientific character of sociology.

HERBERT BLUMER

NEWS AND NOTES

RESEARCH NEWS

Social Science Research Council.—The Council held the annual meeting of its board of directors September 10–12 at Skytop, Pennsylvania. An outstanding feature was a joint session with the National Resources Planning Board, with the chairman of the Board, Frederic A. Delano, presiding. Reports upon the work of the Planning Board and of its Science Committee, the latter made up of representatives from the American Academy of Sciences, the National Research Council, the American Council on Education, and the Social Science Research Council, were made by Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago, and E. B. Wilson, Harvard University. E. G. Nourse, Brookings Institution, outlined the progress of work on the survey of research by business under the joint auspices of the National Resources Planning Board and the Social Science Research Council. President Leonard T. Carmichael, Tufts College, described the planning of the comprehensive register of scientists, including social scientists, through the joint agency of the Planning Board and the Civil Service Commission under the title of "National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel." The information obtained on the background, training, and experience of each person will be put on punched cards. Carl C. Brigham, Princeton University, has been named by the Social Science Research Council as a member of the advisory group and is engaged in preparing the code of the data desired for the different social science fields.

At a second session reports were made on the study analyzing important factors affecting employment within the operation of the entire economic system, by Sumner Slichter, Harvard University; on the program of future work by the committee on appraisals, by Robert Redfield, University of Chicago; and on the analysis of the study on conference procedure made over a period of years by the Council, by E. G. Nourse. A third special session was devoted to a round-table discussion, led by President James B. Conant, Harvard University, on problems of social science research and teaching in universities.

At its regular sessions certain projects were given special consideration. Dr. Brigham, chairman of the committee on research training, made a

preliminary report upon a study investigating the causes why promising students fail to become productive scholars after receiving the doctorate. Reports of work under way or in prospect in the field of social adjustment were made by Robert S. Woodworth, Columbia University, by Frederick Osborn, Eugenics Society of America, and by E. W. Burgess, University of Chicago. Special consideration was given to a program of studies relating to international affairs by the committee headed by President Isaiah Bowman, Johns Hopkins University. It was voted to bring the work of the Council in this field into closer organic relationship with the American Committee for International Studies. Proposed projects given consideration by the committee included land tenure in South America, relations of United States with the Far East, analysis of the rise and organization of National Socialism in Germany, and social and economic effects of mobilization in the United States.

The Council has issued an announcement of available fellowships of the academic year 1941–42. The closing date for applications for grants-in-aid is January 15, and for predoctoral and postdoctoral fellowships, February 1. Communications may be addressed to the Council at 230 Park Avenue, New York City.

Julius Rosenwald Fund.—Among the fellowships granted by the Fund in the social sciences for the current academic year are:

William Allison Davis, anthropology, Dillard University; for continuation of studies in anthropology at the University of Chicago. Reappointment.

James Christian Hill; Richmond, Virginia; for study of agricultural laborers versus low-level tenants in the farm economy of the South, at Columbia University.

Vera Chandler, Ettrick; Virginia; for studies in sociology and child welfare, at the University of Minnesota.

Lyonel Charles Florant; New York City; for a study of the recent population movements among Negroes, at the University of Chicago.

Hylan Garnet Lewis, sociology, Howard University; for continuation of a study of the social differentiation in the Negro community, with special reference to an analysis of the Negro middle class. Reappointment.

Estelle H. Scott; Fisk University; for studies in sociology and social work at the University of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania School of Social Work.

The Fund's fellowships are offered under two categories: (1) to Negroes; (2) to white southerners who wish to work on some problem dis-

tinctive to the South and who expect to make their careers in the South. Applications for fellowships for the academic year 1941–42 must be submitted by January 5, 1941, in the prescribed form and with all required materials, to the Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago.

Rockefeller Foundation.—During 1939 the Rockefeller Foundation appropriated $2,027,700 for the support of its program in the social sciences, the greater part of this sum having been designated for use in economic research. The Social Science Research Council received a grant of $270,000 for general support and for specific purposes. During 1939 the Foundation appropriated $50,000 for the support of fellowships in the social sciences during the year 1940. It also administered fifty-eight fellowships in this field from funds previously allocated. Nine hundred sixteen persons have received fellowships in the social sciences from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Social Science Research Council since 1924.

Illinois State Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population.—Elmer W. Henderson has been appointed director of research for the Commission, which will inquire into the economic, cultural, health, and living conditions of the colored population in the urban centers of Illinois and will make recommendations to the general assembly to improve conditions. The Commission is operating on a $10,000 appropriation and will make its report by March 1, 1941. Offices of the Commission will be located at 3456 South State Street, Chicago.

National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.—Under the direction of Mary R. Beard and Ruth Shallcross, the Federation has recently completed a survey on the "Position of Married Women in the Economic World," which gives special attention to the relation between the employment of married women and fertility rates. Results of the survey will be published in pamphlet form through the office of the Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City.

The Twentieth Century Fund.—The first section of the report of the Fund's Housing Committee, which has been made public, offers recommendations to the federal government and to industry to avoid industrial expansion in locations where there are actual or potential housing shortages or where extensive migrations or congestions of population might result.

Welfare Council of New York City.—Under the direction of Neva R. Deardorff and Helen R. Jeter, the Research Bureau of the Council has

published *The Youth of New York City* by Nettie Pauline McGill and Ellen Nathalie Matthews. This is a study of the youth employment problem based upon interviews with approximately ten thousand men and women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five.

NOTES

Social Science Meetings.—During the Christmas holidays the following social science associations will meet in Chicago: at the Congress Hotel, American Sociological Society and the Rural Sociological Society; at the Stevens Hotel, American Statistical Association, American Marketing Association, American Association of University Teachers of Insurance, Econometric Society, Institute of Mathematical Statistics, and American Business Law Association; at the Palmer House, the American Political Science Association and the American Society for Public Administration. A smoker is being arranged for the American Sociological Society on the campus of the University of Chicago on the occasion of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the University.

Sociological Research Association.—The Association held its fifth annual meeting in Chicago, September 4 and 5. The entire session was devoted to round-table discussions of papers upon the trends of research. Papers and prepared discussions were as follows: "Recent Trends in Research on the Family," by Ernest R. Mowrer, Northwestern University, discussed by George B. Vold, University of Minnesota, and George A. Lundberg, Bennington College; "Recent Trends in Research in Rural Sociology," by Carl C. Taylor, Department of Agriculture, discussed by John H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin, and Herbert Blumer, University of Chicago; "Recent Trends in Research on Race Relations," by Edward B. Reuter, State University of Iowa, discussed by Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, and Donald R. Young, University of Pennsylvania; "Recent Trends in Research in Social Psychology," by Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Cornell University, discussed by Richard T. LaPiere, Stanford University, and Talcott Parsons, Harvard University.

Officers elected for 1941 were: president, Edwin H. Sutherland, Indiana University, and secretary, George A. Lundberg.

Association for Family Living.—Howard Yale McClusky, American Youth Commission, addressed a luncheon meeting of the Association in Chicago, September 30, on "Youth and the National Emergency."

Boston Psychoanalytic Institute.—The Institute announces three Sigmund Freud Memorial Fellowships for psychoanalytic training to begin September, 1941. These fellowships are open to graduates of a recognized medical school who have had at least one year of general hospital training and two years' work in psychiatry, and covers tuition fees only. One additional fellowship for training in applied nontherapeutic psychoanalysis will be open to a person having a Ph.D. or equivalent degree in the field of anthropology, sociology, pedagogy, etc. For further information write Dr. M. Ralph Kaufman, chairman of the Educational Committee, Boston Psychoanalytic Institute, 82 Marlborough Street, Boston, Massachusetts. Applications close on February 1, 1941.

Department of Justice.—Calvert L. Dedrick, chief statistician, Division of Statistical Research in the Bureau of the Census, has been loaned by that agency to serve temporarily as a technical consultant to the solicitor-general of the Department of Justice, to advise on the solution of technical problems involved in the registration of aliens. Charles S. Newcomb has been appointed chief of the Statistical Section of the new Division of Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice. The act providing for the alien registration specified not only that all aliens must register but that registration be kept currently up to date, taking account of the movements of aliens within the United States as well as movements to the United States.

Milbank Memorial Fund.—The proceedings of the eighteenth annual conference held April 2–3, 1940, have been published under the title *The Changing Front of Health* and are now available at a price of $3.00 per copy.

National Rural Forum.—The Forum is being held under the auspices of the American Country Life Association at Purdue University, November 6–9. Among those participating are Henry C. Taylor, the Farm Foundation; Carl C. Taylor, Department of Agriculture; Chris L. Christensen, University of Wisconsin; and H. Y. McClusky, American Youth Commission.

Studies in Philosophy and Social Science.—This is the new title of the former *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, which has been altered in its form to adapt it to American academic life. Its publisher is the Institute of Social Research, 429 West 117th Street, New York City. The new journal will be published thrice yearly, and the annual subscription costs $3.00.

War Department.—Richard L. Lang resigned from the Division of Population, Bureau of the Census, on October 1, 1940, to accept an appointment as chief statistician in the Statistics Branch, Office of the Assistant Secretary of War. The Statistics Branch, established on August 29, 1939, has as its major activities: (1) the statistical control of procurement through analysis and correlation of planning, requirement, production schedules, procurement, and stock; (2) the statistical control of raw materials through analysis of the economic aspect and availability of raw materials; (3) research studies and functional analysis of army organization for the purpose of systematizing and standardizing record-keeping procedure; and (4) analysis of the financial aspects of the various army programs.

Bowdoin College.—Burton W. Taylor, Syracuse University, has heen appointed lecturer in sociology.

Brown University.—Clarence Glick has been promoted to assistant professor and is offering courses in the field of personalty and culture. He has recently been appointed research director of Governor Vanderbilt's Commission for the Study of Unemployment Problems of Negroes in Rhode Island and has also been made chairman of the research committee of the Providence Urban League.

University of Chicago.—Robert Redfield, who is on leave of absence during the autumn and winter quarters, is continuing his research among the native tribes of Guatamala.

Louis Wirth has been appointed associate dean of the Division of Social Sciences.

Colby College.—The name of Albion Woodbury Small will be perpetuated by a memorial book fund of $5,000 given by his daughter, Mrs. Lena Small Harris, Lessburg, Virginia. The income is to be used for acquisition of books in sociology and economics.

Colgate University.—Fenton Keyes, Yale University, has been appointed instructor in sociology.

University of Connecticut.—N. L. Whetten, professor of rural sociology, was recently made dean of the graduate school. He will continue his teaching and research work in rural sociology.

University of Illinois.—Robert W. Janes, who has been engaged in graduate study at the University of Chicago and the University of Illinois, has been appointed assistant in sociology.

University of Michigan.—Robert C. Angell has been named chairman of the department of sociology, to succeed the late Roderick D. McKenzie. Arthur E. Wood has returned to his work in the department following a semester's leave of absence and a summer of teaching in the University of Washington. Carlos Delgado de Carvalho, professor of sociology in the Colegio Pedro II of Rio de Janeiro and professor of geography of Brazil in the University of Brazil, spent a portion of last semester as visiting Carnegie professor in the University of Michigan. Dr. Delgado lectured on conditions in Brazil. Lester E. Hewitt, Werner S. Landecker, and Gilbert A. Sanford have been appointed teaching fellows in sociology and are in charge of discussion sections of the introductory course. L. L. Bernard, Washington University, will be teaching during the spring semester.

Middlebury College.—Theodore C. Weiler, Union College, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology during the absence of Russell G. Sholes.

University of Minnesota.—Raymond F. Sletto has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of sociology.

University of Mississippi.—For the spring semester Paul Foreman has been granted a leave to attend the General Education Board symposium on population research at Louisiana State University. During his absence William A. Fuson will be with the department as acting assistant professor. Mr. Fuson has done graduate work at the University of Wisconsin.

North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering.—New opportunities for research and graduate training in rural sociology and related social sciences have been made possible by a grant of funds from the General Education Board. A new department of rural sociology has been created, consisting of C. Horace Hamilton, head, formerly senior social scientist in the United States Department of Agriculture, and Selz Mayo, assistant professor. The new department has functions corresponding to the three major divisions of the college—namely, teaching, research, and extension. Dr. Hamilton was professor of rural sociology in North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering from 1931 to 1936 and

economist in rural life in the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station from 1936 to 1939. Until September, 1940, he was senior social scientist in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the United States Department of Agriculture.

The work in rural sociology has been strengthened by the establishment of a statistical laboratory under the direction of Gertrude M. Cox, who until recently was research assistant professor, Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station. Another development is the plan for co-ordinating the graduate work in rural sociology and agricultural economics in the Greater University of North Carolina, thus making it possible for graduate students to take a wide range of courses and to use the research facilities of all units of the Greater University.

Ohio Wesleyan University.—Antonin Obrdlik has been appointed instructor in the department of sociology. Dr. Obrdlik is a graduate of Masaryk University, Czechoslovakia, and has held positions at the State College of Brno, the University of Bratislava, and Masaryk University in Czechoslovakia and at Hiram College in this country.

University of Pennsylvania.—At the celebration of its two-hundredth anniversary the University of Pennsylvania conferred honorary degrees upon Wesley C. Mitchell, economist, Columbia University; Reinhold Niebuhr, Union Theological Seminary; and Lawrence J. Henderson, biologist and commentator on Pareto's works, Harvard University.

J. P. Lichtenberger has retired and received the title of professor emeritus.

Queens College.—Paul W. Tappan, Miami University, has been appointed instructor in sociology, and John P. Dean has been appointed tutor in sociology.

F. S. Crofts and Company has published *Personality and Problems of Adjustment* by Kimball Young.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College.—Maurice G. Levy-Hawes, Bard College, Columbia University, is instructor in economics and sociology during the absence of Alton R. Hodgkins on sabbatic leave.

Russell Sage College (Troy, New York).—Margaret Mary Wood has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

Temple University.—J. Stewart Burgess is on leave during the current year to take charge of instruction in the social sciences at Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota. During his absence Herbert A. Miller, Bryn Mawr College, will teach courses in race problems and political sociology. James W. Woodard is acting chairman of the department. Henry Stetler has been appointed assistant in the department, filling the vacancy created by the resignation of George Weltner.

Tulane University.—Robert K. Merton has been promoted from associate professor to professor and head of the department of sociology. Harlan W. Gilmore has been promoted from assistant professor to associate professor in sociology. The University of North Carolina Press has announced the publication of Professor Gilmore's monograph, *The Beggar*. Nicholas J. Demerath has been appointed instructor in sociology in Newcomb College. Bernard Barber, who held a Sheldon Travelling Fellowship at Harvard University during the past year, has been appointed assistant in sociology.

Vanderbilt University.—Robert C. Schmid, who has been engaged in graduate study at the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed instructor in sociology.

Western Reserve University.—J. E. Cutler is on leave of absence for the year 1940–41.

University of Wisconsin.—George W. Hill has been promoted from assistant professor of rural sociology to associate professor. Lancelot Hogben, University of Aberdeen, Scotland, will offer a course in social biology the second semester. H. Scudder Mekeel, recently director of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Inc., Santa Fe, has been appointed acting associate professor of anthropology.

Yale University.—The Yale University Press has recently published *Sumner Today*, a collection of selected essays by the late Professor Sumner, edited by Maurice R. Davis and with introductory articles by John Chamberlain and Albert G. Keller.

A centennial edition of Sumner's *Folkways* has been published by Ginn and Company with an introduction by William Lyon Phelps.

PERSONAL

Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., has announced a prize of $2,500 for the best nonfiction book-length manuscript to be submitted in complete form before September 1, 1941, by a member of an American college or university staff. The book may be either a survey of the existing knowledge in a given field or an exposition of an original thesis of the author in some chosen part of that field. It must have genuine significance and be sufficiently wide in its range to touch the interests of nonprofessionals. Further information may be obtained from Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., 386 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Lillian D. Wald, founder of the Henry Street Settlement, New York City, died September 2 at the age of seventy-three.

BOOK REVIEWS

Rome and China: A Study of Correlations in Historical Events. By FREDERICK J. TEGGART. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. Pp. xii+283. $3.00.

Rome and China is an important study in several respects. First, it gives a systematic analysis of all the barbarian uprisings and migrations on the fringes of the Roman Empire and in the adjacent European and Asiatic territories in the period from 58 B.C. to A.D. 107. We all know how confused the period is from this standpoint, and we all are indebted to the author for giving us, in one volume, a painstaking analysis of the number of such uprisings, their dates, their place, their diffusion, and their interrelationship with one another and with the wars of the Roman Empire and of China. From this standpoint the monograph is a real contribution to history. Second, it attempts to unravel the causes of these uprisings and to formulate the "invariable uniformities" supposedly given in these migrations, uprisings, and wars. In this respect the work is a valuable sociological study of a certain class of social uniformities, their intercorrelation and factors. On the basis of his analysis Professor Teggart finds inadequate most of the main theories of the causes of these uprisings and migrations, such as overpopulation and lack of land; desire for plunder and the longing for adventure; such as the domestication of the horse and the building of the Chinese Wall; or the theory of the climatic pulsation and desiccation of the Chinese Turkestan as the causes of these migrations and movements. Further on he convincingly shows the inadequacy of the traditional procedure of the orthodox historians who usually study these phenomena only within one body politic—in this case, of Rome—without connecting them with those that went on outside of the Roman Empire, in Europe and Asia.

His positive theory of the causes of, and uniformities in, these movements is summed up as follows: Within the period from 58 B.C. to A.D. 107

every barbarian uprising in Europe followed the outbreak of war either on the Eastern frontiers of the Roman Empire or in the "Western Regions" of the Chinese. Moreover, the correspondence in events was discovered to be so precise that, whereas wars in the Roman East were followed uniformly and always

by outbreaks on the lower Danube and the Rhine, wars in the Eastern T'ien Shan were followed uniformly and always by outbreaks on the Danube between Vienna and Budapest. In the period here referred to, invasions or uprisings occurred on the Roman frontiers in Europe on forty occasions. On nine of these occasions disturbances on the upper Danube followed wars at Guchen and Turfan. . . . . On thirty-one occasions disturbances both on the Rumanian Danube and on the Rhine followed wars on the eastern frontiers of the Roman Empire, more especially in Syria and Armenia. . . . . Of the wars in the Roman East, eighteen followed the wars in Chinese Turkestan, so that, of the forty occasions on which outbreaks took place in Europe, twenty-seven were traceable to the policy of the Han government [in China] [pp. vii—viii].

The author takes the next step and asks, "How, then, are we to account for the circumstance that Roman wars in Armenia occasioned barbarian uprisings on the lower Danube and the Rhine, and that Chinese wars in the T'ien Shan occasioned similar outbreaks in Hungary?" What is the linkage of such seemingly quite distant phenomena? Teggart's answer is that "the correspondence of wars in the East and invasions in the West was due to *interruptions of trade*." Such are the topic, the material, and the conclusions of the study.

Acknowledging the historical and sociological value of the work, at the same time the reviewer is not convinced by its main conclusions, namely, that most of these disturbances and wars were due to the changes of the policy of the Han dynasty in China, that most of the impulses came from the Chinese West, and that the real linkage between the correlated events in the East and West was the interruption of trade between these regions.

Though Professor Teggart claims again and again that the events on the Rumanian Danube, the Rhine, and in the West regularly (he says even "invariably") followed the disturbances in the Chinese West and the Roman East, such uniformity of a temporal sequence is not proved by him. As the beginning and end of each war or uprising is unknown, for this reason only it is hardly possible to contend that the uprising on the Danube and the Rhine regularly lagged behind the wars or uprisings in the East. As many of these movements went on sporadically in various parts of the Roman Empire, without any clear-cut caesura between them, no convincing evidence is given to support the claim of the uniform sequence. Even the material given in the book can be arranged in such a way that the events in the Roman West can be claimed to be leading in time the events in the Roman East or Chinese West. For instance, the author points out that in A.D. 38 there occurred wars in Armenia and Bosporus; in A.D. 39 and 40 they were followed by disturbances of Ger-

man tribes in Gaul (pp. 87–88). In such a setting the impression is that the events in Gaul were the consequences of those in Armenia and Bosporous. Meanwhile, on page 65 and the following pages, we read that in A.D. 34–37 there were several disturbances in the Gallic provinces and on the Danube and the Rhine. And so also in other cases. This means that there is no possibility to claim which disturbances, those of the Far East or those of the West, led and which lagged in time.

Still more doubtful is the hypothesis accounting for these disturbances by the interruption of the trade between the East and West. Such a hypothesis assumes that all these numerous tribes depended most vitally upon the "international commerce" and that any interruption of the trade between the Chinese West and Europe at once and invariably affected all the tribes in the regions of the Danube, the Rhine, Britain, and Gallia to such an extent that they either revolted or invaded or migrated. Considering that all these tribes were at the nomadic stage of "the natural economy," living mainly as "self-sufficient" economical systems, with the elements of primitive agriculture, hunting, fishing, and cattle-breeding, it is hardly probable that their economies were dependent upon international trade in, mainly, objects of highly urbanized luxury to such an extent as to lead them to wars and uprisings each time the trade route was somewhat interrupted.

The doubt becomes still more grounded in view of the fact that many of these tribes were located in the regions far from "the silk route" between Europe and Asia, and hardly influenced by the "luxury trade" at all. In the opinion of the reviewer the bulk of these disturbances on all the boundaries of the Roman Empire can be accounted for by a simpler hypothesis, without invoking the highly uncertain hypotheses of the author, namely, the very fact of the expansion of the Roman Empire inundated larger and larger areas inhabited by tribes and, like the expansion of the British and other empires, disturbed profoundly the customary manner of life of these tribes, often deprived them of their rights, territory, and possessions, prohibited many of their mores, limited their freedom, imposed heterogeneous regulations, and often killed and uprooted them. Under such circumstances, it would be miraculous if these tribes did not "revolt" or migrate or try to fight back. Such a reaction is to be expected, especially in the periods when the Roman Empire was internally weakened, as for instance in the moments of the bloody civil wars between the First and Second Triumvirates. The situation was very similar to that of England in the period of its colonial expansion that brought it into contact and conflict with many tribes and resulted in almost uninterrupted colonial

wars of England with these tribes from the second half of the eighteenth century to the twentieth, inclusive. Even for those centuries when international commerce had been developed much more than in the first centuries B.C. and A.D., to explain all these colonial wars by the interruption of trade routes between various continents would be a too far-flung hypothesis. Still less convincing is Professor Teggart's hypothesis in application to the tribes on the frontiers of the Roman Empire. The suggested hypothesis of the reviewer accounts for these more adequately than the highly artificial hypothesis of the author.

In the light of this statement the old-fashioned concept of social causality of the author as "invariability of the relationship" between cause and effect supposedly demonstrated by him (pp. 243 ff.) is also somewhat questionable. When even in the field of subatomic physics such a principle of invariability is replaced by that of indeterminacy, it is hardly probable that in much more variable social relationships, especially in the field of the disturbances studied, any fast and rigid "invariability" can be found.

These critical remarks do not deny the existence of some connections between the movements in the East and in the West. Nor do they aim to detract from the value of *Rome and China.* With the rejection of the main hypothesis of the author it still remains an important contribution to the field of history and sociology.

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN

Harvard University

Inner Asian Frontiers of China. By OWEN LATTIMORE. New York: American Geographical Society, 1940. Pp. xxiii+585.

In space this book covers a very great part of Asia; in time it ranges from Peking man and the Stone Age to the fourth decade of the twentieth century. It even foreshadows tomorrow. Not breathlessly, but in a manner relatively leisurely, the Lattimores proceed, geographically speaking, from the bend of the Yellow and the confluence of the Han and the Yangtse rivers in all directions: southward to the jungles where dwell those who have not yet become Chinese; eastward and northeastward to Korea and through Manchuria; northward and northwestward through the Mongolias—Eastern Inner, Inner, and Outer—to Siberia, across the marginal lands which at once unite and divide plains and steppes, vast areas whence have arrived from time to time, generally not in "waves," those marginal or full nomads some of whom have become Chinese, and whither

have gone, on occasions, innumerable Chinese to become desinicized "barbarians"; northwestward and westward across marginal lands, steppes, deserts, oases, suboases, mountains, and plateaus of western Mongolia, Turkestan (Chinese and Russian), and Tibet. Here in part is a history—relatively new and scientific in its approach—of China, of the Chinese people, of their dynasties, and of their society; here also is a stimulating analysis in essence of the movements of those eternal "barbarians" against whom "the Chinese" seem (to the harried and at times despairing Western student) always to have been fighting. But here for once, or at least on occasion, both "Chinese" and "barbarians"—those who reached China by sea as well as those who arrived overland, but especially the latter—are seen in focus and in proper relation, while new and/or brighter light is cast upon the reasons why they have fought, why they continue to fight, and why they are likely to continue indefinitely to fight. Heartening nonetheless are the author's conclusions with respect to the struggle between the Chinese and the contemporary "eastern barbarians."

Eleven diagrammatic maps prepared by draftsmen of the American Geographical Society, an eighteen-page Bibliography, many notes and citations, and an adequate Index render additionally useful this epoch-making volume, not the least attractive aspect of which is the author's unusually generous acknowledgments of aid received from his predecessors and colleagues in the field.

HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR

University of Chicago

The following statement by Professor Teggart is not a review of the Lattimore book but a comment on a few of the points raised in it.

Mr. Lattimore's very remarkable and significant book is one which should have an interest for all students of the social sciences. It provides a striking illustration of how geographical details may throw light upon historical changes, and how the distribution of soil and climate may serve to account for differences in the political and cultural development of neighboring groups. On the institutional side also it offers a contribution of moment to the study of feudalism and of the steps in the transition from feudal conditions to the unified territorial state. The great merit of the book seems to me that from beginning to end it stirs the reader to compare the changes which the author describes with the more familiar political and cultural changes which have taken place at different times in Europe.

Notwithstanding one's admiration for Mr. Lattimore's book taken as a whole, it must be confessed that he gives expression to conceptions of history which provoke criticism. Thus, while his insistence upon the importance of taking geographical factors into account in the study of history is to be applauded, his notion that "political events are only the surface phenomena of history" and that "the forces that create them . . . . derive from the interaction of society and environment" is an unacceptable oversimplification of historical facts. Political events in present-day China must certainly appear to be more than "superficial phenomena" to those involved in them, and these events have been occasioned not by the interaction of which Mr. Lattimore speaks but by the intrusive agency of a foreign power. Again, concentration of attention upon China and its contiguous lands leads the author to think that from a study of the earliest Chinese history there may be derived "guiding principles for the study of the whole subsequent history of China and Inner Asia down to the nineteenth century" (p. 475). The "guiding principles" are to be elicited from observation of Chinese history down to A.D. 220, and the author ends his historical account with the downfall of the Han dynasty, which he associates apparently with the completion of a "cycle of nomadic rule" or ascendency (p. 526). Yet had he looked even a little beyond his self-imposed geographical limits he would have found that the phenomenon of political collapse in 220 was not restricted to China, since at the end of the first quarter of the third century the Parthian and Kushan empires were destroyed, new empires arose in India and Persia, and in Europe there began a period of devastating wars. No one of these events can be accounted for in isolation, and recognition of the fact that the downfall of the Han dynasty came first in the series is of itself sufficient to indicate that in certain important respects Mr. Lattimore's interpretation of the Inner Asian relations of China requires revision.

The fate of China today is not the outcome of the relation between Chinese society and environment. It turns upon the use of new inventions in war, for which neither China nor Japan is responsible. Similarly, at an earlier period which Mr. Lattimore has treated at some length, "the whole character of the historical record begins to change very rapidly" (p. 341) with the appearance of "the mounted warfare of true steppe nomadism," and the use of horsemen for military purposes, then a new invention, was an importation from central Asia and the Near East. Indeed, at no time after Alexander can the history of China be satisfactorily dealt with in isolation from events and changes in other parts of the Asian continent. Further, in ancient times, as now, the ultimate effect of new military

equipment was not merely to give an advantage to one side or another but to bring about drastic changes in the structure of society in the lands affected.

This matter of inventions crops up in another relation in Mr. Lattimore's book, for he discovers "the key to the ebb-and-flow history of the Inner Asian frontier of China" in "the failure to evolve industrialism" (p. 512). He says, indeed, that industrialism is "the only bridge that can really integrate a society that is essentially agricultural with one that is essentially pastoral" (p. 549), and then goes on to discuss "why industrialism was never evolved on either side of the Inner Asian frontier"; his opinion that the nomadic society of the steppe was deterred from the invention of machinery by the "vested interest" of mobility (p. 550) opens a wide field for discussion which need not be followed up. But does Mr. Lattimore really think that the mission of industrialism is to promote peace and good will among men?

FREDERICK J. TEGGART

University of California

The Development of Social Thought. By EMORY S. BOGARDUS. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1940. Pp. viii+564. $3.50.

In his Preface Dr. Bogardus states that "this treatise is written for students, it is intended to be not the last word on the subject, but simply a first word. . . . . The materials are presented in a descriptive manner. It is not the purpose to write a critique, or to enter into a discussion of fine points or of abstract and theoretical doctrines." A review of this book must properly proceed, therefore, within this framework of avowed purposes.

Frequently, "theories" and "thoughts" are in effect equated with *obiter dicta*, with general assertions concerning man and his works. The factual bases for these views are seldom mentioned, so that the reader may be tempted to conclude that "social thought" is largely divorced from "social fact." As a result the reported series of propositions cannot be appraised as valid or invalid. Sufficiently general remarks on man and society, irrespective of the evidence for the observations and irrespective of the logical relations between these propositions, are considered as "social thought." Not only is pushpin as good as poetry, but there is little discrimination between pushpin and poetry. The relatively few cases in which empirical evidence is cited are not particularly happy ones. (E.g., in suggesting "a sixth basic wish," the "wish for freedom," the author

states that "the abandon of children released from the schoolroom is evidence of the wish for freedom. The joy that comes to anyone when he feels 'free as a bird' is another bit of proof.")

The text nominally deals with the social thought of preliterate societies, of Western society from Plato to Pareto, and of the Orient. Some of these discussions are extraordinarily condensed. Thus the chapter on "Japanese Social Thought" consists of a summary of religious, familial, economic, and governmental developments in Japan followed by a two-page annotated catalogue of Japanese sociologists. It is difficult to see the relevance of this sketch of social structure, especially since Dr. Bogardus does not relate these social conditions to Japanese social theories. This appears to be a case of the historical tail wagging the theoretical dog.

Similarly, the fourteen-page chapter on "Marx and Socialistic Thought" consists of brief discussions of the work of Fourier, Blanc, Proudhon, Owen, Rodbertus, Lassalle, Marx, and Henry George. Marx's sociological theories (rather than his revolutionary ideologies) are given scant attention. The least sociological of Marx's works, *Capital* and the *Communist Manifesto*, are mentioned but nothing is said of the *Eighteenth Brumaire*, the famous preface to the *Critique of Political Economy*, *Class Struggles in France*, etc. Engels is mentioned once, as coauthor of the *Manifesto*. The student of sociology is told nothing of Marx's historical materialism, the theory of dialectic change, his sociopsychological conception of social class, his theory of the state, and his interpretation of religion. The net result is that the student is presented with a limited *catalogue raisonné* of "socialistic" thought but obtains no inkling of the structure of Marxist sociology.

In contrast to this procedure are the adequate accounts of the social thought of Plato, Ward, Tarde, Cooley, Giddings, Ross, and a few other writers. In other cases, however, comparatively full discussions are in part misleading if not actually erroneous. A series of errors (induced by excessive brevity?) is afforded by the following paragraph.

> Weber claimed that capitalism [what of the types of capitalism distinguished by Weber?] is a product of Protestant Christianity's emphasis on the individual's worth [surely Weber does not limit his analysis to this one element in the Protestant ethic]. This viewpoint led to the development of individualism, and then of an economy, built around powerful individuals, or [*sic*] capitalism [is *this* Weber's conception of capitalism?].

One is free to eliminate "fine points" from a discussion, but this account of Weber's thesis is on the same plane of accuracy and adequacy as a summary stating that Newton had shown that everybody is either at rest or

in motion, that motion occurs under certain conditions, and that action and reaction are undoubtedly related. Simplification involves diminishing returns when the basic contributions of a theorist are lost in the process of distillation.

Dr. Bogardus errs in his assertion that the three types of suicide distinguished by Durkheim "all occur as an expression of a group breakdown of some sort." This is certainly at odds with Durkheim's entire analysis of altruistic suicide in which he shows that this behavior is a classic instance of rigorous group control and integration. Similarly, it is incorrect to say that Pareto failed to observe that the élite in some fields are "non-élite" in others. It is surprising to read that Pareto did not fully consider the fact that "the subject matter of sociology contains human, psychical variables not present in the subject matter of the physical sciences and that methods supplementary to those used by the physical sciences are needed to cope with the new variants." Whatever the limitations of Pareto's work, this "oversight" is not one of them, as is attested by virtually every page of his treatise. Are the concepts of "residues" and "derivations" at all intelligible except as "human psychical variables"?

Dr. Bogardus' statement illustrates another ambiguity which crops up from time to time in his text. Various sociologists (Le Play and Pareto) are said "to apply the methods of physical science." It would be interesting to know just what these "methods" are and how they differ from methods of social science. In the case of Le Play, it is observed that "he insisted upon the observation of data and the use of induction in making generalizations." Is the observation of data a method? And, if so, is it peculiar to physical science?

The text is occasionally punctuated by semantically meaningless sentences, by *non sequiturs*, and by bizarre usage of technical, philosophical, and sociological terms. (E.g., "Activity, not reason or sympathy, is the best of social groups." Machiavelli "received the sobriquet, the Galileo of modern science." "Machiavelli was no idealist in the accepted sense of the term [*sic*], but a man who mixed with people. . . . ." "Many cultured people do not marry. . . . .")

In short, this is an elementary text with several limitations. It attempts to condense *multum in parvo*, but its thirty-four chapters are not equal to the task. The effort to combine brevity, simplicity, and breadth of scope was perhaps predestined to failure. The author has heeded too strictly Thoreau's plea to "simplify, simplify."

ROBERT K. MERTON

Tulane University

Eléments de sociologie juridique. By G. GURVITCH. Paris: Aubier Editions Montaigne, 1940. Pp. 267. Fr. 30.

This book on the sociology of law has been written by a prominent philosopher of law. A number of hypotheses are stated, but never are they demonstrated as scientific propositions usually are, and not always are they even sufficiently illustrated by examples. However, the work discloses a deep insight into the basic problems of the very young science which the sociology of law is and may stimulate further research.

To understand the ideas of Gurvitch it is necessary to know that his concept of law is quite unusual. In common opinion, in any one society there can be only one legal code which unifies behavior determined by numerous social codes of other types. In contrast to this opinion, Gurvitch asserts the idea of the plurality of legal orders: Every social group, especially if it has a common task to perform, may produce its own legal code, and there is no reason to assume that the legal code of the state is supreme. It is obvious that law, in Gurvitch's terminology, corresponds to that which is termed "societal regulation" by MacIver, "ideal patterns" by Linton, or "ethics" in the writer's *Introduction to the Sociology of Law*. As this is a subject which still awaits definitive exploration, Gurvitch's contribution can but be welcomed. His propositions, however, should be carefully restated in order to gain some additional knowledge about the special field of law. This task cannot be attempted in this review, and in the following lines the term "law" will be used in conformity with Gurvitch's definition.

The first task of the sociology of law, in Gurvitch's opinion, is to study the functional relationship between social reality and the types of law. Social reality is, first of all, determined by "the forms of sociability," i.e., by the manifold aspects of the ties uniting individuals and making them a social group (pp. 141–42). The "forms of sociability" (social relations) are classified from different standpoints in a manner similar to that used by von Wiese; as the classes partly cross each other, twenty-seven forms are presented and, correspondingly, twenty-seven basic types of law; in order to get an idea of what they are, such types as "the particular social law of the unifunctional mass" or "the common social law of the suprafunctional communion" might be mentioned as examples (pp. 146–67).

In addition to this horizontal classification of law, a vertical one is also outlined. It is based (1) on two levels which the author distinguishes within social groups, the unorganized substructure and the organized superstructure (for instance, nation and economic society versus state),

and (2) on three levels peculiar for legal reality and depending on the modes of "finding" law; these levels are (*a*) standardized law (for instance, statute), (*b*) "elastic law" (for instance, the standards of Anglo-American jurisprudence), and (*c*) intuitive law (for instance, revolutionary law). As both classifications cross each other, six levels are obtained, and, as each can be found in every one of the twenty-seven horizontal groups, a system consisting of 162 elements is formed (pp. 167–78). However, the theorems of the author concern only major divisions; for instance, common law prevails over particular law and the law of the community over the law of the "mass." However, it is recognized that these are only tendencies and that the actual correlation is variable (pp. 166–67).

The second task of the sociology of law is to establish a "juridical typology" of social groups. Almost in every social group different forms of sociability are present; a group is a synthesis, an equilibrium of the forms of sociability. This fact is reflected in the "legal structure" corresponding to individual groups (pp. 179–80). Groups may be classified from the standpoint of their size, duration, functions (local, political, economic, mystic, and the like), the principle of organization (organized or unorganized), the form of coercion (unconditional or conditional, i.e., that which can be avoided by forsaking the group), and the degree of unity (unified, federated, and confederated groups) (pp. 182–90). The differential capacity of groups to engender law is then studied (pp. 192–94) as well as the peculiarities of legal structures which correspond to them (pp. 194–98). It is asserted that law engendered by the unorganized nation is superior to that of the state or the economic society; this probably means that it is the unorganized nation (through public opinion) which determines the jurisdiction of the state in economic affairs. Theoretically the law of the unorganized international society should prevail over that of national societies; but as international society is a "mass" and national societies are "communities," the factors determining the correlation are contradictory, and the actual relation between international and municipal law is changeable (pp. 200–201). This is a progress in comparison with the earlier works of the author where the supremacy of international law was considered an axiom.

The particular social groups are integrated in "total societies" and, correspondingly, legal structures are integrated in legal systems. Within their variability seven ideal types (in the terminology of Max Weber) may be established. Behind the cumbersome names given to them by the author, archaic, theocratic, patrimonial, feudal, autocratic, liberal, and modern postliberal societies may be recognized. A short but frequently il-

luminating characterization of the legal systems is given in terms shaped in previous chapters (pp. 213–42).

The third and last task of the sociology of law is to establish the tendencies of the development of law and the factors determining this development. Tendencies can be established only within each of the individual legal systems; even with this limitation they express only probabilities, not necessities. Between legal systems there is a kind of hiatus, and prediction becomes impossible (pp. 243–44). The main tendencies are enumerated, as, for instance, the rise of political power in archaic society and the shift from charism to routine in theocracy (pp. 244–48). There follows a cursory review of the factors determining the development of law based on the statements (1) that the factors are either internal, corresponding to conflicts between the different types of law, or external, such as changes in the morphological and economic structure of society, in religion, morals, and knowledge, or in the general structure of collective mentality, and (2) that the correlation between law and these factors is that of mutual interdependence (pp. 248–61).

A large part of the work is devoted to the study of the forerunners of the sociology of law, especially of Aristotle and Montesquieu, and of its creators (pp. 33–140). The creation is ascribed to Durkheim; accordingly, the contributions of his school are given detailed treatment, to which a short notice on Ehrlich and Max Weber is added. An equally short notice on "contemporary trends" is chiefly concerned with Renner, Sinzheimer, and Horvath. The Anglo-American literature on the subject, with the exception of a few references to H. Maine, Lowie, Malinowsky, and Pound, remains outside of the purview of the author. This is only another manifestation of the gulf between Anglo-American and Continental European social science; two teams of workers do the same work while being almost unaware of each other's existence.

N. S. TIMASHEFF

Fordham University

A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol. III: *Three Centuries of Advance, A.D. 1500—A.D. 1800.* By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE. New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1939. Pp. 503. $3.50.

This monumental work, when completed, will have six or seven large volumes. The author reserves critical analysis for the later volumes. So far the series has been an encyclopedia of fact. Volume III is a detailed account of the spread of Christianity from Europe into the Americas,

the East Indies, the Far East, and other lands in the period from the age of discoveries and Reformation to the dawn of the Industrial Revolution.

A certain amount of interpretation is inevitable even in an intentionally factual narrative. In chapter xvi, "The Effect of Christianity upon Its Environment," we see Professor Latourette as a staunch defender of Christianity which was, he seems to say, an overwhelmingly positive force in the fields of political, social, and economic thought and action. Even "some Roman Catholics, like many Protestants, were inspired by their faith to challenge the autocratic power of the absolute monarchs of the day." He refers to Carl Becker's writings when he says that a Christian origin underlay in part the ideas of the French Revolution, for "the hope which inspired them had its roots in the Christian view of history which thinks of the human drama as culminating in an ideal society." He accords Christianity much credit for the development of international law, peace movement, and even (to the Protestant branch of it) for the enlightenment in family attitudes thanks to which "marriage and romance were now combined." The Levellers and other democratic groups are listed as proofs of the progressive effect of Christian thought; John Knox is shown as a veritable harbinger of our own New Deal in social planning.

Unfortunately, only slightly more than one page is devoted by Professor Latourette to Max Weber's and R. H. Tawney's thesis "that Protestantism, particularly Calvinism, reinforced capitalism." After citing H. M. Robertson's reply to Weber and Tawney, Professor Latourette proceeds to state his own position:

> Christianity, in both its Protestant and Roman Catholic forms, was opposed to much of the ethics associated with capitalism, but . . . . many from both wings of the Christian movement were caught up in capitalism and twisted what had come to them from Christian theorists to justify practices and attitudes which were abhorrent to many of those who shaped the theologies and the organizations of the churches [p. 408].

In a brief paragraph the author then points to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when "capitalism came to its full flowering, [and] the Christian conscience had begun to contribute to movements" aiming at the alleviation of the ills of capitalism and even at the displacement of capitalism itself. A fuller exposition of this thesis, the author remarks, is to come in the later volumes of the series.

ALBERT PARRY

New York City

White Settlers in the Tropics. By A. GRENFELL PRICE, with notes by R. G. STONE. New York: American Geographical Society, 1939. Pp. xiii+311. $4.00.

This investigation has been justly praised by experts in this field not as a definitive work but because it undertakes to test certain familiar theories in the light of scientific evidence. Dr. Price's own field studies of the Australian tropics have furnished him essential criteria of evaluation. His study will stand as a point of departure for future investigations in a field characterized by contradiction at almost every point.

Why have the whites failed to settle the tropics? Are they beginning to make progress? Can they hope for ultimate success? These questions can be answered ultimately only through a concerted attack by statesmen, medical scientists, social scientists, and engineers.

Not only in the Old World, where large native agglomerations interfered with settlement, but in the Americas, failure has been the lot of the white man. In the British West Indies, for example, the white man is forced to yield in the face of a variety of factors unfavorable to settlement. True, the whites are able to exist in favored tropical environments despite tremendous obstacles, yet there are few examples of survival in the face of competition from races of lower economic and social status.

The advent of applied science as a factor in tropical settlement led to overoptimism. Although science has made progress in combatting disease and climate, it is equally true that science and education have aided the colored races in displacing white settlers. Increased numbers and greater mobility are assisting the silent conquest in tropical America where an Indian-Negro–white mixture seems inevitable. The outlook for the white in tropical Africa and Asia is hardly more reassuring.

By means of sample type-studies Dr. Price appraises the present and peers into the future. Queensland and Florida are hopeful areas because the political controls are predisposed in favor of the white man. In the former, however, the situation is uncertain unless the government is willing to support scientific inquiry. In the Caribbean the white is doomed ultimately, although physical survival is possible in the favored trade-wind districts. "No white government should direct emigration to the Caribbean, which is clearly destined to become a Negro region." White settlement in northern Australia is dubious in the extreme, and Australians should cease boasting of the vast undeveloped potentialities of tropical Australia. In South Africa the great increase of native labor is gradually forcing upon white labor a demoralizing standard of living. The white "islands of settlement" on the tropical plateaus to the north

are doomed to extinction. Even in Panama, a controlled experiment, the white man's position is far from secure.

Dr. Price also canvasses existing knowledge regarding race and environmental factors in tropical settlement. Of great value are his chapters summarizing climatological, pathological, psychological, and physiological studies bearing upon health and acclimatization in the tropics. In this connection Dr. Stone's supplementary notes upon physiological research in relation to acclimatization are invaluable.

In conclusion, Dr. Price gives cold comfort to the racial purist. With the possible exception of northern Queensland, the white peoples seem destined to undergo absorption or be driven out of the tropics. Something can be done to save the situation if administrators will follow the findings of scientific investigators. Although the reviewer agrees that "the scientific world has at last glimpsed the vastness and complexity of the problem," one wonders, in view of the present Armageddon, whether the ultimate solution lies in the hands of scientific workers.

JOHN POMFRET

Vanderbilt University

Workers on Relief. By GRACE ADAMS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939. Pp. ix+344. $3.00.

For anyone unacquainted through firsthand contacts with persons on relief, Miss Adams' pen sketches will add human interest to the statistics and comments in more impersonal studies. The seven composite characters described in *Workers on Relief* are real in the sense that their experiences reveal the circumstances and problems faced by multitudes of relief clients, and their reactions are plausible in view of those problems. The author knows and respects the sort of individuals whose experience she is reporting. She does not make heroes or villains out of them. Her matter-of-fact reporting calls to the attention of both layman and professional student a large number of details important for understanding the effect of relief on those who receive it. The long explanations of relief policies given to clients by interviewers are not likely to have occurred in actual relief administration, but they represent the author's attempts to explain the lack of consistency and orderliness in these policies.

The author has attempted to demonstrate that work relief is capable of producing in some clients a sense of achievement and security. But the reader gets the general impression that the program has been confused in purpose and practice and is unsatisfactory in many respects to

the workers themselves. The chief reason for this is that it provides neither work nor relief but a combination of the two which present conflicting principles of administration. The accuracy of this conclusion and explanation, if applied to the total work-relief program, cannot be determined on the basis of evidence contained in this book. Most of the characters are engaged in work unadapted to their previously acquired skills. Emphasis out of proportion to their place in work-relief programs is placed on white-collar projects. When manual labor projects are presented, the emphasis is largely upon the work itself rather than upon its effect on the worker. Personal and cultural data are inadequate to provide a satisfactory explanation of the effects when they are recorded.

The reader may or may not agree with the conclusions as to the shortcomings of work relief which can be inferred from the testimony of the workers and the explanations of administrators. He will be aware that the author has presented hypotheses concerning the causes of those inadequacies which are plausible and which will bear further investigation and thought.

E. WIGHT BAKKE

Yale University

The New World Order. By H. G. WELLS. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940. Pp. 145. $1.50.

This little book is the latest of a valiant series of attempts by the venturesome Mr. Wells to improve the political, economic, and social organization of the world. The "revolution" Mr. Wells now proposes is not much different from the program he has been promoting for a number of years. It involves (*a*) outright world-socialism, scientifically planned and directed; (*b*) a sustained insistence upon law based upon his restatement of the personal Rights of Man; and (*c*) the most complete freedom of speech, criticism, and publication, together with an expansion of educational organization to meet the demands of the new order. "Putting it at its compactest, it is the triangle of Socialism, Law, and Knowledge which frames the Revolution that may yet save the world."

In this chapter on "Socialism Unavoidable" he advocates economic collectivism which he endeavors to distinguish from the Marxian or Russian type. His objection to Soviet collectivism is that "lacking the antiseptic of legally assured personal freedom, it will not keep." In the organization of world-order, however, he assails with equal vigor both the Kremlin and the Vatican, and I may add, Mr. Streit and his federalism.

"Declaration of the Rights of Man," chapter x, is a statement of what Mr. Wells regards as the ten basic essentials of human life. He concedes that "keener minds than mine" may polish this into a working declaration—in which I should say he is substantially accurate. This declaration is to become the common fundamental law of all communities assembled under the "world pax." I applaud his good intentions, while I deplore his somewhat feeble execution.

The importance of freedom of speech and inquiry and the development of educational organization he does not discuss as fully in this volume as he has upon other occasions.

While technicians in the several fields involved might criticize severely some of Mr. Wells's analyses and suggestions, yet on the whole his study is well worth examination. The qualities of imagination and invention are altogether too rare in social science, but are found in rich measure in the somewhat irresponsible Mr. Wells, who is not obliged to give an accounting to any set of technical colleagues. It is not important to liquidate Mr. Wells but to cultivate more bold and venturesome Wellsian spirits who will stimulate thought and encourage controversy on a rational level and attack the great problem of modernizing the large sections of our social institutions now demanding intelligent reconsideration and readjustment.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM

University of Chicago

A Social Approach to Economics. By HAROLD A. LOGAN and MARK K. INMAN. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1939. Pp. xvi+659. $3.75.

The bold title of this book would lead the reader to expect at least a critique of the assumptions and methods of orthodox economics, perhaps even an analysis of the social setting of economic activity. At a time when the science of Smith and Marx has reached a stage of paralyzing specialization, methodological work of a high order is essential to further progress. It would be interesting, for example, to apply Parsons' means-ends schema to the problem of political factors in economic life. In what ways and to what extent do political ends conflict with economic ends? To what extent do individuals and groups pursue economic ends by political methods?

The "social approach" of Messrs. Logan and Inman, however, turns out to be merely a disguise for the accepted principles of economics.

While the authors are more skeptical of their assumptions than most writers of elementary texts, they are far from sufficiently skeptical. The book abounds in sweeping and undemonstrated generalizations concerning human behavior.

> Man's behaviour is closely related to physical nature and consequently it tends to parallel the uniformities of the latter [p. 21]. . . . . Behavior shows its uniformities because people have mental patterns from which they vary little from day to day or from one year to another, and which are very much alike for all normal persons [p. 21]. . . . . [Workers] . . . . tend to offer more labour service in the labour market when wages are high [p. 21]. . . . . The most important factor, therefore, in causing the continuance of these scarcity differentials (in wages) is comparative cost of producing the workers for the different types of service [p. 298].

Such statements as these would not need to be taken seriously except that they are repeated in a dozen textbooks with a similar failure to present proof or even to recognize the necessity of proof. This reiteration of unproven hypotheses as obvious principles induces in economists a sort of self-hypnosis most obstructive of basic investigation.

It is only fair to add that the book is superior to most works of its sort. It is well written, clearly arranged, and will be particularly useful to Canadian students because of the authors' effort to draw illustrative material from Canadian sources. It has the merit of placing the consumer in the foreground of economic study and of emphasizing group welfare as the central concern of economics. In a day when such confused terms as "business economics" are freely printed in university calendars, this is no small service. Only in this meager sense, however, does the book justify its title.

LLOYD G. REYNOLDS

Johns Hopkins University

The Psychology of Parent-Child Relationships. By PERCIVAL M. SYMONDS. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939. Pp. xiv+228. $2.00.

This book rests upon the generalization that the parental forces operating upon a child will produce definite and predictable results in personality and behavior of the child. Two types of parental behavior are investigated: the degree to which the child is accepted or rejected by the parents; and the degree of dominance or submission which the parent exhibits toward the child.

The author first summarizes previous statements and studies regarding these two types of parental behavior, which often were confused by earlier writers. He postulates the hypothesis that the two types of behavior are distinct and should be studied separately. The bulk of the book consists of an analysis of two series of case studies: one concerning children who had been rejected or accepted by the parents; the other children who had been dominated by or allowed to dominate the parents. Children who had been accepted by their parents were found to have more desirable social behavior, to be more friendly, and more loyal than children who had been rejected. Their attitudes also differed in that accepted children were more stable, deliberate, enthusiastic, confident, and were more willing to accept authority than were rejected children. Children who are overprotected are not, however, so well equipped. The second part of the study indicates that parents who dominate have submissive children; that parents who are submissive have dominant children. The author attempts to push the study back farther to find out what characteristics the parents have and what kind of homes the parents came from. This part of the study is incomplete.

There are several points of interest in the book: (1) The author states that he regards the attitudes of the child as the direct result of the parental relationship, the behavior of the child as an indication of the attitudes—a refutation of Watsonian theory. (2) The study was carried out cooperatively, since the author secured the case studies by asking former students to contribute pairs of case studies which followed a uniform outline. (3) The study is a worthy attempt to clarify vaguely used concepts and to test hypotheses by inductive analysis. It suggests techniques that might be used to test other vague hypotheses. (4) The study confirms the hypothesis that one of the very important influences in the personality development of the child is the relationship to the parent, and the further hypothesis that the intimacy of family life is necessary to the development of well-balanced personality.

The book might be criticized because of the reliance on a limited number of cases, because of certain suggestive qualities in the outlines sent the interviewers that might make them conscious of defects in the rejected children, and because of certain common-sense acceptances of what constitute good and bad traits. These seem minor, however, in view of the purpose of the book—to test vaguely conceived hypotheses by the inductive method.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

Rockford, Illinois

La Délinquance des enfants dans les classes aisées. By AIMÉE RACINE. Brussels: Libraire Falk fils, Institut de sociologique Solvay, 1939. Pp. 115.

This study of juvenile delinquency in the upper economic class is based on eighty-one cases, of which forty-one had appeared in juvenile courts. While the official juvenile delinquency rate of the upper class is uniformly much lower than that of the lower class, a considerable part of the difference, in the opinion of this author, is due to inadequacies in the statistical data.

The general conclusion of the study is that juvenile delinquency in the upper class is similar to juvenile delinquency in the lower class as to its nature and genesis. Three conclusions regarding the causation of juvenile delinquency are presented either as hypotheses or as findings in this study. First, occasional delinquency is a natural episode in early childhood and in adolescence, due to the dynamic nature of the child, the multiplicity of regulations, the time required to assimilate the culture, and the large number of offenses committed by adults of all classes. Second, delinquencies are sometimes a symptom of mental and emotional conflicts, of family disorganization, and of other vicious social relationships, and these are found in the upper class as well as the lower class. Juvenile delinquents in the upper class come largely from families which are morally abandoned or families which have fallen financially into a lower class although they remain psychologically in the upper class. Third, juvenile delinquency is sometimes a symptom of superiority, vitality, and sociability, and these characteristics associated with delinquency are found in both classes.

This study is a welcome contribution because it deals with a class which has received little attention from this point of view, and because the author is searching for generalizations which will apply to all classes of delinquents.

EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND

Indiana University

Le Pouvoir disciplinaire dans les institutions privées: son organisation et ses effets dans les associations, syndicats, sociétés, entreprises, professions ("Disciplinary Power in Private Institutions: Its Organization and Its Effects in Associations, Trade Unions, Societies, Enterprises, and Professions"). By ALFRED LÉGAL and JEAN BRETHE DE LA GRESSAYE. Paris: Recueil Sirey, 1938. Pp. 537.

The central theoretical contention of the authors is that the authority of institutions (such as are named in the subtitle) over people is primarily

a sociological fact, deriving from the very nature of such entities and not from powers specifically assigned by law or arising from contracts entered into. It follows that the proper function of the courts in such matters is to reconcile the conflicts of interests arising from exercise of such authority and to assign to it such limits as are necessary to safeguard the public good and the rights of the individual. Their authors consider their statement as a refutation of the contractual theory of law which, they say, so imbues French legal thinking that the courts have to perform all sorts of acrobatics to deal with the fact that collectivities of all sorts are lively and somewhat autonomous centers of rule-making and enforcement. Since such collectivities include something of a common aim, they demand more of the individual than his name, or his dues; to operate successfully at least a little *esprit de corps* is required; and in some cases, a real feeling of fraternity, which means giving up something of one's mastery over himself.

In connection with their critique, the authors undertake to define and classify institutions. The terms in which they do so are very much those which one finds in American sociological work, and are strongly reminiscent of Sumner and Cooley. The authors they quote, however, are French jurists of the "institutional school"—Hauriou, Duguit, Renard, Bonnecase.

In the body of the book, sanctions and disciplinary procedure are analyzed on the basis of a large number of French cases at law. Although these cases would not apply in this country, the classification of offenses and sanctions could well be used by anyone studying the internal discipline of similar bodies in any country.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Warfare: The Relation of War to Society. By LUDWIG RENN. Translated by EDWARD FITZGERALD. New York: Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. 276. $2.50.

Ludwig Renn, a German officer in the war of 1914–18 who was twice wounded at the front, is known as the author of one of the most distinguished German war novels. Long before Hitler assumed power Renn turned anti-Fascist. Later, he was thrown into a Nazi prison and after his escape he participated in the Spanish Civil War on the Loyalist side.

The best passages in the present book are those in which the author draws upon his personal experiences. Yet his book is not episodical in character. It is a coherent treatise of military science interpreting war

to the common run of men and soldiers in nontechnical language. The stress is on the social forces that shape war and warfare. The book contains historical and systematic accounts of strategy and tactics on land, of economic warfare, naval operations, and propaganda in war. The section on minor tactics constitutes the most valuable part of the book.

Since the publication of his work Renn, like so many others, will have reconsidered his opinions on Soviet Russian mores in the conduct of war. Statements like the following one were naïve even at the time they were written. "The Soviet Union, Germany's absolutest enemy in the sense of our theory, is anxious to humanize the conduct of warfare as far as possible." Some minor factual errors may be noted. Machine guns were used for the first time not by Lord Kitchener against the Arabs in 1898, but in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. The institution of the "political commisars" to the army did not originate "during the days of the Russian Civil War," but in the French Revolution. Unsatisfactory from a sociological point of view is Renn's account of the difference between codified and absolute warfare; it cannot possibly be reduced to "similarity" and "dissimilarity" of the adversaries.

Despite its obvious shortcomings the volume should be welcome as introductory reading to sociologists, from whose predominant research interests one could hardly surmise that war is one of the most important social phenomena in our times.

HANS SPEIER

New School for Social Research

Mothers of the South: Portraiture of the White Tenant Farm Woman. By MARGARET JARMAN HAGOOD. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939. Pp. vii+252.

In terms of its expressed purpose this is an excellent book. It is "part of the work of one unit in the program being inaugurated in what is generally characterized the Subregional Laboratory for Social Research and Planning under the auspices of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina" and hence assumes greater significance in the light of other rich, sociological data that have been gathered. The 117 mothers of the Piedmont region and the 124 of the Deep South have been studied within the framework of southern economy, and their responses to interviews by the author have been described not only in terms of the mode and the range for the groups but also by means of two

rather detailed case histories. After analyzing the various phases in the existence of these women, the author arrives at the following value-judgment which, she insists, has euthenic but not eugenic significance: "The account which we have presented of these disadvantaging conditions and their effects shows that the basic fact of high reproductivity under such conditions is socially undesirable for strictly sociological reasons."

The sociologist is advised to read chapters xv and xvi first, for the presentation of the data is intelligible only in terms of the author's method of sampling and techniques of interviewing. These chapters raise in the reader's mind the question not of the reliability or objectivity of such a study but of its deeper validity. Mrs. Hagood's text does provide insight into statistically treated details in the life of the white tenant-farm woman, but one is not always certain, in spite of the case histories that are related unsystematically, whether the reactions of the women to these details are psychologically intelligible. More thorough interviews and a set of psychological theories which could have guided the interviews would have been quite desirable; if this had been done, however, it might have been necessary to reduce the size of the sample. This book, therefore, like so many that attempt to deal with concrete personalities on a sociological level, seems to require psychological generalizations which can integrate the particulars of the case history and numerous modal reactions as determined by an investigator.

LEONARD W. DOOB

Yale University

The Law and Women's Work: A Contribution to the Study of the Status of Women. ("Studies and Reports," Ser. I, No. 4.) Geneva: International Labour Office, 1939. (Washington, D.C.: International Labour Office, Washington Branch, 1939.) Pp. xii+567. $3.00.

The major part of the work deals with regulation of women's work. The central conception is that of protection of women from hazards to which they are more subject than men. The last two chapters deal, respectively, with the legal position of women as professional workers and with the bearing of civil and political status of women upon their situation as workers. A problem under the last caption is that of the right of women who work to join trade-unions or co-operative societies without their husbands' consent.

The book is primarily a manual of law concerning women, and it is a very good manual, with an index by countries of the matters treated. But

it also contains a competent, though condensed, treatment of trends and of nonlegal problems. One trend which the authors claim to see is that "toward assimilation of the legal status of men and women in the same occupational groups."

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

State Administration of Child Welfare in Illinois. By ELIZABETH HAYWARD MILCHRIST. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937. Pp. xi+130. $0.75.

The Illegitimate Child in Illinois. By DOROTHY FRANCES PUTTEE and MARY RUTH COLBY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937. Pp. xii+247. $1.25.

It has been an arduous ascent from the turn of this century, when progressive welfare workers sought means for taking children out of almshouses, to the present, when a division of child welfare of a modern state department of welfare establishes standards and supervises care of dependent children throughout the state, leaving direct care to local agencies. The end is not yet, for the department in 1937 was only beginning on a program, in co-operation with Social Security, for establishing county units. The steps between, and the needs yet to be met, are soberly measured off by Miss Milchrist. Not least significant, in the text, as between the lines, is the lag shown between the recommendations of committees with social understanding of children's needs and the fractional response of lawmaking bodies.

The product of successive, rather than joint, researches on the part of the authors, *The Illegitimate Child in Illinois* is both a complete chronicle of legislative steps which have brought the unmarried mother and her child to their present status and a detailed handbook for those who must meet legal restrictions in formulating a program to give to the child a normal consciousness of background, social status, education, and hope for the future. Most laws have stressed the economic provision, with little attention to the social. To date no adequate legislation has been enacted, though as far back as 1917 a proposed law would have abandoned quasi-criminal procedure, established paternity apart from any question of support, and given the child a status equal to that of a child legally adopted. A survey of conditions in 1928 in courts, hospitals, maternity homes, and agencies caring for mother and child reveals much inconsistency in the treatment they receive. The book is thoroughly documented and includes

a full appendix showing schedules used in the study, copies of pertinent bills, legislation now in effect, and judicial decisions relating to the problem.

EVELYN B. CROOK

Kingston, Pennsylvania

The County Agent. By GLADYS BAKER. ("Studies in Public Administration," Vol. XI.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xxi+226. $2.00.

The county agricultural agent as a representative of the federal, state, and county governments is studied in relation to seven questions arising out of his recent experiences in New Deal activities. Previously published studies had viewed him "simply as an itinerant adult vocational teacher." His "primary responsibility to local and state interests makes the present system unadaptable to administrative work in national-action programs except for a short emergency period."

Three chapters on pre–New Deal and one on New Deal history of the county agent are followed by these four: "The System of Responsibility," "Financial Support," "Personnel," and "The Negro County Agent." The ninth and last chapter consists of seven pungent pages of observations and conclusions. The selected bibliography is almost entirely confined to titles published since 1930. The generous index, subdivided chapter headings, and the list of twenty-one tables make this a ready handbook on one of America's unique "government men."

MERTON D. OYLER

University of Kentucky

Australia: Her Heritage, Her Future. By PAUL MCGUIRE. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1939. Pp. xx+349. $3.50.

If Mr. McGuire's *Australia* is intended to give us a well-illustrated and chattily up-to-date Baedeker to his native land, it has succeeded fairly well. Thus defined, the book *Australia* consists of the juxtaposition of two familiar patterns: the chronological and the touristic. At times there is evidence of attempts to interweave these techniques in some more basic design, but usually the to-and-fro transitions are made *per saltum* . . . . unexpectedly. The author's flair for digression in either pattern, the habit of dragging in anecdotes and personal incidents by the heels, and the journalistic tendency to parenthetical animadversions, satiric or humorous, also add to the discontinuity of the narrative and to the reader's

tantalization. But, notwithstanding these organizational and stylistic limitations, *Australia*, as an unbiased guidebook to the great island-continent is well worth reading.

As a definitive piece of sociological analysis, however, *Australia* is *peu de chose.* It certainly belies the author's assertion of interest (Foreword) in the social attitudes and processes of his native land. Mr. McGuire's best contributions seemingly occur when Clio, his particular muse, twitches his sleeve. His summaries of the early explorations in Australian waters, particularly his research into the labors of the little-known visionary De Quiros, are exemplary. Similarly, his analysis of the contrasting motives for Spanish, Dutch, and English exploration in the South Seas, though brief, is meaningful.

Mr. McGuire more nearly approaches the sociological view when he touches on the population problem, immigration, the "White Australia" doctrine, the attitude of, and toward, organized labor, conservation of natural resources, social planning, socialism and individualism, etc., but unfortunately these are but "touches"—harbingers, let us hope, of what Mr. McGuire may contribute to the sociology of Australia in the near future.

R. R. MACGREGOR

Chicago

Public Policy: A Yearbook of the Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University. Edited by C. J. FRIEDRICH and EDWARD S. MASON. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. xiii+391. $3.50.

This volume is of interest both for what it presages and for what it contains. It is the first of a series which is designed to present year-by-year studies growing out of the seminars of the Littauer School, and thus forecasts the steady enrichment of the literature of public administration from a center which combines the techniques and insights of law, economics, political science, and public administration.

The subject matter of the present volume, while neatly framed by a study in administrative responsibility from the pen of Carl J. Friedrich and by a concluding essay by Frederick M. Watkins on administrative dictatorship, is principally drawn from the field of price regulation. While this may seem to some the principal interest of economists, the dominant issue to which these papers are addressed is the question: how and to what extent can government through its administrative agencies achieve a public policy of full employment through some form and degree of manage-

ment of the price mechanism? The volume as a whole aptly illustrates what has been neglected—that the agencies of public administration exist to achieve public policy and acquire full significance only as they are related to such policies.

Other papers deal with fiscal problems; still others with certain aspects of governmental regulation apart from price problems, including a report by Lewis B. Sims on social scientists in the federal service. Despite some lack of cohesion in the volume as a whole, it is a welcome newcomer, both in its own contributions and in its future promise.

LEONARD D. WHITE

University of Chicago

Elements of Statistical Reasoning. By ALAN E. TRELOAR. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1939. Pp. xii+261. $3.25.

Although *Elements of Statistical Reasoning* was written by a biometrician, the sociologist will find in it much useful material. This treatise is the outgrowth of the author's experience teaching foundational courses in statistics to advanced students in the biological, physical, and social sciences.

In addition to covering most of the subjects found in conventional textbooks in this field the present volume includes a very good chapter on vital statistics. The subjects of index numbers and time series are entirely omitted. Each topic is treated in a clear, thorough, and concise manner. To maintain the interest of the nonmathematically trained student, and to assist him in visualizing the nature of the problems under analysis the method of geometrical portrayal is freely employed. The diagramatical portrayal of the correlation surface, for example, is perhaps the best analysis of this kind in print.

The book is not a compendium of statistical formulas and injunctions but is "intended for those who wish to reason carefully, not merely imitate." The basic statistical concepts are carefully developed and illustrated.

Despite the excellent qualities of this treatise it leaves much to be desired as a basic statistical text for sociology classes. As indicated above a few topics important to the sociologist are not covered, and most of the problems and illustrations are drawn from the fields of biology and medicine.

CALVIN F. SCHMID

University of Washington

We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant. By CARL WITTKE. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. xviii+547. $5.00.

The cessation of immigration as a mass movement has had the effect of lessening interest in the subject on the part of many sociologists and historians—sociologists who have regarded immigration mainly as a social problem and historians who have been concerned chiefly with the history of immigration. But other sociologists, taking the broader cultural point of view, are as vitally interested as ever, and so are social historians who see in immigration a dynamic factor in the development of American society. The present volume, written by such a historian, is, in the reviewer's opinion, the best account of the cultural contributions of immigrants and their influence in American life that has appeared. The author has done an excellent piece of work, especially in Parts I and II, on the Colonial period and the old immigration, which reaches its climax in the sections dealing with the Germans. The latter part, on the new immigration, tends to become a mere historical account of the movement, settlement, occupation, and the like of the various immigrant groups, and relies to a greater degree on secondary sources. Though the sociologist specializing in this field will encounter nothing unfamiliar in regard to broad outline, he will find a wealth of social historical data, for the most part new to him, which give body and content to the total picture and shed additional light on numerous situations. The volume is not only scholarly in the best tradition but also interestingly written.

MAURICE R. DAVIE

Yale University

A Comparative Study of Certain Relief and Nonrelief Households in Selected Areas of Rural Maryland. By THEODORE B. MANNY and HARRY G. CLOWES. College Park, Md.: Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, 1939. Pp. 117.

This is one of the latest and most comprehensive of the local analyses of relief situations. Interviews with 788 households (341 relief and 447 nonrelief) in seven areas of six scattered counties provide the basic data. The relief and nonrelief households are compared with respect to the following three broad groupings of characteristics: composition, resources and liabilities, and occupation. There is an introductory section on background materials and definitions and a brief concluding summary.

The analysis shows that, from every standpoint, relief households were less able to stand economic shock. These households contained more chil-

dren and other dependents than did the corresponding nonrelief sample. The relief households were also at a relative disadvantage in regard to real estate ownership, life insurance, bank accounts, and personal debt. Occupationally, the relief households were more frequently recruited from the unskilled and servant classes.

The study contributes significantly to the already swollen store of national relief data.

HOMER L. HITT

Bureau of Agricultural Economics
Washington, D.C.

Law and Politics: Occasional Papers of Felix Frankfurter, 1913–1938. Edited by ARCHIBALD MACLEISH and E. F. PRITCHARD, JR., with a Foreword by Mr. MACLEISH. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1938. Pp. xxiv+352. $3.00.

This book is made up of editorials, articles, and book reviews of Mr. Justice Frankfurter from the year before he began his career on the faculty of Harvard Law School to the time of his appointment as an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The selections chart, as Mr. MacLeish says in his Foreword, the social and economic and political thinking of a man who may well sit on the Supreme Court bench for the next quarter of a century. The influence of Holmes is apparent, notably in the author's sympathy with state control of commerce and impatience with any interference with freedom of expression. Among the variety of subjects covered by the articles collected in this volume, those of the functions of the Supreme Court, the judicial protection of civil liberties, and labor law problems will be especially interesting to the present-day reader. He will find that Mr. Justice Frankfurter has often made the present significant to an unknown future and that he has always expressed his opinions and arguments in a forceful and attractive manner.

M. E. BATHURST

University of Chicago

America at the Movies. By MARGARET FARRAND THORP. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939. Pp. xii+313. $2.75.

Miss Thorp shows an intimate familiarity with the motion-picture industry, with the production and distribution of pictures, with the attitudes of the movie-going public, and with the literature on motion pictures. She has welded together the information derived from these va-

rious sources into a work which shows considerable insight as well as a healthy objectivity. This volume should be of value to students who are interested specifically in motion pictures; also to those who desire to secure a kind of case study of the mobile character of our contemporary social life. What Miss Thorp has written throws interesting light upon such puzzling problems as popularity, fashions, public whims and fancy, and on the efforts of an institution to adjust itself to such a changing dynamic complex.

HERBERT BLUMER

University of Chicago

The Study of Society: Methods and Problems. Edited by F. C. BARTLETT, M. GINSBERG, E. J. LINDGREN, and R. H. THOULESS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xii+498. $3.50.

This volume consists of a series of articles contributed by a number of English scholars. Apparently they have enjoyed the benefit of conversations and consultations with one another, for the volume has something of a collective character. The work is divided into four parts entitled, respectively, "Some Problems of Social Psychology," "Social Applications of Psychological Tests and Other Methods," "Some Methods of Social Anthropology," and "Some Methods of Sociology." The reviewer is disposed to call attention particularly to the following articles: "The Relation of Psycho-pathology to Social Psychology," by J. T. MacCurdy; "The Scientific Method and the Use of Statistics," by R. H. Thouless; "The Development of Field Work Methods in Social Anthropology," by A. I. Richards; and "The Problems of Methods of Sociology," by M. Ginsberg. Students will find the volume to be a very helpful presentation of methods employed in the field of social psychology, social anthropology, and sociology.

HERBERT BLUMER

University of Chicago

A New Design for Women's Education. By CONSTANCE WARREN. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1940. Pp. xiii+277. $2.00.

The president of Sarah Lawrence College looks back on a decade of experimentation in a progressive college and finds it good. Her evaluation will be shared by those who have followed the development of this laboratory college whose "emphasis is on the individual and on what happens to . . . . her in the process we call education."

The author succumbs to two temptations which confront most reformers. When one has sung a song of protest, it is hard to believe that

the world has joined in the chorus. Much has happened in colleges in recent years and today many of the accomplishments reported in this book could be matched in institutions which not only admit but boast of their traditionalism.

The reformer often finds it hard to believe that people who disagree with him are both sincere and intelligent. Practices of which President Warren disapproves become "sacred cows in the field of education," honored, apparently, because of the nostalgic stupidity of alumnae and the inertia of faculties. Surely cows are sometimes treasured because they produce highly satisfactory nourishment.

MILDRED H. MCAFEE

Wellesley College

An Occupational Classification for Research Workers. By PHILLIP J. RULON and ROBERT J. BLANTON. Cambridge: Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, 1939. Pp. 47. $0.50.

This scheme was devised for the purpose of classifying the occupations of alumni of Harvard College, the largest proportion of whom were engaged in professional, proprietory, and clerical occupations. The regular Census classification was found to be insufficiently detailed for the purposes of this study. Ordinarily there is little need for a classification which presents separately such occupations as museum curator, geologist, and five types of brokers. Where such detail is needed, however, this classification will be found useful. This classification cannot be entirely converted into the "Convertibility List of Occupations" which was recently devised for the purpose of securing greater comparability between the occupational statistics published by different agencies. Since the authors state that their classification is subject to revision it may well be that they will make the few necessary changes so as to obtain comparability with "Convertibility List of Occupations."

A. J. JAFFE

Washington, D.C.

"Refugees: Showing the Causes, the Facts, the Administrative and Economic Difficulties, the Human Adjustment and the Efforts at Solution, of Forced Migration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, ed. FRANCIS J. BROWN (Philadelphia, May, 1939). Pp. xv+271. $2.00.

This series of essays covers four main topics: "Underlying Factors of the Refugee Problem," "The Present Problem," "The Human Side of the Problem," and "Possible Ways Out." The elimination of democratic pro-

cedure, the intensification of nationalism, the intrusion of totalitarian doctrine, and the implementation of violence as a medium of political control contribute to the setting of the contemporary refugees. The refugees are generally regarded as a minority group who become the scapegoats of the majority in their struggle to seize and maintain political power. Intensified nationalism, stringent immigration laws, and economic difficulties in other countries retard and prevent the resettlement of refugees.

Like many works of co-ordinated effort, this volume lacks a unified perspective. The approach combines politicolegal, sociological, and social welfare viewpoints. An impartial analysis merged with appeals or plans for social amelioration does not make for clarity. Also the stress upon political and ethnic factors seems to be at the expense of the economic factor, which should have been more carefully considered. Withal the work, as an initial attempt to understand an involved social problem, contains valuable and suggestive leads for further and more delimited empirical studies. A Selected Bibliography is appended.

S. KIRSON WEINBERG

Chicago

Invisible Empire: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan, 1866–1871. By STANLEY F. HORN. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1939. Pp. x+434. $3.50.

The story of the Ku Klux Klan of 1866–71 is really the story of the reconstruction period in the South. This period, during which the southern states were practically treated as conquered provinces, was marked by the utmost political corruption. The misrule of the carpetbagger's regime tried the patience of the southern people beyond all endurance.

Giving full cognizance to the great tension and social unrest which existed in southern society during those turbulent years, the author presents a composite picture of the Ku Klux Klan of 1866–71. With a wealth of detail he indicates how the Klan, beginning as a social and benevolent organization, changed its complexion to one of self-conferred police power. From a frivolous casual beginning the Klan developed into a most powerful and extensive vigilante organization. With keen insight Horn shows the relationship between this transition of the Klan and the social tenor of the times. Not only does he indicate how the Klan functioned as a whole, but the origin, operations, and demise of the Klan in each of the southern states are graphically presented. This volume commends itself as an excellent literary documentation of a significant social movement.

HERBERT T. SCHUELKE

Chicago

War without Violence. By KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1939. Pp. xl+351. $2.50.

India's war without violence, as directed by Gandhi, crystallizes the abstract notions of a moral equivalent for war and gives them a concrete worldly setting. Gandhi's ideology, epitomized in the word *Satyagraha,* is defined as nonviolent direct action and is based on the crucial assumption that the social value of sacrificial suffering on a mass scale lies in its ability to neutralize or paralyze violent coercive agencies. Shridharani, a native of India and an intimate companion and follower of Gandhi, gives in complete detail the technique, practice, and theory of *Satyagraha.* Of particular significance to the student of social movements is the author's discussion relative to the folklore of nonviolence, and the emergence of Gandhi as a charismatic leader of the Indian people.

HERBERT T. SCHUELKE

Chicago

The Challenge of Adolescence. By IRA S. WILE. New York: Greenberg, 1939. Pp. x+484. $3.50.

The major problem of adolescents—that of acquiring an adult social status and personality in a society which has no use for their services—remains as yet unanswered.

The present volume is but another compilation of the already well-worn facts and theories of physical maturation and sex, of conflict and the unconscious, together with chapters on the adolescent in his institutional aspects. These facts and concepts have in the past left the major problems of adolescent personality and social function unsolved, and the 484 pages of this volume leave them still unsolved.

JESSIE R. RUNNER

Iowa City, Iowa

The Spirit of French Canada: A Study of the Literature. By IAN FORBES FRASER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. xii+219. $2.75.

The main themes of the literature of this minority people are, as here presented: the history of the race, the mother-country, the Roman Catholic church, language and folklore, and the cult of the soil. The social and political history pertinent to each theme is reviewed. Copious quotations from the literature give the reader the feel of the country, of the people and of their men of letters.

As the author properly emphasizes, French-Canada's has been a literature with a mission—the mission of preserving a people and its traditions. It is this which gives the book its importance for students of Colonial and minority peoples.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Labor Economics and Labor Problems. By DALE YODER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1939. Pp. xii+669. $3.50.

This text for an elementary course in labor problems brings up to date—with improvements—the author's first edition published in 1933. It treats the generally accepted divisions of the subject but in a way which should delight the hearts of institutionalists.

As might be expected in a text of this sort there are occasional loose generalizations and questionable interpretations of history. On the whole, however, the book lends itself to use by an instructor who can clothe this general approach to labor problems with the flesh and blood of specific unions, corporations, leading personalities, strikes, etc.

STANLEY RAPPEPORT

New York City

Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities, 1938–1939, No. 6. Edited by DONALD B. GILCHRIST. Compiled for the Association of Research Libraries. New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1939. Pp. xviii+113. $2.00.

This useful work of reference lists, under the conventional academic headings, the largest crop yet—2,928 dissertations, of which 756 are in the social sciences.

Tables show the number of dissertations in the various fields for each of the last ten years and the distribution of current dissertations by university by subject. The seventy-one dissertations in sociology, accepted by twenty-five universities, cover a wide range of subjects, many of which are not sociological in the strict sense.

Les Hérésies du moyen age. By EMMANUEL AEGERTER. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1939. Pp. xii+155. Fr. 15.

The several heresies considered are analyzed institutionally and psychologically, rather than theologically. Heresies, according to the author, are of two types—intellectual and social. The first carry reason too far with reference to dogmas already defined by the church. These were heresies of the clergy themselves, an inevitable occasional result of the very disputation encouraged by the schools. The second type characteristically carries much too far some precept or ideal of religion itself. The masses may also be misled by such heresies; for they are the heresies of exaltation. These the church opposes, at least in part, because it knows that perfection destroys humanity. In both types one finds ideas and tendencies later occurring in various Protestant sects.

ABSTRACTS OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

The persons who have aided in the preparation of the material for this issue are: Paula Abele, Hubert Bonner, Eugene Christgau, John A. Clausen, Frederick B. Lindstrom, Jack London, Robert B. Reed, Joan Rockwood, and Erich Rosenthal. The numerals and letters appearing after each abstract correspond to the items in the following scheme of classification.

I. THEORETICAL SOCIOLOGY
  a) Sociological Theory
  b) History of Sociology
  c) Methods of Research
  d) The Teaching of Sociology
II. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY
  a) Human Nature and Personality
  b) Collective Behavior
III. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
  a) The Family
  b) Ethnic and Racial Groups
  c) Social Stratification
  d) The Church and Religion
  e) The State and Political Process
  f) The School and Education
  g) Economic Institutions
  h) Voluntary Associations
IV. POPULATION AND HUMAN ECOLOGY
  a) Demography
  b) Ecology
  c) The Rural and the Urban Community
V. DISORGANIZATION
  a) Personal Disorganization
  b) Social Disorganization

338. **The Antecedents of the Oedipus Complex.**—Freud declares the Oedipus complex to be the nucleus of all neuroses. Its fullest development, according to him, was supposed to occur in the fourth or fifth year of life at the full attainment of the phallic state. More recent research has shed doubt upon the time limits within the child's mental development to be assigned to the Oedipus complex and has also made it questionable whether a neurosis is caused by the Oedipus complex itself or has its origin in the pre-Oedipal period, i.e., the anal state.—**Hans Behn-Eschenburg,** *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, XVI (1935), 175–85. (II*a*). P. A.

339. **Bad Habits in Childhood and Their Importance in Development.**—Only those habits are considered which may occur in any normal child. Most bad habits are caused by paranoid or phobic anxieties and represent substitutes for avoiding or overcoming these anxieties caused by perverse fantasies of sadistic or libidinal character. The bad habits do not always clearly show their fundamental tendencies but may disguise the actual source of psychotic anxiety, either by dislocation or by substitution of the object. These perverse anxieties are "abreacted" in more harmless and more normal ways through the bad habits which represent a cure of these libidinal and sadistic tendencies as well as a satisfaction of the demands of the super-ego. In this way the child may overcome perversion by libidinization and sadistic or asocial tendencies by flight into reality and aggression. Bad habits may also constitute an attempt to achieve unity between antagonistic parts of the body. Good or loved parts are those giving pleasure, evil or hated and feared parts are those causing pain or frustration and are regarded as persecutors. Through bad habits, parts causing displeasure may be transformed into good ones giving compensation for the anxieties caused by the aching

parts and thus furthering a feeling of unity. The attitude of the ego toward bad habits may be threefold: (1) they may be denied, i.e., when they occur unobserved, in sleep, etc.; (2) they may be assimilated, viz., when they are felt to be an obsession; or (3) they may be repressed. These attitudes are attempts to achieve unity of the mind; they are causes for the "ego's tendency toward synthesis." Bad habits, therefore, are of importance for the normal development of the child in order to overcome psychotic anxieties and to develop a sense of reality. Their suppression is usually not only futile but dangerous. Better understanding of and greater indulgence toward bad habits is more successful; they should be treated by trying to remove their underlying causes and by providing a suitable cure of the anxieties that lie at the bottom of all bad habits.—**Melitta Schmideberg,** *International Journal of Psychoanalysis,* XVI (1935), 455–61. (II*a*.) P. A.

340. **Future of Psychoanalysis.**—The general standing of psychoanalysis as a profession will in the future depend less on distinguished personalities than on the quality of the rank and file of analytical practitioners. The selection of candidates should be stricter, the duration of the training longer than at present, and post-graduate analyses might be put on a more organized basis. In the field of technique it is doubtful if any revolutionary change will occur. In the field of theory considerable changes should be expected in the course of twenty years. Workers schooled by disciplines other than Freud's will be able to effect fresh orientations, to formulate fresh correlations. With respect to allied disciplines, we should scarcely anticipate much help from such fields as anthropology, political economy, or sociology, although we should keep a watchful eye on the currents of thought in those fields. More perhaps may be expected from biochemistry, which should influence our theory, and especially from comparative esychology. When this last-named discipline turns its attention to the subject of instincts and the nature of instinctual activity, as such workers as Pictet, Maurice Thomas, and Verlaine are beginning to do, we may well receive a useful stimulus to reconsideration of these obscure problems.—**Ernest Jones,** *International Journal of Psychoanalysis,* XVII (1936), 269–77. (I*a*.) J. L.

341. **Affects, Passions, and Temperament.**—Affects are typical responses to typical demands, responses handed down from one generation to another in the form of potentialities. The basic tendencies which cause affects we call evagination and invagination. In affective attacks they may show themselves in conscious or unconscious activity. This division of consciousness explains much seemingly contrary and irrational behavior. A person may comply with an instinctive tendency though he may rationally deplore his act. The evagination tendency is the tendency to excrete, to expel, to rid ourselves of all troubles by tossing away. We clear the mind of its cankers and return, as a child does after defecating, to serenity—and in the child's case back to sleep, the most desired state of the ego. We strive always to win absolute freedom from disturbing elements. Opposite to evagination is invagination, a tendency also directed to the removal of disturbing elements, but incorporating the disturbing object within us so it will cease to disturb us. The effects of these two tendencies may be seen in the phenomena of flight and rigidity at the appearance of a terrifying spectacle. Flight is the tendency to evagination released, the tendency to cut away, be rid of. Stark terror is the tendency to invagination. We become stiff in the attempt to incorporate within ourselves the frightening thing. In a child the conflict of these tendencies can be seen in physical reactions. But as we grow older the tension between the tendencies becomes less evident physically and perhaps mentally. Internal friction of affects makes it possible for us to control them and release them simultaneously in the form of compromise reactions. As the ego grows stronger, most affects are strongly inhibited. There remain evident to us only the "libidinal instincts," the passions. These are such phenomena as sympathy, longing, jealousy, modesty, and similar emotions. Today we find opposing tendencies: affects tending to become permanent and affects being inhibited and abolished. The latter is part of the progress of the race in eliminating passions. The former is the cause of hysteria and other affective attacks of the present day.—**Karl Landauer,** *International Journal of Psychoanalysis,* XIX (1938), 388–415. (II*a*.) E. C.

342. **An Anthropologist's View of Mass Observation.**—The method of mass observation tries to investigate modern English life, as yet largely unexplored, with the methods of the anthropologist. It has made a praiseworthy beginning in the last two years, but thus far the techniques used seem purposeless and inadequate. The idea of recorded observation itself is not entirely new, since Rowntree, Seabohm, and a survey of 1860 have made use of it. These old surveys made use of their observations in solving or clarifying problems while the new movement seems to record only for the sake of promiscuous note-taking. The group ignores simple precautions in sampling and verifying data, and it has not compensated for the bias of the observer. Mass observation is doing the task it has laid out for itself only in part, has is aiming at something worth while to social science. It can do the job properly only after correction of past defects, by placing emphasis on scientific accuracy, and a redirection of effort on the part of its leaders.—**Raymond Firth,** *Sociological Review*, XXXI (1939), 166–93. (Ic.) E. C.

343. **Psychoanalysis and Study of Politics.**—The study of political institutions and political ethics does not form a complete political science since neither discipline provides an explanation of how political institutions came into being, or what ends they serve, and as to whether there are general laws that govern man's behavior in society. History provides the material for answering these questions, but historians have as a rule been too busy collecting facts to work on the problem. The sociologist may also be criticized for having abandoned the search for general laws in very many fields and fallen back on the collection of facts. In looking for such general laws, the importance of emotional factors in determining the course of history should not be overlooked. Psychoanalysis is, par excellence, the science concerned with individuals and their emotions and is therefore the concern of the historian and of the sociologist. Psychoanalytical research has as yet little influenced the study of history, and, while lip service is paid to it by sociologists and political thinkers, little has been done by these to incorporate its discoveries into their work. Therefore, inquiries should be undertaken with an aim which may be tentatively defined as discovering how far normal political and social life is governed by irrational emotional forces. The emotional forces at work in society can be interpreted along the lines used by psychoanalysis in interpreting these forces in individuals. The use of psychoanalysis by the historian and the sociologist might uncover many of the causes of our "modern discontents."—**J. Maling,** *Sociological Review*, XXXI (1939), 210–21. (Ic). R. B. R.

344. **A Note on the Methods of Establishing the Connexion between Economic Conditions and Crime.**—The dualistic theory which attributes crime to a combination of individual predisposition and environmental influence is too general to be of any use when applied to concrete material, and it has little to say regarding the endogenous and exogenous factors in the genesis of particular classes of crime. Segregation of the two factors in the dualistic theory is best approached through an investigation into the influence of economic conditions on crime. Since no change through natural development can occur in the fundamental nature of a group in a limited period, any variation detected during the same period of mass criminality of this group must depend on some change in environment, and in the environment a change in economic conditions is likely to have the most immediate and direct effect on the group exposed. In addition, changes in the economic situation of any given class and corresponding changes in the criminality of the given class would have to be determined. Further, the great differentiation of classes taken in a vertical section from the lowest to the highest would have to be supplemented in a horizontal section which considers the particular socioeconomic situation of each class in particular areas. Since we lack this necessary detailed information, we must content ourselves with approximations. The methodological difficulties connected with the concept of "economic situation" are also connected with the concept of "criminality." Statistics of crimes known to the police approach nearer to the real amount of crime than other available figures. However, these contain a certain proportion of cases of only apparent criminality, and the classification of certain offenses by police authorities is sometimes inaccurate. In any case, the changes in criminality taking place in the course of time can be determined with precision by the use of indices

of criminality. Changes in these may be explained by reference to corresponding changes in indices of economic conditions. What part of total criminality should be taken in conjunction with economic conditions is a question. The aggregate figure of criminality is heterogeneous, and the heterogeneity increases with the greater socio-economic differentiation in modern communities. Figures are thus necessary for each general type of offense and also for each of its varieties. A positive correlation between economic conditions and criminality affords a basis for stating that a causal connection exists only after all noneconomic factors have been eliminated. But the mere fact of the deterioration of economic conditions is only indirectly related to an increase in criminality through various psychological and moral processes. The problem shifts from the domain of economic statistics and criminal statistics to that of individual and social psychology.—**L. Radzinowicz,** *Sociological Review*, XXXI (1939), 260–80. (I*c*, V*b*.) F. B. L.

345. Mental Disease and Crime: Outline of a Comparative Study of European Statistics.—The knowledge that insanity and mental deficiency are predisposing causes of crime led to the supposition that numbers of people in some countries who were counted in official statistics as criminals might, in fact, be suffering from mental diseases. The study of the relationship between mental disease and crime is approached through a comparison of statistics on the amount of institutional accommodation provided for insane and mentally deficient persons with statistics on the amount of prison accommodation provided and on the incidence of convictions for serious offenses in eighteen European countries. A significant negative correlation obtains between the number of mental hospital inmates and of prisoners per thousand population. An even higher negative correlation was found between the number of mental hospital inmates and the number of convictions for homicide in the same countries. In countries where the mental health facilities are in the early stages of development, the sex incidence of patients tends to resemble the sex incidence of prisoners (a considerable preponderance of males over females), while in countries with well-developed mental health services, female patients are generally slightly more numerous than males. Before the statistical relationship between mental disease and crime can be properly understood, a large group of facts of geography and demography must be considered and analyzed, since such factors as ease of internal communication, population density, and net reproduction rate are apparently related to variations in mental health services among populations.—**J. L. Penrose,** *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, XVIII (1939), 1–15. (V*b*.) J. A. C.

346. Allgemeine Wehrpflicht und die Statistik [Conscription and Statistics].—Army statistics which are based on general conscription, provide data on the social, ecological, and racial composition of the men under arms; on health, hygiene, and mortality in the army, on crime in the military service, especially on attempts against the moral and fighting spirit of the army; and, finally, statistics on education.—**Friedrich Zahn,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv*, XXV (1935), 81–88. (I*c*) E. R.

347. La Notion de double et les rites funéraires en Chine [The Notion of the Double and Funeral Rites in China].—The soul is composed of two substances: heavenly (Yang) and earthly (Yin). The earthly is buried with the body, and the heavenly comes back to life and is the part to which the funeral rites are directed. The Yin and the Yang are fundamental Chinese concepts. Yang is the principle of light; Yin, of darkness. Yang is male; Yin, female. The idea may have originated in seasonal agricultural cycles and the community division of labor between men and women. The early idea of Yin as female comes to be associated with the later ideas of darkness and death by the analogy that both female and death need a superior spirit to bring them life. Women historically came to have an increasingly inferior social position, whereas man's life became more and more noble. Woman was considered impure. Yin and Yang are concrete categories, which apply to fixed objects, places, and persons. The fundamental division then extends to members of the community and to objects, beings, and places in rapport with them; it is a way of representing the group.—**Maurice Halbwachs,** *Journal de psychologie*, XXXV (1938), 518–47. (III*a*, *d*.) J. R.

348. Statistik der Berufsüberfüllung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der geistigen Beruf [Statistics on the Overcrowding of the Professions, with Particular Reference to the Intellectual Profession].—In dealing with the problem of overcrowding the statistician has a twofold task: to present the phenomenon in a quantitative form and to try to find correlations between the overcrowding and other economic and social processes. Our concern is mainly with the problem of how to get relevant data and how to measure overcrowding. Three symptoms of overcrowding can be differentiated. In the group of civil servants and similar occupations overcrowding becomes apparent through the fact that the trained young men have to remain an unusually long time on the waiting list before they are appointed. In the free professions (independent lawyers, physicians, etc.) overcrowding distributes the amount of work among so many persons that the income of each is markedly affected. In the occupations which are directly connected with business, temporary, not structural, unemployment is an indication of overcrowding. In the first two groups the total demand for services is determined by the size of the population; in the third group, by economic conditions. The index of overcrowding is the difference between the number of persons who are trained for a position and the number of persons actually employed in that profession. In those cases in which there was already an overcrowding in previous years, one has to find the sum total of all differences in order to determine the present overcrowding. The newly arising demand for personnel is determined by the number of vacancies resulting from death, old age, and marriage (for women), and by the increase or decline of the total demand. The demand due to vacancies is called "substitute demand," which to a high degree is dependent on the age composition of the group in question. The knowledge of the age composition of the group permits us to make life-tables and to compute the probability fairly correctly. The attempt to predict the substitute demand led to the discovery of a cycle which dominates occupational groups. A group is in the progressive stage of the cycle if it contains a heavy load of young people; it is in the regressive stage when the older age groups are predominant; and it is in a stationary stage when its age composition corresponds to the constructed tables. If the total demand of an occupational group is constant for a longer period of time, progressive and regressive stages follow each other rather regularly. This observation furnishes us with an important device for vocational guidance. In the selection of an occupation one should consider mainly those occupations whose members are in a regressive stage, at the time when the formal training is finished. If the total demand increases, then the "new" demand is larger than the "substitute" demand. The difference between them is called "expansion demand."—**Felix Burkhardt,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv*, XXII (1932), 481–91. (III*c*.) E. R.

349. Statistische Regelmässigkeiten bei den politischen Wahlen und ihre Ursachen [The Cause of Statistical Regularities in Political Elections].—The fourteen elections for the German Reichstag since 1918 have provided valuable statistical data. The attempt to organize parties along occupational lines, e.g., peasant and middle-class parties, has never been very successful and has been completely vitiated by the growth of National Socialism. The factor of tradition plays a role in so far as some areas show consistently high or low participation in elections. A tabulation shows that the socialist left (including Communists), the Catholic parties, and the bourgeoisie received consistent proportions of all votes from 1924 to 1932. During that period the socialist left gained 4 per cent, the Catholics lost 2 per cent, and the bourgeoisie (including the National Socialists) lost 2 per cent. The bourgeois parties, however, had lost 33 per cent of their votes to the National Socialist party. These figures indicate that by November, 1932, National Socialism had not yet succeeded in getting any votes from either the left group or from the Catholics.—**Josef Griesmeier,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv*, XXIII (1933), 1–19. (III*e*.) E. R.

350. Die Bedeutung der Zahl für die Sozialwissenschaften [The Importance of Quantitative Data for the Social Sciences].—Without doubt quantitative data provide us with important information in the social sciences, as far as size, structure, and growth of social mass phenomena are concerned. It is, however, evident that in the realm of the social sciences a total quantification is impossible, either because of the nature of social phenomena (as a supporter of the situational approach would argue) or their complexity, for which our statistical tools are not yet fine enough (mechanistic

approach). Quantitative data give us information regarding only one side of social phenomena. While it is the supreme aim of the natural science to transfer all qualitative into quantitative data, in the social sciences the quality of a phenomenon can never disappear in the numbers. But even where quantitative data are at hand in the social sphere the measurement of social facts which are dynamic suffers from the inelastic approach which characterizes statistics. Social facts by their very nature cannot be counted and measured without having first undergone a special treatment by the statistician who has to redefine his objects according to the needs of the field of specialization. Such operational definitions are practically not at all required in the natural sciences where the concept of electron or atom can be used without any further redefinition by the statistician. In the social sciences the statistical procedure must be determined by the logic of the situation and not by the logic of numbers. The result of the statistical procedure should be examined to see whether it really answers the original concrete problem. Without such provisions statistics is blind and, although formally correct, can lead only to statements which do not have any bearing on the content of the problem.—**Paul Flaskaemper,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv,* XXIII (1933), 58–70. (I*c*.) E. R.

351. **Die Volks- Berufs- und Betriebszählung 1933 [The Population, Occupation, and Business Census of 1933].**—Before the war of 1914–18 the German population census was taken every five years. The census of 1925 should have been followed up by a new one in 1930, but the refusal of single states to carry their share of the expense made for a regrettable delay. The results of 1925 were no longer adequate or significant since the advent of the depression. The census of 1933 is advantageous in so far as it coincides, on the one hand, with the political revolution and, on the other hand, with the beginning of economic recovery. Since Germany was unable to pay an army of enumerators, the duties of an enumerator have been declared by law an obligation of civil servants. Each enumerator, carrying a load of about forty households, has to check and correct the questionnaires which are filled out by the head of the household. The population is enumerated according to their permanent residences. Especially valuable is the information on the number of children by length of marriage. The main emphasis of the 1933 census is on occupational problems, in order to get information regarding the number of unemployed, those who were never employed, and the number of persons who draw pensions. The question on occupation is broken down in order to ascertain the social position of the persons. Three hundred specific occupations will be counted and tabulated and an attempt will be made to define the positions of the white-collar workers more accurately. The agricultural census is set up with the intention of gaining information on the organization of single farms in relation to the size of the farm. A separation of the smallest farms from all others is a labor-saving device. The size and kind of livestock and the use of machines are other items to be recorded. Other items are the number of skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers employed and the number of enterprises closed down. With the introduction of two shifts for tabulation of the material it is hoped to have all results ready within eighteen months.—**Friedrich Burgdoerfer,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv,* XXIII (1933), 145–70. (IV*b*.) E. R.

352. **The Examination as Initiation Rite and Anxiety Situation.**—There is a tendency in society to formalize important emotional situations and to employ them as real social values. These values are expressed in the development of the individual in the form of re-enactments of ancient primordial conflicts within himself and between himself and other members of society. The formal examination is a modern recurrence of the same primordial phenomenon which serves as an initiation rite and anxiety situation for testing the individual's qualification for specific situations in society.—**J. C. Flügel,** *International Journal of Psycho-analysis,* XX (1939), 275–86. (II*a*.) H. B.

353. **Über das Nachahmen [On Imitation].**—Imitation is fundamentally a native drive of the social animal. It is motivated by the fear of loneliness and ostracism in the individual, causing him to follow the leader of the social herd or to behave like other members of his group. While it is a native drive, the mechanism of imitation is only a determining tendency, not a specific instinct.—**K. Groos,** *Zeitschrift für Psychologie,* CXLV (1939), 358–89. (II*a*, *b*.) H. B.

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WAR AND TECHNOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

The course of military technology follows closely the course of industrial technology. There is the same "cultural lag," the same dependence on "outside" inventors (civilians in this case) for revolutionary techniques. Sombart has expounded the thesis that capitalism developed under the impetus of war. In this article the technological relation of military progress to industry, science, and invention is traced. It is shown that both science and technology owe much to military necessity and that war has been a powerful social force in the evolution of the physical sciences. Last, it is brought out that military organization and military life have made their impression on industry, with the result that workers are subjected to a discipline much like that of an army and that the military line and staff have been copied by industry. Though military needs have been the inspiration of physical scientists it is not to be concluded that without war there would be no science. Though backward, the biological sciences have developed apparently without any direct or indirect military encouragement.

For Richard the Lionhearted coal held not the slightest economic or military interest. Today nations cannot wage war without it. This culture of ours is based on coal and iron—on energy and machines made of steel. Since the "great man" theory of culture has been abandoned—a theory which attributes all progress to heroes of art, invention, politics, arms, religion, and statesmanship—it becomes necessary to discover exactly how science and technology rose. We think at once of eighteenth-century liberalism, the development of free trade, the Industrial Revolution. But the social pressure that forced the technologist to make the most of coal and iron ores and the physicist and chemist to examine the nature of matter and formulate the laws that underlie mechanics began to be exerted

long before the French Revolution. Science is itself an aspect of social change, a response to social compulsion. Like art, justice, and religion it pursues a course which has little relation to its own internal logic. What, then, was the social pressure that shaped the course of science?

There never was a time in the last five hundred thousand years when there was not some science, some technology in the world. Even the Peking man, who still had much of the ape in him, knew the use of fire—the beginning of technology. And even primitive savages invented such ingenious machines as bows and arrows and firedrills. Yet it was not until explosives were introduced in war that the real mechanization of armies began in our sense of the word. It was the discovery and the military use of gunpowder that gave science and technology their impetus—a discovery which did quite as much as the invention of movable types and the steam engine to change the structure of society, to give it new purpose and direction, and to lay the foundations of engineering and mass production.

If an explosive is to hurl a projectile, there is clearly need of a suitable weapon. The need was met by the musket and the cannon. At once we are confronted with a formidable metallurgical task. The first metal cannons were made of bronze, an alloy much too expensive for use on a large military scale, yet the only metal that could be used in the beginning for lack of the proper technical skill. Iron is cheaper, more abundant than copper, and, properly worked, even more efficient. But to cast iron ingots of cannon size and in sufficient quantity was beyond the capabilities of armorers and smiths. Exactly where and when the change from bronze to cast-iron cannon was made is not known. It occurred somewhere in western Germany, eastern France, or Belgium about 1410. But the first Continental cannons were mortars, large in diameter, short in length. The long-range fieldpiece, with its relatively small bore and great length, originated in Sussex.[1] From the very beginning the iron-founding industry of Sussex produced war material, shot and guns, and continued to do so throughout its whole course.

[1] Rhys Jenkins, "Iron Founding in England, 1490–1603." Paper read before the Iron and Steel Institute, London, November 9, 1938, and printed in the *Transactions of the Newcomen Society*, XIX (1938–39), 35–49.

As might be expected the early Sussex iron-founders were not industrialists in the modern sense, but craftsmen and artisans. Their furnaces were small and were fired with charcoal and blown by bellows worked by water wheels. Such was the demand for charcoal and such the Continental demand for the long English cast-iron gun that in the reign of Henry VIII, whose first act was to provide for munitions, armor, and guns, England's forests were threatened. By Queen Elizabeth's time it had become necessary to consider coal as a foundry fuel. But mines, mere open pits, were soon flooded, and there were only inefficient horse pumps to drain them. Out of the need came two great inventions—the high blast furnace and the Newcomen pump. With this early start in ferrous metallurgy it followed naturally that by the middle of the seventeenth century English arms factories were the best in Europe and that England led the world in the casting of cannon.

To this day the influence of military needs on metallurgy persists. Bessemer was confessedly inspired by the inefficiency of cannon in the Crimean War and the need of steel to invent the converter that bears his name. The first tough, strong, steel alloys were developed for the protection of battleships, with the result that the first sound automobiles were those with shafts and gears of nickel steel. Many of the great advances in metallurgy were made under military pressure. Our production of steels in electric furnaces was nothing to boast of before the war of 1914–18. By the time the treaty of peace was signed we had made good our deficiencies. It is also worth noting that the best crucible steels were long produced in quantity by Krupp by hand pouring and that Krupp was also the most powerful industrial developer of electric steels. With the advent of the military airplane and the airship, the need for aluminum alloys was urgent, with the result that a wholly new branch of metallurgy was opened for exploration.

Like swords, pikes, and coats of mail the earliest muskets were made by individual craftsmen. But not for long. By the sixteenth century the demand was such that specialization became necessary. Even then women were engaged in making some parts of muskets, though interchangeability had not yet been invented. By the end of the sixteenth century, according to Sombart, the musket-makers

of Augsburg offered to the Duke of Milan nine hundred "hand tubes," all designed to fire a ball of one size. By 1540 Hartmann of Nuremberg had standardized calibers—i.e., the relation of bore to length—and by 1773 all firearms fired standard projectiles.[2] In others words, it was discovered four centuries ago that mass production of munitions without standardization is impossible. Armies were increasing in size, and their consumption of material was colossal, considering the available resources. It is no accident, then, that works in which firearms and powder were made were the first to assume a modern character, that arsenals had to be built to store weapons, that governments undertook the production of explosives, munitions, and uniforms themselves.

Mass production by machines as we know it is inconceivable without interchangeability of parts. And interchangeability is the offspring of military necessity. The first step in this direction seems to have been taken in England. Pulley blocks constituted one of the most important supplies of the English navy in the eighteenth century. A single full-rigged frigate needed about fifteen hundred, and the Admiralty was purchasing about one hundred thousand annually after the middle of the century. On the recommendation of Samuel Bentham, brother of the famous Jeremy, Brunel's woodworking machinery, much improved by Maudslay, was introduced. Each tool performed its own part in a definite series of operations, with the result that pulley blocks were standardized and made so as to be interchangeable.[3] The principle was independently conceived and applied to gun making by Leblanc in France (1785). Much impressed, Jefferson did his unsuccessful best "to get the U.S. to bring him over which he was ready for on moderate terms." Yet it remained for Eli Whitney to reinvent and reintroduce on a larger and more dramatic scale the most important of all principles in manufacturing. In 1798 he applied for a contract to make ten thousand muskets on the interchangeable principle, so that it was possible to assemble a complete weapon from a heterogeneous mass of parts. It is significant that the impetus came from army needs.

[2] Werner Sombart, *Krieg und Kapitalismus* (München, 1913).

[3] Joseph W. Roe, *English and American Machine-Tool-Builders* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916).

As the result of his work the United States was so far in advance of Europe in gun making that for years even the British imported American machine tools for their government munitions factories and arsenals. Though the machine tool assumes today many special forms, it is the child of the musket and the cannon.

The demand for machine-made, standardized muskets and cannon called for a new type of skill. To bore the cylinders for his first engines Watt had to turn to John Wilkinson, and John Wilkinson was a cannon-borer who had invented the one machine in all England that could gnaw through a block of cast iron with accuracy. Without Wilkinson's machine tools the steam engine and hence the factory system, despite the use of water wheels in the textile industry, is scarcely conceivable as we know it. And so it was with the standardization of screw threads and machine operations. All were the direct and indirect consequence of the demand for firearms and cannon which had to be produced on a quantity basis. Even the Blanchard eccentric lathe was invented to accelerate the production of gunstocks.

The standardization of weapons was naturally accompanied by the standardization of clothing. It was not the desirability of distinguishing one army or brigade from another that led military leaders to adopt uniforms but the necessity of converting an armed force into a living machine. The beginnings, to be sure, are to be found in the "house colors" or liveries of feudal lords, house colors still preserved in the garb of our jockeys. The psychological effect of the uniform in fostering loyalty and *esprit de corps* was recognized when firearms were displacing pikes and bows and arrows.

Apart from the psychological advantage that accrued from uniforming troops, clothing, buttons, boots, saddles, hats, and other wearing apparel were bound to be standardized. When even small principalities and duchies framed specifications for cloth which was to be of one quality and color, buttons of a given size and of a given metal, hats of one design and material, the old hit-and-miss system of clothing regiments had to give way. An order for ten thousand uniforms or shoes was gigantic. For any army of one hundred thousand more than six hundred thousand ells of cloth were required, and the entire annual output of West Riding, center of the English cloth

industry in the eighteenth century, was only twenty-five thousand.[4] During the Seven Years' War the demand for military cloth was almost more than the weavers could meet. So it was with wagons, boots, harness, hats, and belts. Russia proceeded to fill some of her needs in state factories. In the more democratic countries the army dealt with large merchants who could control the quality and color of cloth and avoid conspicuous variations. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century we first hear of the sewing machine. It was Thimmonier's, and it was first used in making army uniforms (1829).

It would take us too far afield to show the ancillary effects of the demand for uniforms. We must content ourselves with pointing out that the textile industries needed large quantities of dyes, soap, detergents, and bleaching agents. When prices soared in 1775 the French Academy of Science offered a prize of 2,400 livres for a process whereby soda could be made cheaply. Nicolas Leblanc, a pupil of Lavoisier's, won it, and thus started the heavy chemical industry. In fact, his discovery was as important for industrial chemistry as Watt's invention for mechanical engineering. If France failed to reap full industrial advantage of the soda process, it was because of the French Revolution. The heavy chemical industry passed to England, which was supplying cloth for most of the armies of the Continent, despite "Prussian interlopers," as the English weavers called them.

It is not enough to supply an army with weapons and uniforms. Soldiers must have ammunition and food. Military demands were always made on road builders. Though Europe allowed Roman roads to collapse it did make military use of the locomotive when it appeared. On the Continent railways were laid out from the very beginning with an eye to military necessity. Moreover, they have long been state controlled. Until the locomotive was devised probably the largest army ever assembled was that with which Napoleon invaded Russia—a force of 500,000 which marched not as a solid mass, but in separate groups. Delbrück has shown that the hordes of Xerxes which invaded Greece are largely mythical.[5] He declines to accept the tales of the dense masses of Gauls that Caesar dwells

[4] Sombart, *op. cit.*

[5] Hans Delbrück, *Numbers in History* (London: University of London Press, 1913).

upon or of Attila's 700,000 men. Moltke needed nine railways to deploy an army of 400,000 and to control a reserve of 100,000, and even with this aid his rapid maneuvers—far more rapid than were Napoleon's—would have been impossible without the telegraph. Alexander set out with an army of 32,000 men on foot and 5,100 cavalry—about double the force Xerxes probably had in Delbrück's opinion. The total number of men engaged in the Battle of Hastings could not have been more than 12,000 despite the categorical statement of Roman de Rou that Harold had 400,000 under his command. No general of ancient or medieval times could possibly have recruited forces that ran into the hundreds of thousands, because of the paucity of population, the lack of good roads and means of communication, and the problem of finding enough food.

The vast technological change that occurred in equipping and transporting armies after the introduction of gunpowder and factory machinery is inconceivable without scientific advance. Back of the introduction of gunpowder and the progress in metallurgy that led to the improvement of firearms and artillery stood the scientist. Like the engineer he received his inspiration from war, as Robert K. Merton has shown.[6] Concern with the expansion of gases, combustibility of powder, and the consequent pressure of the products of combustion and the durability and resistance of materials aroused interest in "derivative problems," which seemed to be of purely scientific interest and which were attacked, in consequence, without apparent social pressure, so that the experimenters, utterly unaware of the original impetus, imagined that they were pursuing research solely for the sake of adding to the sum total of human knowledge—an illusion still cherished in our university laboratories. The scientists and engineers of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, however, were more aware of their relation to the soldier. When Leonardo offered his services to the Duke of Milan he enumerated ten of his virtues. Only one dealt with his gifts as an artist (this most casually), and the rest with fortifications, guns, transportation of infantry, powders, and inflammables. Galileo was a professor of military science at Pavia whose telescope was purchased by the signory of Venice solely because of its value in naval warfare.

[6] "Science and Military Technique," *Scientific Monthly*, XLI (December, 1935), 542.

Tartaglia reluctantly laid the foundation of ballistics, realizing that "it was a thing blameworthy, shameful and barbarous, worthy of severe punishment before God and man" but consoling himself with the thought that his work (incidentally quite useless in artillery practice but highly useful in the development of mechanics) might aid in overpowering the infidel Turks. Toricelli studied in much detail the trajectory and range of projectiles. Leibniz worked in what he called "military mechanics" and on a "new air-pressure gun." So did Denis Papin and Otto von Guericke.[7] The French artillery schools of the eighteenth century were the only places where science was systematically taught, and it was in them that Napoleon was educated. Lavoisier, the founder of modern chemistry, was head of the Régie des poudres. Rumford's classic experiment to determine the mechanical equivalent of heat was carried out with the aid of cannon-boring equipment—an experiment that furnished the basis of thermodynamics. The theory of gravitation as it was evolved by Galileo, Newton, and others emerged out of ballistics as much as it did out of the swinging of pendulums and the falling of bodies.[8]

The dependence of war on science increased with military mechanization. Today science and technology are mobilized to serve the army, sometimes in peace, as in Germany under Hitler, and always when hostilities break out. The result is a rapid and vast expansion of industrial research to achieve military and, hence, industrial ends as war assumes a totalitarian character. In this country there were well-conducted industrial laboratories even before the war of 1914–18. After 1918 research blossomed as never before. American industrial chemistry, for example, received an impetus that revealed itself in the production of optical glass (for which we had been dependent on Germany), dyes, nitrates, electric steels, alloys, hydroelectric machinery, silklike fibers, plastics, synthetic rubbers. In Great Britain, where industrial research stood at a low level, the story was repeated. If arms gained by the mobilization of science, so did industry—even German industry.

[7] J. D. Bernal, *The Social Function of Science* (New York: Macmillan, 1939), pp. 165–78.

[8] See the striking paper by B. Hessen, "The Social and Economic Roots of Newton's 'Principia,'" *Science at the Cross Roads* (London, 1932), pp. 151–212.

As war gradually involved whole industries economic self-sufficiency became a necessity. And self-sufficiency assumed different aspects as military techniques developed. Henry VIII stimulated the mining of iron, lead, and copper by inviting German capital to invest in English mines and encouraged the immigration of foreign artisans in metal. In every European country industry was developed with the aid of imported skill. Napoleon was, therefore, merely carrying on an old tradition when he infused new life into the chemical industry and saw to it that sugar beets and potatoes were grown of a quality that was unprecedented.

It was not until synthetic chemistry burgeoned that the first scientific efforts could be made to overcome a home deficiency in raw materials. Here, as might be expected, Germany took the lead. Her first large-scale attempts were made in preparation for the war of 1914–18. A score of chemists busied themselves with the conversion of wood (cellulose) into sugar and then into cattle fodder. A process for making an unsatisfactory kind of synthetic rubber was devised by 1910 and highly improved after 1918. Haber was encouraged to develop his process of synthesizing ammonia, which won him the Nobel prize. Bergius, another Nobel prize winner, Fischer, and Tropsch conducted a series of researches which culminated in methods of making gasoline and alcohol out of coal. Within a year after the war of 1914 broke out sewage was treated for the recovery of fats and other values, new processes for making glycerine were devised, chemists were engaged in attempts—which have not yet fully succeeded—to make out of petroleum an edible fat to take the place of butter and margarine. Goering's Four Year Plan, conceived and largely carried out before the recent invasion of Czechoslovakia, enlisted the technological resources of all Germany in a supreme effort to thwart the inevitable British blockade, with the result that fish and milk were converted into cloth, the tops of vegetables, ordinarily thrown away, were husbanded for conversion into fibers, and the garbage pail became a source of raw material for industrial chemistry. The economic repercussions are so well known that it is unnecessary to dwell on them. The nitrate deposits of the western South American coast, one of Chile's chief sources of wealth, have ceased to be of prime economic importance not only for Germany

but for other countries which proceeded to erect their own modified Haber plants. It is true that high tariffs played their part in this striving for self-sufficiency, but there is no doubt that, in Europe at least, every great military power had British control of the seas in mind.

Because war has little to do with morals or expenditures, because the business of the soldier is to maim, kill, and destroy, it might be supposed that all this military technological change was rapid. What Ogburn calls "cultural lag" is found in armies as well as in society at large. Standardization did not come about overnight. Rather was it a process of centuries. Even so late as the time of Frederick the Great remnants of feudal laxity persisted. That monarch could voice nothing but disapproval of the Great Elector's troops because of their slipshod appearance and equipment and their lack of discipline.[9] War lords were slow in learning from the church, which had uniformed its monks and nuns for centuries, standardized their ecclesiastical equipment and evolved a discipline as severe as that of any modern army. Centuries had to elapse before gunpowder at last completely displaced pikes and bows and arrows. Godfrey de Bouillon, *sans peur et sans reproche*, hacked off the right hands of captive musketeers but treated captive archers, swordsmen, and pikemen as honored guests. Whitworth's improved cannon and rifles were rejected at first. So were Armstrong's rifles and built-up cannons, a tremendous improvement over muzzle-loaders. Ericsson had to build the "Monitor" at his own expense. Probably the deadliest weapon ever used in war is the Maxim machine gun; yet Maxim had to hawk his model all over Europe and succeeded in selling it only after he allied himself with Zaharoff, a high-pressure salesman of munitions. The German general staff was bitterly opposed to Count von Zeppelin's rigid airship and in the end was overruled by popular opinion and Emperor William II. Though gas might have been used in

[9] "Sa cavalerie avait encore l'ancienne armure en entier; elle ne pouvait guère être disciplinée car chaque cavalier se pourvoyait de chevaux, d'habits et d'armes d'où il résultait une bigarrue étrange pour tout le corps." Quoted by Sombart from "Mém. pour servir à l'histoire de la maison de Brandenburg, 1767 (par Frédéric (II)," reprinted in *Die Geschichte der Bekleidung*, II, 201. In interpreting this comment it must be remembered that under feudalism a lord answered the summons of his prince with a motley crew clad in homespun and armed with craftmade or homemade weapons.

battle at any time after the French Revolution it remained for Fritz Haber to suggest that chlorine be wafted at Ypres and Neuve Chapelle. It was only later that mustard gas, known for sixty years, was fired in shells. The Wright airplane was at first rejected by the United States, Great Britain, and France. Before 1904 the Krupps were the leaders in military and industrial metallurgy, yet so difficult did they find it to sell their wares that the artillery experts of the world were invited to see for themselves how the new steels were made and to witness tests of new guns at the proving ground of Meppen. It was not until 1901, when H.M.S. "Captain," "Eurydice," "Atlanta," and "Condor" foundered in heavy weather, that the British navy finally abandoned sails and spars, except for schoolships.

Not only does military history reveal the same cultural lag as industrial history but all the revolutionary means of killing on a wholesale scale came from "outsiders," that is from technologists who were not professional soldiers. Whitworth, Armstrong, and Krupp were commercial iron-founders like their predecessors under the Tudors and Hohenstaufens. Ericsson was not a naval officer but an engineer in private practice. Gatling was a physician and Maxim a Maine farmer. Haber was a corporation chemist, director of an industrial research laboratory. Leonardo and Fulton, both of whom busied themselves with submarines, were artists. Bushnell, Bauer, Holland, and Lake, four of the more important inventors who brought the submarine to perfection, were all civilians. Lillienthal, an engineer, Langley, an astronomer, and the Wrights, two bicycle vendors and repairmen, were the more conspicuous among a score of inventors who gave us the airplane. Professional soldiers improve; they do not originate as a rule.

The explanation of technological lag in war and industry is the same. Expense accounts for some of it, tradition and inertia for much, and standardization for most. An army and a manufacturing enterprise are both highly standardized. Artillery comes in standard sizes, so that it may fire standard projectiles. So with rifles, grenades, tractors, tanks, all the modern paraphernalia of war. With billions invested in a standardized railway system it is financially hopeless in a capitalistic society to change gauges, signals, tunnel

clearances, rolling stock, and brakes in order to introduce one-hundred-and-fifty-mile-an-hour monorailways which can cross an abyss on a steel cable. Though it has been possible for forty years to record sound on a steel wire miles in length and to reproduce it electromagnetically in accordance with telephonic principles, we still cling to the standard disk with all the disadvantages of changing it when a long symphony is to be played and of the hissing and scratching that accompany the friction of a needle in its groove. Military history merely parallels industrial history. Both in industry and in war men are regimented. Everywhere there is system—system in reconnoitering from the air, firing shells from a battery, building an airplane, preparing and packaging a breakfast food. Innovations can be introduced in the midst of war only on a small and experimental scale, as in the case of gas, the tank, and armored vessels.

Every prediction that more effective means of killing would lead to the end of war has been belied. Only a few years before 1914 H. G. Wells expressed the opinion in *When the Sleeper Wakes* that not only would whole communities be wiped out by bombs dropped from the air but that men would never be equal to the peril of fighting in the air. When Kitchener first used the machine gun in war and mowed down the massed hordes of the Mad Mullah in the Sudan, the House of Commons was horrified and debated the advisability of prohibiting the use of the weapon. Sorokin has analyzed 902 wars and 1,615 internal disturbances of the last 2,500 years only to find that the bloodiest period in all history was the first quarter of the present century—an analysis made before 1939. The average man of the thirteenth century had 6,500 more chances of dying peacefully in bed than his descendant of the twentieth. There is no support for the popular belief in the disappearance of war as civilization progresses. War may conceivably destroy civilization, but the greatest social, cultural, political, industrial, technological, and economic blossoming has occurred when belligerency was high.

An army is an ideal consumer. It produces nothing and stands psychologically apart from any other human organization. In industry workers have always viewed technological advance with dread, so that when an invention like the spinning mule or the sewing

machine is introduced there is sabotage. The musket, the cannon, the machine gun are labor-saving devices in precisely the same sense that a steam shovel is a labor-saving device. But there is no sabotage among soldiers, because there is no technological unemployment. A machine gun can kill a thousand times more effectively than an infantryman's repeating rifle, but regiments of infantry are more numerous than they ever were. Fighting ships did not decrease in size when cannons were mounted on their decks, nor did crews diminish as the range and striking power of guns increased. Technological progress and military competition have led to fighting on a broader scale, until at last whole populations are involved.

Industry seems to march so serenely on its course that we are scarcely aware of the influence that war has had upon it. We are apt to think of a factory merely as something that supplies goods. Even though the goods are rifles and bullets, tanks and searchlights, airplanes and explosives, it has an air of specious independence as if it had grown from a seed without apparent external aid. Yet industry learned everything, except invention, from war—organization, discipline, standardization, the co-ordination of transport and supply, the separation of line and staff, the division of labor (cavalry, infantry, artillery). Workers dress more or less alike. Such is the influence of military example that "soda-jerkers," nurses, trainmen, waiters, elevator boys, theater ushers, and street sweepers are uniformed, and the doormen of hotels and motion-picture theaters resemble admirals and generals in resplendent full dress. Even the changing of the guard has its counterpart in the changing of eight-hour shifts. It may be, as Sombart maintains, that industry would have evolved its organization and discipline without military inspiration, but the tempo of its progress would certainly have been slower.

An indictment of war as an abuse of science and technology can easily be converted into a brief on the debt of research and invention to arms. However persuasive such a brief might be, it could not maintain the proposition that without war, without capitalism, without profit-making there would have been no science, no technology. Biology, for example, evolved with no other stimulus than curiosity and the spirit of free investigation. On the other hand, there is no

doubt that the progress of the physical sciences has been accelerated by war—the very sciences that are most likely to aid the soldier and the most likely to make profits. With the exception of medicine, the biological sciences, which have never appealed very strongly to capitalists, to philanthropists or the state, have lagged behind the physical sciences, and even medicine is backward compared with engineering. Because biology has advanced, though it is a laggard biology, we have every reason to believe that war is not a necessity in the pursuit of science.

Even more reprehensible than the bias imposed in favor of the physical sciences and engineering is the effect of war on the tempo of research. When the treaty of peace was signed at Versailles, industry and agriculture in Europe and America had been expanded far beyond normal requirements. Not only this but the machines and processes that had been hastily invented and introduced suddenly and enormously complicated the problem of technological unemployment. We cannot hope to solve that problem so long as war imperiously demands of society the patriotic duty to forget its struggles and hopes for a free, decent life in a hurried effort to meet the appalling ravages of armies and to keep pace with the outrageous destruction of material and human values. Nor is it to the credit of war that legislation conceived to protect workers from the rapacity of their exploiters is ignored or modified when the call to arms is heard. To make the most of scientific and technologic change, which implies the orderly application of discoveries and inventions, we need prediction of the kind first attempted in *Technological Trends and National Policy*, published in 1937 by the National Resources Committee. But the most trustworthy forecast of technologic and hence of social change can be of little value in framing a constructive policy of the kind we need to make the most of science and develop it uniformly and rationally on all frontiers to achieve the highest social good.

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THE SOCIAL TYPES OF WAR

HANS SPEIER

ABSTRACT

Three pure types of war are distinguished, viz., absolute war, instrumental war, and agonistic fighting. These wars are oriented, respectively, toward annihilation, advantage, and glory. Absolute war is unrestricted and unregulated war; agonistic fighting is regulated according to norms; and instrumental war may or may not be restricted, according to considerations of expediency.

War is a social conflict. In the sociological analysis of war it is necessary to ascertain the concrete meaning of this conflict, lest the problem be obscured by false generalizations. Instead of differentiating kinds of war according to causes it is here suggested that types of war be distinguished according to the social definition of the enemy.

The three pure types of war may be called absolute war, instrumental war, and agonistic fighting. Absolute war is unrestricted and unregulated war, agonistic fighting is regulated according to norms, and instrumental war may or may not be restricted, according to considerations of expediency.

Absolute war may be characterized, negatively, by the absence of any restrictions and regulations imposed upon violence, treachery, and frightfulness. In absolute war the enemy is not an obstacle to the attainment of values which he controls. Absolute war is not waged in order to effect a change of the enemy's mode of life; nor is it waged in order to conclude peace with the vanquished foe. Peace terminating an absolute war is established *without* the enemy. The opponent is an existential enemy. Absolute war is waged in order to annihilate him.

The absolute enemy is not a subject of predatory interests but rather a symbol of strangeness, evil, and danger to the community as a whole. His existence disturbs the order of life in the sense in which order is understood and experienced in the in-group. His customs are scandalous, his rites sacrilegious. His laws are incomprehensible, so that he appears to be lawless. His gods are false idols.

Strange dress and manners, unfamiliar weapons, and possibly even his physical appearance symbolize the utter danger to which the in-group is exposed by an attack from the out-group or the provocation to attack which the out-group constitutes. The reproach of perfidious assault and atrocious conduct in war are easily incurred under these circumstances, and the answer is given in kind. Owing to the absence of any cultural bonds, of social homogeneity, or of common interests uniting the belligerents, despite their conflict, war is waged without a sense of mutual obligation. Instead, all available means of violence, treachery, and terror are applied without scruples. Absolute war is war without rules, war in which the enemies do not belong to one mankind but represent different kinds of men, as it were, or regard each other indeed as animals. For, in the extreme case, fighting is ferocious not merely because of moral indignation or religious fanaticism but because of the elementary feelings of disgust and horror.[1]

The historical types of war in which restrictions tend to disappear from warfare are, above all, wars against "barbarians," "savages," and "infidels." In the wars of the Greeks against barbarians rules recognized in intra-Hellenic wars did not apply. Similarly, in the Middle Ages, the use of weapons prohibited in wars among Christians was allowed in fighting the Mohammedans. "The Christian knight is made to forget all honor and justice in the presence of his pagan enemies. He takes an unfair advantage in battle; he kills the wounded and helpless; he spares only those who, as they surrender, cry, 'Baptism! Baptism!' He needlessly tortures and maims spies. His ideal hero takes no prisoner, he exalts Christianity by pitilessly exterminating all opponents."[2]

Nor is the distinction between absolute and limited war according to the social definition of the enemy a peculiar trait of Western

[1] On "horror" cf. the material in Gunnar Rudberg, "Zum antiken Bild der Germanen," *Avhandlinger utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*, II: *Hist.-Filos. Klasse* (1933), No. 5. On "disgust" cf. Aurel Kolnai, "Der Ekel," *Jahrbücher für Philosophie und phenomenologische Forschung*, X (Halle, 1929), 515–69.

[2] Mark Skidmore, *The Moral Traits of Christian and Saracen as Portrayed by the Chansons de Geste* ("Colorado College Pub. Gen. Ser.," No. 203; "Studies Ser.," No. 20 [January, 1935]), p. 125.

civilization. It exists in many cultures,[3] even among primitive tribes. "Among the Australians unrestricted war is waged only against totally foreign tribes which live far off and of which one hears very seldom. The words used to denote these tribes must be rendered in our language as 'savages' and 'barbarians.' "[4]

The wars in modern times that can be compared to those waged against infidels have been called "ideological" wars.[5] They are fought in the name of political beliefs so dear to the belligerents that they arouse a crusading spirit. When political passion reaches the intensity of religious zeal, the foe becomes an "absolute enemy."

Ideological wars between nations can be called international civil wars when the ideologies are oriented toward class goals. It is well known that in societies in which social stratification is very rigid, i.e., in which social immobility is enforced by legal and religious sanctions, the value of life and death varies according to social status. If a member of the highest class kills a person of very low standing, this may fail to constitute what is ordinarily called murder. Likewise the death of an honorable man caused by a knave may entail so essential a diminution of honor to the kin of the murdered person that restitution is impossible. In war the same differential evaluation of life according to social status asserts itself in the differential treatment of enemies according to their social worth. The medieval knight often spared the life of a disarmed foe if the latter too was a knight but mercilessly slew him when he was of low rank. The particular ferocity of civil wars is due partly to the same cause, partly to the intense hate characteristic of civil war. This hate has various reasons. Both the threat to the status privileges of the higher class and the feelings of injustice animating the revolting class are immediate and personal. Also, civil war means treason, and treason of insiders constitutes a greater provocation

[3] Cf., e.g., W. A. P. Martin, "Traces of International Law in Ancient China," *International Review*, XIV (1883), 69.

[4] A. Knabenhans, "Der Krieg bei den Naturvölkern," *Geographisch-ethnographische Gesellschaft, Zürich*, XVI: *Jahresbericht pro 1915–16* (Zürich, 1917), p. 56. Cf. also Maurice R. Davie, *The Evolution of War: A Study of Its Role in Early Societies* (New Haven, 1929).

[5] The term seems to have been used first by De Jomini.

than aggression from outsiders.[6] The rebellious class, by denying the existence of common bonds with the suppressing class, defines the civil foe as an absolute enemy.

Apart from wars against barbarians and savages, religious, civil, and ideological wars, partisan wars also tend to approach the type of absolute war, especially when inferiority in man power, equipment, and organization are combined with an intense desire for liberation from the militarily superior conqueror. Instead of accommodating themselves to defeat, the whole population may engage in fighting and substitute ferocity for organized military strength.[7]

Finally, colonial campaigns often assume the character of absolute war because the "savage" is defined as an absolute enemy. Ferocities committed, justified, and advocated as retaliatory measures against savage tribes[8] are ultimately due to the fact that civilized weapons such as poison gas, aerial bombs, etc., are not available to the savages. Striking differences in equipment and methods of warfare enter into the social definition of the enemy. In addition, the history of colonization abounds with instances in which not the strange warfare of the savages but their valuable land or possessions precipitated ferocities under the pretext of antibarbarism.[9]

Instrumental war is waged in order to gain access to values which the enemy controls. Thus it is defeat of the enemy—not necessarily his annihilation—which is desired in instrumental war. The coveted values may be political (strategical frontiers, alliance with the vanquished foe, etc.), economic (spoliation, enslavement, exploitation, markets, etc.), or religious (conversion), etc. The extent to which instrumental war approaches the ruthlessness of absolute war depends on the importance attached to the coveted values by the defendant and on the character of these values. Instrumental war will

[6] Florian Znaniecki, *Social Actions* (New York, 1936), pp. 380 ff. and 450 ff.

[7] Cf. Ludwig Schraudenbach, *Psyche und Organisation des "Volkskrieges"* (Berlin, 1926); T. Miller Maguire, *Guerrilla or Partisan Warfare* (London, 1904); Denis Davidoff, *Essai sur la guerre des partisans* (Paris, 1841).

[8] Cf., e.g., Elbridge Colby, "How To Fight Savage Tribes," *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. XXI (1927).

[9] Some interesting material on this point is contained in Lewis Hanke, *The First Social Experiments in America: A Study in the Development of Spanish Indian Policy in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1935), esp. chap. i and Appen. B. I have collected the material for an essay on the history of the stereotype "barbarian."

be less ruthless if the victor's control over the coveted values presupposes that the vanquished remain alive. Restrictions of instrumental war are not rooted in respect for God, laws, or one's own honor; they are merely expedient in character. The term instrumental war is chosen for two reasons. War is an instrument for the attainment of values which the enemy controls. The enemy, too, is an instrument that obstructs by defense in war and under certain conditions must facilitate in some way after defeat the attainment of these values.

These conditions can be stated more specifically. The most important kind of instrumental war is war waged in order to attain economic values. When land occupied by the enemy, rather than his purchasing power, his labor resources, or his value as a tributary, is the objective, warfare tends to be particularly ferocious, since the objective is more fully attained by extermination than by subjugation. Under these conditions ferocity cannot be said to be economically wasteful from the point of view of the victor.[10] If mobile wealth is the objective no restrictions are necessary, and only the observation of norms may limit such wars. War assumes the form of robbery in which the death of the victim may constitute murder but does not mean waste.[11]

Thus, instrumental war may, under certain conditions, reach the ferocity of absolute war. In absolute war, however, extermination of the enemy is the supreme objective of war; it may even happen that the economic values of the absolute enemy are destroyed because they are contaminated by the enemy who used them. Extermination of the enemy in instrumental war is a rational means of removing the political obstacle to the use of economic values.

In the simplest cases violence in war is restricted for expedient reasons because the defeated and captured enemy himself becomes

[10] A British military writer says about the English ravages in Transvaal: ". . . . By thus exterminating whole families we hoped to leave untenanted lands on which our colonists might establish themselves later" (A. C. Bell, *Sea Power and the Next War* [London, 1938], p. 48). On the influence of climate on the economic objective and thus on ferocity in European colonization overseas cf. Ruth Benedict, *Race* (New York, 1940), p. 168.

[11] A perfect case of large-scale, organized robbery by military bands waging unrestricted war were the *grandes compagnies* in the Hundred Years' War. Cf. P. Henri Denifle, *La Désolation des églises, monastères et hôpitaux en France pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans*, II (Paris, 1899), esp. 378 ff.

an immediate source of gain. The victor exploits the labor power of the vanquished by enslaving him or by releasing him for ransom. Evidently the economic organization prevailing among the victors decides whether or not these restrictions will apply. The *Iliad* contains several passages which make it clear that this economic attitude toward the vanquished foe implies an element of mercy or, to be more cautious, control of rage. It is up to the victor to prefer the economic advantage, consisting in ransom, to the immediate satisfaction of killing the vanquished foe. There is no clearer proof for the contention that economic exchange of goods, even in its basic form as an exchange of goods for life, contains an element of peace and is contingent upon restraint of violence through reason.

When single combat ceases to be the predominant mode of warfare, restrictions of violence for reasons of economic expediency are no longer dependent upon the calculations of the individual fighters but rather upon both the foresight of the commander and the discipline he is capable of imposing upon his soldiery. The ends of war are no longer immediately intelligible to the soldier in his fight. Prior to the appearance of disciplined armies, military victory used to be wrought with the danger of demoralization for the victorious mercenary armies. The strategical exploitation of victory was limited by the danger that the general might lose control over his soldiers as easy plunder and pillage threatened to transform his men into a predatory crowd.

Economic foresight may also suggest that the enemies in war be treated during the war itself as future tributaries whose means of production should be spared in order not to diminish the chances of later exploitation.[12]

In short, whether or not economic considerations make for a restriction of war depends on the social field in which war is waged, especially on the form of gain as defined by the economic organization of the victorious society.[13]

[12] Illustrations abound. For an especially neat one cf. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *The Cid and His Spain*, trans. Harold Sutherland (London, 1934), p. 194.

[13] Ferocity, devastation, and waste depend also on the organization of the military supply systems. Even a brief consideration of this important factor, which would lead to the distinction between wanton destruction and purposive, instrumental destruction for strategical reasons, is omitted here for reasons of space.

The extreme opposite of absolute war is the fight waged under conditions of studied equality and under strict observance of rules. Measured in terms of destruction such a fight is highly inefficient and ludicrously ceremonious. However, the agonistic fight, as we know it from ancient Greece and also from other cultures,[14] is not oriented toward the destruction of the enemy, although his death may, of course, ensue. Nor is it directed toward the acquisition of wealth or other useful ends. It is fought for a prize, i.e., for a symbolic value attached to victory (glory).

Each agonistic fight is a contest between opponents who delight in measuring their strength according to certain rules of the "game." The opponents participate in a common culture or respect common cultural values even if they are representatives of different power structures. It is these common bonds which make the contest possible. The regulations reside in respect for values which none of the opponents can be said to control. The values (customs, laws, codes of honor, etc.) transcend the conflict.

The agonistic fight has the qualities of a play,[15] with its freedom, its rules, and its dissociation from useful action. But it is not only, or at least need not be only, a "good" fight—a playful, vital contest. Certain plays are, as symbolic performances, closely related to religious rites. The agonistic fight, too, may be a sacred play—a ritual in which use is made of controlled force in order to determine justice, which ordinarily cannot be determined by force. Victory then is a fateful, symbolic revelation of justice, provided that the sacred rules according to which justice has to be sought were meticulously respected. The regulations in agonistic fighting are not rooted in expediency as are the restrictions possibly imposed upon instrumental war. Rather they have the quality of norms.

[14] Contrary to Jacob Burckhardt's opinion. Cf. J. Huizinga, *Homo ludens* (Amsterdam, 1939); M. Granet, *La Civilisation chinoise* (Paris, 1929); Walter Gehl, *Ruhm und Ehre bei den Nordgermanen* (Berlin, 1937), esp. chap. ix, on *drengskapr-spirit;* Wilhelm Erben, *Kriegsgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1929); Knabenhans, *op. cit.* See further the bibliography in Huizinga, *op. cit.*

[15] On the sociology of play, so badly neglected in contemporary social theory, cf. Huizinga (*op. cit.*) and the literature quoted there. Cf. also Alfred Vierkandt, "Ausdrucks-, Spiel- und Zwecktätigkeit in ihrer Bedeutung für Volkstum und Kultur," *Die Geisteswissenschaften*, 1914, pp. 955–58 and 980–83.

For purposes of this discussion it does not matter whether these rules have their origin in constellations of interests or considerations of expediency; their validity resides in beliefs. Of course their infraction is more likely when interests and beliefs cannot be reconciled.[16]

To sum up, the three types of war are oriented, respectively, toward (1) annihilation, (2) advantage (especially enrichment), and (3) glory and justice. The regulations of war may apply (1) to specific *places* that are exempted from warfare (temples, open cities) or mutually agreed upon as battlegrounds ("pitched" battle); (2) to certain *times* in which hostilities are suspended (negotiated truce, customary cessation of hostilities at night, on special days, in winter, etc.); (3) to certain *forms* which have to be observed in order to begin and end hostilities or in order to avail one's self properly of victory (victor remaining on the battlefield for a fixed time, etc.); (4) to the *means of violence* legitimately used in war by (*a*) legitimizing only the use of certain weapons and (*b*) only a specific use of legitimate weapons; (5) to the *method* of warfare (rules prohibiting the pursuit of defeated enemy, certain forms of symbol warfare, etc.); (6) to the *persons* on the enemy side by (*a*) exempting from violence or specific types of violence certain classes (women, children, the old, noncombatants, heralds, etc.) and (*b*) prescribing specific treatment of vanquished fighters (wounded, prisoners, the dead); and, finally, (7) to the *values* controlled by the enemy especially by limiting spoiliation and devastation (*a*) in scope and (*b*) in method; for example, through legitimizing only authorized devastation and spoliation but prohibiting lewd individual action.

Only in regulated wars can the distinction between "good war" and "bad war" be made,[17] the latter consisting in actions which

[16] Many textbooks on the history of international law begin with a discussion of the fetial institution among the Romans. For a judicious analysis of the impact of interests and beliefs upon the origin and validity of this institution cf. Tenney Frank, "The Import of the Fetial Institution," *Classical Philology*, VII (1912), 335–42. Most rules of contemporary international law are codified "restrictions" rather than "regulations" in the sense in which the two terms are used in this paper. For this reason these rules are easily violated when expediency recommends an infraction.

[17] Terms used in the sixteenth century. Cf. Sir Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the 16th Century* (New York, 1937), pp. 37–38.

violate the rules of warfare. In absolute wars the distinction does not hold. History abounds with cases, however, in which differences in the conduct of war, owing to cultural differences between the belligerents, were taken as manifestations of evil. From a partisan point of view the infraction of a familiar rule is not easily distinguished from the observance of an unfamiliar rule. Thus the introduction of a new weapon or method of warfare by one side regularly causes moral indignation on the other side, until there too the new device is adopted.

No actual war ever coincides with one of the pure types. The Babylonians had an elaborately bureaucratic system of registering booty by scribes while the heads of the enemies were for religious reasons piled up in a pyramid "in order to augment their death"[18]—a striking illustration of how traits of instrumental war may be combined with traits of absolute war. When man fights for an idea he mostly fights for an advantage at the same time. The typology serves to render specific, concrete data, viz., actual wars, intelligible in general terms. What matters most in the comparative analysis is the extent to which restrictions and regulations apply and of what kind they are.

The same belligerent may wage absolute war against one enemy and regulated war against another at different times or even at the same time.[19] This important phenomenon can be understood only with reference to the social definition of the enemy; it escapes attention when the analysis of war is confined to the otherwise most important problem of how the structure of a society influences warfare.

There are cases in which a belligerent of higher culture limits his warfare more than his opponent does. Instances of such nonreciprocal definition of the enemy can be found in the Crusades, the French revolutionary wars, and in the present war in Europe. If a war lasts long enough and if the available techniques on either side are fairly similar reciprocity tends to develop.

Finally, any definition of the enemy is, to a varying degree, the result of, and subject to, manipulation.

[18] Quoted by Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I (Heidelberg, 1920), 112.

[19] Cf. also my paper, "Treachery in War," *Social Research*, VII (1940), 258–79.

The typology holds regardless of the technical and organizational conditions which prevail in war. For example, it would be erroneous to assume that agonistic fighting is possible only in face-to-face combat. Agonistic fighting does not necessarily disappear from war when long-range weapons come to play a predominant role in battle. Nor does such fighting presuppose that the commander participates directly in it; when operations are directed, bureaucratically, from an "office" behind the front, war may still retain agonistic traits, provided that the political and military élites of the beligerent societies hold certain rules of war in common respect. With the introduction of long-range weapons the causes of violent death become "invisible," as Adam Smith put it. The bureaucratization of the armed forces makes for a de-personalization of war: the soldiers become "unknown," as it were. These changes affect the content of the norms in war, but agonistic fighting vanishes only when the technological and organizational changes are accompanied by other changes, in particular when the élites come to regard as their highest standard that of efficiency in annihilation.

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THE GARRISON STATE

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ABSTRACT

The garrison state is a "developmental construct" about the future course of world-politics, whose function is to stimulate the individual specialist to clarify for himself his expectations about the future as a guide to the timing of scientific work. The trend of the time is away from the dominance of the specialist on bargaining, who is the businessman, and toward the supremacy of the specialist on violence, the soldier. *Methods:* It is probable that the ruling élite of the garrison state will acquire most of the skills that we have come to accept as part of modern civilian management. Particularly prominent will be skill in the manipulation of symbols in the interest of morale and public relations. Unemployment will be "psychologically" abolished. Internal violence will be directed principally against unskilled manual workers and counterélite elements who have come under suspicion. Incomes will be somewhat equalized in the interest of maintaining morale under modern conditions of socialized danger. The practice will be to recruit the élite according to ability (in periods of crisis); authority will be dictatorial, governmentalized, centralized, integrated. *Value distribution:* The power pyramid will be steep, but the distribution of safety will be equalized (the socialization of danger under modern conditions of aerial warfare). The income and respect pyramids will be between the other two—each pyramid flattened at the top, bulged out in the upper-middle and lower-middle zones. *Value production:* The élites will seek to hold in check the utilization of the productive potentialities of modern science and engineering for nonmilitary consumption goods. The rate of production will be regularized. Production will be affected by the tendencies toward rigidity in a military state, but these effects will be largely neutralized by the skill groups of science and technology.

The purpose of this article is to consider the possibility that we are moving toward a world of "garrison states"—a world in which the specialists on violence are the most powerful group in society. From this point of view the trend of our time is away from the dominance of the specialist on bargaining, who is the businessman, and toward the supremacy of the soldier. We may distinguish transitional forms, such as the party propaganda state, where the dominant figure is the propagandist, and the party bureaucratic state, in which the organization men of the party make the vital decisions. There are mixed forms in which predominance is shared by the monopolists of party and market power.[1]

All men are deeply affected by their expectations as well as by their desires. We time our specific wants and efforts with some regard to what we reasonably hope to get. Hence, when we act ration-

[1] For a preliminary discussion of the garrison state see my "Sino-Japanese Crisis: The Garrison State versus the Civilian State," *China Quarterly*, XI (1937), 643–49.

ally, we consider alternative versions of the future, making explicit those expectations about the future that are so often buried in the realm of hunch.

In the practice of social science, as of any skill in society, we are bound to be affected in some degree by our conceptions of future development. There are problems of timing in the prosecution of scientific work, timing in regard to availability of data and considerations of policy. In a world where primitive societies are melting away it is rational to act promptly to gather data about primitive forms of social organization. In a world in which the scientist may also be a democratic citizen, sharing democratic respect for human personality, it is rational for the scientist to give priority to problems connected with the survival of democratic society. There is no question here of a scientist deriving his values from science; values are *acquired* chiefly from personal experience of a given culture, *derived* from that branch of culture that is philosophy and theology, *implemented* by science and practice.

The picture of the garrison state that is offered here is no dogmatic forecast. Rather it is a picture of the probable. It is not inevitable. It may not even have the same probability as some other descriptions of the future course of development. What, then, is the function of this picture for scientists? It is to stimulate the individual specialist to clarify for himself his expectations about the future, as a guide to the timing of scientific work. Side by side with this "construct" of a garrison state there may be other constructs; the rational person will assign exponents of probability to every alternative picture.[2]

Expectations about the future may rest upon the extrapolation of past trends into the future. We may choose a number of specific items—like population and production curves—and draw them into the future according to some stated rule. This is an "itemistic" procedure. In contrast, we may set up a construct that is frankly im-

[2] We use the term "subjective probability" for the exponent assigned to a future event; "objective probability" refers to propositions about past events. The intellectual act of setting up a tentative picture of significant past-future relations is developmental thinking (see my *World Politics and Personal Insecurity* [New York and London, 1935], chap. i: "Configurative Analysis"; Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction: Studies of Modern Social Structure* [New York, 1940]), Part IV: "Thought at the Level of Planning."

aginative though disciplined by careful consideration of the past. Since trend curves summarize many features of the past, they must be carefully considered in the preparation of every construct. Correlation analysis of trend curves, coupled with the results of experiment, may provide us with partial confirmation of many propositions about social change; these results, too, must be reviewed. In addition to these disciplined battalions of data there is the total exposure of the individual to the immediate and the recorded past, and this total exposure may stimulate productive insight into the structure of the whole manifold of events which includes the future as well as the past. In the interest of correct orientation in the world of events, one does not wisely discard all save codified experience. (The pictures of the future that are set up on more than "item" basis may be termed "total.")

To speak of a garrison state is not to predict something wholly new under the sun. Certainly there is nothing novel to the student of political institutions about the idea that specialists on violence may run the state. On the contrary, some of the most influential discussions of political institutions have named the military state as one of the chief forms of organized society. Comte saw history as a succession (and a progression) that moved, as far as it concerned the state, through military, feudal, and industrial phases. Spencer divided all human societies into the military type, based on force, and the industrial type, based on contract and free consent.

What is important for our purposes is to envisage the possible emergence of the military state under present technical conditions. There are no examples of the military state combined with modern technology. During emergencies the great powers have given enormous scope to military authority, but temporary acquisitions of authority lack the elements of comparative permanence and acceptance that complete the garrison state. Military dictators in states marginal to the creative centers of Western civilization are not integrated with modern technology; they merely use some of its specific elements.

The military men who dominate a modern technical society will be very different from the officers of history and tradition. It is probable that the specialists on violence will include in their training a

large degree of expertness in many of the skills that we have traditionally accepted as part of modern civilian management.

The distinctive frame of reference in a fighting society is fighting effectiveness. All social change is translated into battle potential. Now there can be no realistic calculation of fighting effectiveness without knowledge of the technical and psychological characteristics of modern production processes. The function of management in such a society is already known to us; it includes the exercise of skill in supervising technical operations, in administrative organization, in personnel management, in public relations. These skills are needed to translate the complicated operations of modern life into every relevant frame of reference—the frame of fighting effectiveness as well as of pecuniary profit.

This leads to the seeming paradox that, as modern states are militarized, specialists on violence are more preoccupied with the skills and attitudes judged characteristic of nonviolence. We anticipate the merging of skills, starting from the traditional accouterments of the professional soldier, moving toward the manager and promoter of large-scale civilian enterprise.

In the garrison state, at least in its introductory phases, problems of morale are destined to weigh heavily on the mind of management. It is easy to throw sand in the gears of the modern assembly line; hence, there must be a deep and general sense of participation in the total enterprise of the state if collective effort is to be sustained. When we call attention to the importance of the "human factor" in modern production, we sometimes fail to notice that it springs from the multiplicity of special environments that have been created by modern technology. Thousands of technical operations have sprung into existence where a few hundred were found before. To complicate the material environment in this way is to multiply the foci of attention of those who live in our society. Diversified foci of attention breed differences in outlook, preference, and loyalty. The labyrinth of specialized "material" environments generates profound ideological divergencies that cannot be abolished, though they can be mitigated, by the methods now available to leaders in our society. As long as modern technology prevails, society is honeycombed with cells of separate experience, of individuality, of partial freedom.

Concerted action under such conditions depends upon skilfully guiding the minds of men; hence the enormous importance of symbolic manipulation in modern society.

The importance of the morale factor is emphasized by the universal fear which it is possible to maintain in large populations through modern instruments of warfare. The growth of aerial warfare in particular has tended to abolish the distinction between civilian and military functions. It is no longer possible to affirm that those who enter the military service take the physical risk while those who remain at home stay safe and contribute to the equipment and the comfort of the courageous heroes at the front. Indeed, in some periods of modern warfare, casualties among civilians may outnumber the casualties of the armed forces. With the socialization of danger as a permanent characteristic of modern violence the nation becomes one unified technical enterprise. Those who direct the violence operations are compelled to consider the entire gamut of problems that arise in living together under modern conditions.

There will be an energetic struggle to incorporate young and old into the destiny and mission of the state. It is probable that one form of this symbolic adjustment will be the abolition of "the unemployed." This stigmatizing symbol will be obsolete in the garrison state. It insults the dignity of millions, for it implies uselessness. This is so, whether the "unemployed" are given a "dole" or put on "relief" projects. Always there is the damaging stigma of superfluity. No doubt the garrison state will be distinguished by the psychological abolition of unemployment—"psychological" because this is chiefly a matter of redefining symbols.

In the garrison state there must be work—and the duty to work—for all. Since all work becomes public work, all who do not accept employment flout military discipline. For those who do not fit within the structure of the state there is but one alternative—to obey or die. Compulsion, therefore, is to be expected as a potent instrument for internal control of the garrison state.

The use of coercion can have an important effect upon many more people than it reaches directly; this is the propaganda component of any "propaganda of the deed." The spectacle of compulsory labor gangs in prisons or concentration camps is a negative means of con-

serving morale—negative since it arouses fear and guilt. Compulsory labor groups are suitable popular scapegoats in a military state. The duty to obey, to serve the state, to work—these are cardinal virtues in the garrison state. Unceasing emphasis upon duty is certain to arouse opposing tendencies within the personality structure of all who live under a garrison regime. Everyone must struggle to hold in check any tendencies, conscious or unconscious, to defy authority, to violate the code of work, to flout the incessant demand for sacrifice in the collective interest. From the earliest years youth will be trained to subdue—to disavow, to struggle against—any specific opposition to the ruling code of collective exactions.

The conscience imposes feelings of guilt and anxiety upon the individual whenever his impulses are aroused, ever so slightly, to break the code. When the coercive threat that sanctions the code of the military state is internalized in the consciences of youth, the spectacle of labor gangs is profoundly disturbing. A characteristic response is self-righteousness—quick justification of coercive punishment, tacit acceptance of the inference that all who are subject to coercion are guilty of antisocial conduct. To maintain suspended judgment, to absolve others in particular instances, is to give at least partial toleration to countermores tendencies within the self. Hence, the quick substitute responses—the self-righteous attitude, the deflection of attention. Indeed, a characteristic psychic pattern of the military state is the "startle pattern," which is carried over to the internal as well as to the external threat of danger. This startle pattern is overcome and stylized as alert, prompt, commanding adjustment to reality. This is expressed in the authoritative manner that dominates military style—in gesture, intonation, and idiom.

The chief targets of compulsory labor service will be unskilled manual workers, together with counterélite elements who have come under suspicion. The position of the unskilled in our society has been deteriorating, since the machine society has less and less use for unskilled manual labor. The coming of the machine was a skill revolution, a broadening of the role of the skilled and semi-skilled components of society.[3] As the value of labor declines in pro-

[3] See T. M. Sogge, "Industrial Classes in the United States," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, June, 1933; and Colin Clark, "National Income and Outlay,"

duction, it also declines in warfare; hence, it will be treated with less consideration. (When unskilled workers are relied upon as fighters, they must, of course, share the ideological exultation of the community as a whole and receive a steady flow of respect from the social environment.) Still another factor darkens the forecast for the bottom layers of the population in the future garrison state. If recent advances in pharmacology continue, as we may anticipate, physical means of controlling response can replace symbolic methods. This refers to the use of drugs not only for temporary orgies of energy on the part of front-line fighters but in order to deaden the critical function of all who are not held in esteem by the ruling élite.

For the immediate future, however, ruling élites must continue to put their chief reliance upon propaganda as an instrument of morale. But the manipulation of symbols, even in conjunction with coercive instruments of violence, is not sufficient to accomplish all the purposes of a ruling group. We have already spoken of the socialization of danger, and this will bring about some equalitarian adjustments in the distribution of income for the purpose of conserving the will to fight and to produce.

In addition to the adjustment of symbols, goods, and violence, the political élite of the garrison state will find it necessary to make certain adaptations in the fundamental practices of the state. Decisions will be more dictatorial than democratic, and institutional practices long connected with modern democracy will disappear. Instead of elections to office or referendums on issues there will be government by plebiscite. Elections foster the formation and expression of public opinion, while plebiscites encourage only unanimous demonstrations of collective sentiment. Rival political parties will be suppressed, either by the monopolization of legality in one political party (more properly called a political "order") or by the abolition of all political parties. The ruling group will exercise a monopoly of opinion in public, thus abolishing the free communication of fact and interpretation. Legislatures will be done away with, and if a numerous consultative body is permitted at all it will operate as an assembly; that is, it will meet for a very short time each year and will be expected to

in A. C. Pigou, *Socialism versus Capitalism* (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1937), pp. 12–22. Sogge's paper is a continuation of an earlier investigation by Alvin H. Hansen.

ratify the decisions of the central leadership after speeches that are chiefly ceremonial in nature. Plebiscites and assemblies thus become part of the ceremonializing process in the military state.

As legislatures and elections go out of use, the practice of petition will play a more prominent role. Lawmaking will be in the hands of the supreme authority and his council; and, as long as the state survives, this agency will exert effective control ("authority" is the term for formal expectations, "control" is the actual distribution of effective power).

This means that instrumental democracy will be in abeyance, although the symbols of mystic "democracy" will doubtless continue. Instrumental democracy is found wherever authority and control are widely dispersed among the members of a state. Mystic "democracy" is not, strictly speaking, democracy at all, because it may be found where authority and control are highly concentrated yet where part of the established practice is to speak in the name of the people as a whole. Thus, any dictatorship may celebrate its "democracy" and speak with contempt of such "mechanical" devices as majority rule at elections or in legislatures.

What part of the social structure would be drawn upon in recruiting the political rulers of the garrison state? As we have seen, the process will not be by general election but by self-perpetuation through co-option. The foremost positions will be open to the officers corps, and the problem is to predict from what part of the social structure the officers will be recruited. Morale considerations justify a broad base of recruitment for ability rather than social standing. Although fighting effectiveness is a relatively impersonal test that favors ability over inherited status, the turnover in ruling families from generation to generation will probably be low. Any recurring crisis, however, will strengthen the tendency to favor ability. It seems clear that recruitment will be much more for bias and obedience than for objectivity and originality. Yet, as we shall presently see, modern machine society has introduced new factors in the military state—factors tending to strengthen objectivity and originality.

In the garrison state all organized social activity will be governmentalized; hence, the role of independent associations will disappear, with the exception of secret societies (specifically, there will

be no organized economic, religious, or cultural life outside of the duly constituted agencies of government). Government will be highly centralized, though devolution may be practiced in order to mitigate "bureaucratism." There is so much outspoken resistance to bureaucratism in modern civilization that we may expect this attitude to carry over to the garrison state. Not only will the administrative structure be centralized, but at every level it will tend to integrate authority in a few hands. The leadership principle will be relied upon; responsibility as a rule will be focused upon individual "heads."

We have sketched some of the methods at the disposal of the ruling élites of the garrison state—the management of propaganda, violence, goods, practices. Let us consider the picture from a slightly different standpoint. How will various kinds of influence be distributed in the state?[4] Power will be highly concentrated, as in any dictatorial regime. We have already suggested that there will be a strong tendency toward equalizing the distribution of safety throughout the community (that is, negative safety, the socialization of threat in modern war). In the interest of morale there will be some moderation of huge differences in individual income, flattening the pyramid at the top, bulging it out in the upper-middle and middle zones. In the garrison state the respect pyramid will probably resemble the income pyramid. (Those who are the targets of compulsory labor restrictions will be the principal recipients of negative respect and hence will occupy the bottom levels.) So great is the multiplicity of functions in modern processes of production that a

[4] Influence is measured by control over values (desired events). For purposes of analysis we have classified values as income, safety, and deference. To be deferred to is to be taken into consideration by the environment. Deference, in turn, is divided into power and respect. Power is measured by degree of participation in important decisions. A decision is a choice backed by the most severe deprivations at the disposal of the community (usually death). The making of these decisions in a community is the *function* of government. The *institution* of government is what is called government by those who live in a given community during a specified period of time; it is the most important secular decision-making institution. It is clear that the function of government may be exercised by other than governmental institutions, i.e., by "government" and by monopolistic "big business." (A state is one of the most influential communities in world-politics.) Respect is measured by reciprocal intimacy. Society can be divided into different classes on the basis of each value—or of value combinations. In the most inclusive sense politics studies conditions affecting the distribution of most values; in a narrower sense it studies power.

simple scheme of military rank is flagrantly out of harmony with the facts. Even though a small number of ranks are retained in the military state, it will be recognized that the diversity of functions exercised by each rank is so great that the meaning of a specific classification will be obscure. Summarizing, the distribution of safety will be most uniform throughout the community; distribution of power will show the largest inequalities. The patterns of income and respect will fall between these two, showing a pronounced bulge in the upper-middle and middle strata. The lower strata of the community will be composed of those subject to compulsory labor, tending to constitute a permanent pariah caste.

What about the capacity of the garrison state to produce a large volume of material values? The élites of the garrison state, like the élites of recent business states, will confront the problem of holding in check the stupendous productive potentialities of modern science and engineering. We know that the ruling élites of the modern business state have not known how to control productive capacity; they have been unwilling to adopt necessary measures for the purpose of regularizing the tempo of economic development. Hence, modern society has been characterized by periods of orgiastic expansion, succeeded by periods of flagrant underutilization of the instruments of production.[5]

The rulers of the garrison state will be able to regularize the rate of production, since they will be free from many of the conventions that have stood in the way of adopting measures suitable to this purpose in the business state. The business élite has been unwilling to revise institutional practices to the extent necessary to maintain a continually rising flow of investment. The institutional structure of the business state has called for flexible adjustment between governmental and private channels of activity and for strict measures to maintain price flexibility. Wherever the business élite has not supported such necessary arrangements, the business state itself has begun to disintegrate.

[5] For the magnitude of these production losses see, e.g., Chart I, "Loss in Potential Real National Income Due to Depression, Unemployment of Men and Machines, 1930–1937," in National Resources Committee, *The Structure of the American Economy* (Washington, D.C., 1939), p. 2. The estimated loss of potential income was $200,000,000.

Although the rulers of the garrison state will be free to regularize the rate of production, they will most assuredly prevent full utilization of modern productive capacity for nonmilitary consumption purposes. The élite of the garrison state will have a professional interest in multiplying gadgets specialized to acts of violence. The rulers of the garrison state will depend upon war scares as a means of maintaining popular willingness to forego immediate consumption. War scares that fail to culminate in violence eventually lose their value; this is the point at which ruling classes will feel that bloodletting is needed in order to preserve those virtues of sturdy acquiescence in the regime which they so much admire and from which they so greatly benefit. We may be sure that if ever there is a rise in the production of nonmilitary consumption goods, despite the amount of energy directed toward the production of military equipment, the ruling class will feel itself endangered by the growing "frivolousness" of the community.[6]

We need to consider the degree to which the volume of values produced in a garrison state will be affected by the tendency toward rigidity. Many factors in the garrison state justify the expectation that tendencies toward repetitiousness and ceremonialization will be prominent. To some extent this is a function of bureaucracy and dictatorship. But to some extent it springs also from the preoccupation of the military state with danger. Even where military operations are greatly respected, the fighter must steel himself against deep-lying tendencies to retreat from death and mutilation. One of the most rudimentary and potent means of relieving fear is some repetitive operation—some reiteration of the old and well-established. Hence the reliance on drill as a means of disciplining men to endure personal danger without giving in to fear of death. The tendency to repeat, as a means of diminishing timidity, is powerfully

[6] The perpetuation of the garrison state will be favored by some of the psychological consequences of self-indulgence. When people who have been disciplined against self-indulgence increase their enjoyments, they often suffer from twinges of conscience. Such self-imposed anxieties signify that the conscience is ever vigilant to enforce the orthodox code of human conduct. Hence, drifts away from the established order of disciplined acquiescence in the proclaimed values of the garrison state will be self-correcting. The guilt generated by self-indulgence can be relieved through the orgiastic reinstatement of the established mores of disciplined sacrifice.

reinforced by successful repetition, since the individual is greatly attached to whatever has proved effective in maintaining self-control in previous trials. Even those who deny the fear of death to themselves may reveal the depth of their unconscious fear by their interest in ritual and ceremony. This is one of the subtlest ways by which the individual can keep his mind distracted from the discovery of his own timidity. It does not occur to the ceremonialist that in the spider web of ceremony he has found a moral equivalent of war—an unacknowledged substitute for personal danger.

The tendency to ceremonialize rather than to fight will be particularly prominent among the most influential elements in a garrison state. Those standing at the top of the military pyramid will doubtless occupy high positions in the income pyramid. During times of actual warfare it may be necessary to make concessions in the direction of moderating gross-income differences in the interest of preserving general morale. The prospect of such concessions may be expected to operate as a deterrent factor against war. A countervailing tendency, of course, is the threat to sluggish and well-established members of the upper crust from ambitious members of the lower officers' corps. This threat arises, too, when there are murmurs of disaffection with the established order of things on the part of broader components of the society.

It seems probable that the garrison state of the future will be far less rigid than the military states of antiquity. As long as modern technical society endures, there will be an enormous body of specialists whose focus of attention is entirely given over to the discovery of novel ways of utilizing nature. Above all, these are physical scientists and engineers. They are able to demonstrate by rather impersonal procedures the efficiency of many of their suggestions for the improvement of fighting effectiveness. We therefore anticipate further exploration of the technical potentialities of modern civilization within the general framework of the garrison state.

What are some of the implications of this picture for the research program of scientists who, in their capacity as citizens, desire to defend the dignity of human personality?

It is clear that the friend of democracy views the emergence of the garrison state with repugnance and apprehension. He will do whatever is within his power to defer it. Should the garrison state become unavoidable, however, the friend of democracy will seek to conserve as many values as possible within the general framework of the new society. What democratic values can be preserved, and how?

Our analysis has indicated that several elements in the pattern of the garrison state are compatible with democratic respect for human dignity. Thus, there will be some socialization of respect for all who participate in the garrison society (with the ever present exception of the lowest strata).

Will the human costs of a garrison state be reduced if we civilianize the ruling élite? Just how is it possible to promote the fusion of military and civilian skills? What are some of the devices capable of overcoming bureaucratism? To what extent is it possible to aid or to retard the ceremonializing tendencies of the garrison state?

It is plain that we need more adequate data from the past on each of these problems and that it is possible to plan to collect relevant data in the future. We need, for instance, to be better informed about the trends in the skill pattern of dominant élite groups in different parts of the world. In addition to trend data we need experimental and case data about successful and unsuccessful civilianizing of specialists on violence.[7]

Many interesting questions arise in connection with the present sketch about transition to the garrison state. What is the probable order of appearance—Japan, Germany, Russia, United States of America? What are the probable combinations of bargaining, propaganda, organization, and violence skills in élites? Is it probable that the garrison state will appear with or without violent revolution? Will the garrison state appear first in a small number of huge Continental states (Russia, Germany, Japan [in China], United States) or in a single world-state dominated by one of these powers? With what symbol patterns will the transition to the garrison state be associated? At the present time there are four important ideological patterns.

[7] For analysis of trends toward militarization in modern society consult Hans Speier, whose articles usually appear in *Social Research*.

FOUR WORLD-SYMBOL PATTERNS

In the Name of	Certain Demands and Expectations Are Affirmed
1. National democracy (Britain, United States)	Universalize a federation of democratic free nations
2. National antiplutocracy (also antiproletarians) (Germany, Russia, Japan, Italy)	Universalize the "axis" of National Socialistic powers
3. World-proletariat (Russia)	Universalize Soviet Union, Communist International
4. True world-proletariat (no state at present)	New élite seizes revolutionary crisis to liquidate "Russian betrayers," all "National Socialisms" and "plutocratic democracies"

The function of any developmental construct, such as the present one about the garrison state, is to clarify to the specialist the possible relevance of his research to impending events that concern the values of which he approves as a citizen. Although they are neither scientific laws nor dogmatic forecasts, developmental constructs aid in the timing of scientific work, stimulating both planned observation of the future and renewed interest in whatever past events are of greatest probable pertinence to the emerging future. Within the general structure of the science of society there is place for many special sciences devoted to the study of all factors that condition the survival of selected values. This is the sense in which there can be a science of democracy, or a science of political psychiatry, within the framework of social science. If the garrison state is probable, the timing of special research is urgent.[8]

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[8] Robert S. Lynd is concerned with the timing of knowledge in *Knowledge for What?* The book is full of valuable suggestions; it does not, however, specify the forms of thought most helpful to the end he has in view.

ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE GERMAN TOTALITARIAN STATE

MELCHIOR PALYI

ABSTRACT

The present analysis of dictatorship assumes that economic interests are the primary driving forces of its political mechanism. Any interpretation of contemporary Germany must take account of the fact that the German people have been convinced of the futility of continuing or restoring the economic system which collapsed in 1930–33. The inflation of the early 1920's delivered a moral blow at democracy as a form of government which shook the nation's political loyalty by undermining its reliance upon security based on "saving" and upon the "justice" of capitalistic wealth distribution. In their "despair" a large sector of the German people were willing to follow Hitler, whose essential formula was "to eliminate unemployment by public works and armaments, to restore confidence by armaments, and to foster foreign trade by armaments." Despite current beliefs regarding the militant cultural background of the German people, it is naïve to attribute to the Germans any rigid philosophy. If there is a national characteristic at all, it is the lack of ideology, continuity, and stability, combined with an ability to sublimate worldly aims into quasi-religious enthusiasm. By 1938 the Nazi economic system was threatened with alienation of the loyalty of the masses and of the army. War had to be risked to keep the system going.

ECONOMIC VERSUS IDEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF NAZIISM

That the economic man of reality is subject to a variety of non-economic motivations, rational and otherwise, is a commonplace recognized by the most academic of equilibrium theorists. But it does not seem equally recognized that the "political man's" motivations are also largely of the rational-economic type. Perhaps a reaction against the primitive economism of Marx is responsible for the prevalent trend to seek the foundations of totalitarian power in psychological or sociological analogies. The popularity of this trend is exemplified by such attempts as dissection of the Nazi party and state into "charismatic" or similarly irrational structures, the reduction of their loyalty bases to pure Machiavellism, on the one hand, and to German mystical philosophy, on the other—to say nothing of explanations in terms of German "nature," of the magic of Wagnerian music, and of Hitler's "magnetic personality."[1] At least one

[1] H. Gerth, "The Nazi Party: Its Leadership and Composition," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLV (1940), 517–41, is the outstanding attempt. Cf. M. Florinski, *Fascism and National Socialism* (New York, 1935); E. Hambloch, *Germany Rampant* (New York, 1939); A. Cobban, *Dictatorship* (London, 1939), pp. 207 ff.; K. Loewenstein,

imaginative philosopher discovered the satanic principle embodied in Germanism and Reformation,[2] while his counterpart sought the metaphysical source of the authoritarian evil and found it institutionalized in the Roman church.[3]

The present approach to the "foundations" of a dictatorship assumes that economic interests are the primary driving force of its political mechanism.[4] A few preliminary observations have to be brief and dogmatic. Economic motives are by definition "rational" and must be known to those whose actions they supposedly determine, even if no "logical" expression of the objectives is forthcoming. The rationality must be understood from the point of view of the acting individuals whose outlook is formed by their particular twist in interpreting current history. People may have "foolish" ideas about what their interests are, but they do not choose them without "reason" and will act as rationally in their pursuit as they are able to. Noneconomic ideologies are (in an irreligious age of mass movements) mostly interpretations of history, consisting of analogical generalizations—the "teachings of history"—and implying, of course, basic norms of group conduct, which are taken for granted. The primary significance of the economic motive expresses itself at least in the wishful coloring of the ideology

The present approach deals not with the "truthfulness" of certain historical interpretations but with the actors' own belief in them. Needless to say, it is not feasible arbitrarily to impute beliefs to a group; nor is empirical evidence of the existence of a belief sufficient proof of its effectiveness as a "motive force." Moreover, particular care is necessary to avoid confounding ex post facto rationalizations

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Hitler's Germany (New York, 1939), pp. 5 ff.; O. D. Tolischus, *They Wanted War* (New York, 1940)—all more or less dilettante. For the approach in terms of Marxian class conflict, discarded since the Nazi-Bolshevik co-operation, see F. L. Schuman, *The Nazi Dictatorship* (New York, 1935).

[2] Goetz Briefs, "Limes Germanicus," *Review of Politics*, I (1939), 261 ff and 444 ff.

[3] Paul Tillich, *The Interpretation of History* (New York, 1937).

[4] "As yet, the great bulk of mankind live on the physical plane; and therefore, physical conditions, as yet, exert the most powerful influences in shaping civilization" (J. Strong, *Expansion under New World-Conditions* [New York, 1900], p. 10). For a discussion of the concept of "ideology" see Louis Wirth, "Ideological Aspects of Social Disorganization," *American Sociological Review*, V (1940), 472–82.

with real motives. On the other hand, subsequent developments may (and often do) bring underlying motives to the light.

Obviously, "facts" are open to as many interpretations as imagination may create. The interpretation has to be gauged in terms of its ability to provide a systematic "understanding," all elements of which must be consistent with the empirical material and with one another. This leaves the selection of the relevant facts to judgment ("relevance" itself is a matter of valuation)—a selection that is based on a number of assumptions or generalizations of an empirical nature. It is, for example, taken for granted that the leading men in Germany, such as Schacht, Thyssen, and Hindenburg, who were instrumental in bringing Hitler to power were not motivated by sentimental patriotism, romantic hero worship, and charismatic or quasi-religious delusions. They "knew" what they were doing (or so they thought). True, the rank and file might have been affected by Hitler's propaganda technique, but it would be very naïve to assume that millions of Germans decide their own fate without thought about the meaning of the regime they vote for.[5] (The Townsend plan, propaganda for silver, the "Kingfish" movement, etc., may be based objectively on delusions about economic possibilities, but the motivation of the followers is certainly not "irrational.") In short, it is assumed that the political choice of the masses in a modern country, provided as they are with all superficial paraphernalia of a secularized civilization, is largely dictated by considerations of prospective maximum results to benefit individuals and groups.

Lastly, the pursuit of economic aims does not necessarily imply the use of "economic" means. Disregarding the fairly common confusion of aims and means, which affects rationalizations rather than actions, the strict distinction between "politics" (and war), on the one hand, and "business," on the other, is typical only of a pacifistic capitalism. A realistic approach has to accept it as a fact that economic aims can be, and often are, promoted by any device by which men manipulate one another.

[5] One source of confusion arises from overlooking the fact that seemingly irrational ("meaningless") propaganda may have a more or less definite *symbolic* meaning; the mystical air assumed by apparent inarticulateness may actually provide a more emotional, and therefore more effective, coloring than a logical formulation is able to create.

THE MYTH OF THE VERSAILLES TREATY

The fundamental fact to face is this: the major part of the German people had been convinced of the futility to continue or to restore the economic system which seemed to go to pieces in the 1930–33 catastrophe. The thoroughly dissatisfied strata included the farm population (about thirteen millions), the unemployed and their families (fourteen to eighteen millions), the millions of "disinherited" middle classes, broad sections of small and "large" businessmen, many if not most professionals, etc. The overwhelming conviction that a new system was needed has found innumerable expressions. By 1932 the economic psychology and political temper of the country—especially of the "countryside"—were well prepared for a social revolution. The disaffection against the democratic Republic and a temporarily New Deal-ish capitalism was economic in most of its significant aspects, and the totalitarian collectivity which it engendered was founded on economic expectations. The *basic loyalty* which since supports it is also economic in the underlying expectations, enhanced, of course, by the "chance of violence," to use Max Weber's term; by ethical rationalizations; by appeal to historical sentimentalities and traditions, etc. The course of the Nazi regime—and the same holds probably for every European totalitarianism—has been determined step by step by the naked realism of well-definable group interests, the representants of which rarely conceal the "rational" character of the *sacro egoismo* for which they stand.

German political oratory of all shades during the crucial period of transition has been eloquent about the underlying economic malcontentment. Subsequently, the Nazi boast of achievements in eliminating unemployment, stabilizing farm prices and property rights, "rationalizing" production, preserving and obliging numerous vested interests, etc., to say nothing of loot at home and in conquered countries, is another aspect of the same emphasis. To justify themselves, the Nazis used rationalizations combining political, ethical, and economic interpretations. One of these rationalizations they had in common with German politicians of virtually every shade: the blaming of the Versailles Treaty, and in particular of the repara-

tions, for the country's trouble. It is instructive to note that the imposing literature on political propaganda consistently ignores the unusually successful propagation of this theme which became so generally accepted that one is usually unaware of its controversial character or of the fact that it had to be "propagated."

In reality, "Versailles" had little to do with Germany's post-war maladjustments. It may suffice to mention that between 1924 and 1931 Germany transferred barely more than one billion (gold) dollars in reparations while she received six and one-half billions in credits; that for five years she enjoyed a "boom," raised the living standards of the masses, replenished inventories and gold and foreign-exchange reserves, expanded and "rationalized" plants in a seigneurial fashion, and gave over a billion marks in credits to Russia—all in face of the reparations, the payments on which actually ceased in the summer of 1931, while the German fury against Versailles artificially fanned by the Nazis, raged. Nevertheless, the myth about the vicious treaty and the pernicious reparations remains one of the pseudoscientific dogmas of this generation.

The continuous resentment-raising by Anglo-American "liberals" and pacifists (J. M. Keynes, W. Lippmann, H. G. Moulton, etc.) against Versailles and the reparations has greatly promoted Hitler's victory, a fact skilfully sidestepped by all concerned. According to the Nazis, the treaty was a documentary proof of the fact that the Allies had no respect for right and justice or for Germany's vital interests. They argued that in face of the treaty Germany had no way out but by force, and every "moral" right to use it—an excellent rationalization to justify Nazi objectives. Consequently, the German intellectuals of Western orientation had to defend the treaty and to deflate the adverse propaganda. But the Hitlerian ranks could claim both the Western liberals as crown witnesses (Keynes even appeared in Berlin to harangue the ultra-nationalistic students) and "scientific" dignity for their own antiliberal tendencies. The same propaganda had perhaps even more to do with the success of the Nazis in tearing up the treaty and conquering the Continent. The anti-Versailles ballyhoo has pervaded the broadest newspaper-reading strata of the Occident and has become rigidly accepted by the "man on the street" because it fitted as a rationaliza-

tion into the prevailing longing for peace, implying not only economic security but also less taxation or more social expenditures. The consequence was the rise of a pro-German sentiment, especially in England, or at least of a "bad conscience" toward Germany. The British appeasement policy of the thirties would be unintelligible without the effective propaganda against Versailles during the twenties.[6]

No doubt, between 1919 and 1924 an amount of disturbances and maladjustments was due to the political and financial uncertainties which the lack of definite settlement with Poland and France created. But the treaty did not interfere with Germany's ability to recuperate; its territorial and economic clauses meant little to her productive or export ability—so little indeed that, after coming to power, the superpatriot Hitler could reverse his own propaganda and loudly recognize the Versailles boundaries.[7]

INFLATION AND POLITICAL LOYALTY

A debtor country with a surplus population until the early 1890's, Germany had to import capital and export men to build industries and secure rising living standards for a population which trebled in less than a century. By that time her railroad system had been completed and the legal remnants of the patrimonial age eliminated. Based upon large coal reserves and potash deposits, an aggressive commercial and industrial system of first magnitude and great wealth was developed. High-grade export industries helped to repay the railroad debt and other foreign liabilities and to accumulate foreign assets estimated in 1914 at seven billion gold dollars.[8]

[6] "There still ring in our ears the indignant clamor with which Europe and America . . . . had greeted our [France's] occupation of the Ruhr. I rather hope that those who, in 1923, raised all that indignant clamor are feeling a little silly in 1940. They have their own small part in the psychological responsibility for the 'collapse' of the democracies" (Jules Romains, "The English Mystery," *Saturday Evening Post*, October 19, 1940, p. 19).

[7] See the keenly impartial book of W. J. Rose, *The Drama of Upper Silesia* (Brattleboro, 1935).

[8] Lamprecht's *Deutsche Geschichte* (Berlin, 1894–1909) and Sombart's *Deutsche Volkswirtschaft im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1903) are still the best presentations of the process of Germany's industrialization. See also J. H. Clapham, *Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815–1914* (Cambridge, 1921), and W. H. Dawson, *The Evolution of Modern Germany* (New York, 1908).

In 1914, Germany's public debt was about 14 billion marks, most of it the purchase price of the nationalized railroads. The war raised the debt to some 130 billions, most of it unloaded on the central bank. The mark had already depreciated by 40–60 per cent, and the gold reserve more than halved. The industrial apparatus had been overstrained and mismanaged for war purposes; the merchant fleet was gone and so were the foreign investments which had been largely liquidated to buy war materials or confiscated by the enemy and lost through other countries' breakdown. Commercial relations were disrupted and export markets lost. Labor trouble made internal readjustment extremely difficult.

War finance started the inflation, and the Republic resorted to the printing press until the end of 1923 to overcome the post-war difficulties. This futile attempt was full-heartedly supported by such powerful and otherwise violently antirepublican groups as the old administrative and academic bureaucracy, business, and landed nobility. The runaway inflation used up the national resources to procure employment for labor and enormous paper profits for industry and agriculture.

The voluminous literature on the German superinflation virtually ignores its political mechanism and consequences.[9] The latter were more profound than the purely financial and economic after-effects. That they did not lead to an immediate overthrow of the Republic, the moral credit of which was as badly, and more permanently, impaired than the financial, was due to Poincaré's army in the Ruhr. But the moral blow delivered at democracy as a form of government shook the nation's political loyalty by undermining its reliance upon the basic security provided by "saving" and the elementary "justice" of capitalistic wealth distribution. Both depend on some degree of monetary stability. And the impoverishment of the middle classes through inflation was the more serious, since they were already carrying much of the burden of professional dislocation which the war created.

[9] Cf. C. Bresciani-Turoni, *The Economics of Inflation* (London 1927); F. D. Graham, *Exchange, Prices and Production in Hyper-inflation* (Princeton, 1930); F. Hesse, *Deutsche Wirtschaftslage von 1914 bis 1923* (Jena, 1938).

THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE GREAT CRISIS

The inflation ended in November, 1923, but a stabilization crisis of extreme sharpness was on hand. Interest on best short-term credits rose to 20 and 25 per cent, and capital appeared to have only one source left—the central bank, which had to "ration" its credit. Capital values declined accordingly, and real estate and corporate securities were practically unsalable. The financial system of the country was paralyzed, with commercial bank deposits reduced from twenty billion marks in 1914 to less than one-half billion; the economic machinery came almost to a standstill, with unemployment rampant. A nation-wide prospect of bankruptcy again shook the foundations of political loyalty.

The crisis was overcome with the aid of the reparations. To enable Germany to pay, the Dawes Plan was framed under banking leadership (creating, incidentally, substantial intermediary profits). The former enemies and neutrals "flooded" Germany for five years with credits. Germany could not take all that she was offered. The years 1925–30 were for the Germans a New Deal period of government expenditure for so-called social purposes including swimming pools, public parks, "uneconomic" housing, and similar projects which amounted to large-scale subsidies. It coincided with a new era of speculative capital expansion on the part of industrialists and bankers.

Post-inflation Germany enjoyed a wave of borrowed prosperity. Gold and foreign-exchange reserves were restored, depleted inventories were replenished by great import surpluses, and the industrial apparatus was greatly but not "soundly" expanded.[10] Then came the Great Crisis. For the third time in twelve years German economy was threatened with "stoppage" and faced financial collapse. By 1931 not only had her last resort of getting rich quick (by foreign credits) vanished but she was under a "run" and the partial repayments more than exhausted her cash reserves and inventories. The worst of it was that even the prospect of an early return to prosperity seemed to have faded. Germany's export markets had become so weak that even an inflation, the thunder of which had been stolen by English devaluation, could not promise their reopening.

[10] Cf. D. Warriner, *Combines and Rationalization in Germany* (London, 1931).

Exports provide Germany with vital raw materials and foodstuffs. But after 1929 crude material prices went down 40 per cent or more, breaking the purchasing power of the basic producers as well as that of their suppliers. Export markets had been further reduced by extreme neo-mercantilist policies all over the world. It started with the American tariff of 1929, the highest of its time. By 1931, under Britain's leadership, the free-trading countries turned to high tariffs and the protectionists to more protection. Export subsidies came again into world-wide use, while France excelled in the technique of quotas and similar restrictions, adopted by one country after another. Moreover, monetary manipulation, such as by devaluations, added in most countries further protection against imports and more subsidies to exports.

Three depression years of unemployment and wild political strife, the breakdown of international credit and trade, the bankruptcy of one customer-country after the other, the defeatism of a profitless capitalistic system, the virtuosity of "planning" propaganda, and, above all, a nation's longing for security and stability at almost any price after several consecutive financial catastrophes—all these circumstances have to be visualized to understand the success of an apparently "irrational" demagogy.

The essential formula which Adolf Hitler intimated and succeeded in "putting over" was in reality to eliminate unemployment by public works and armaments, to restore "confidence" by armaments, and to foster foreign trade by armaments. A large sector of the German people were willing to follow him, owing to their "despair"[11] as well as to the appeal of armaments to their political imagination shaped by the education which a Frederick the Great and a Bismarck have disseminated, to the unhealthy swelling of German self-admiration during World War I, the inclination of broad strata toward a "reactionary" philosophy of life, and to the example of totalitarianism in Russia, Italy, and Japan.

IS THERE A GERMAN SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY?

The Germans appear to be imbued, just like other occidental nations, with the idea that they are "entitled" to what they regard

[11] Especially since the "last" hope of international co-operation—the London Economic Conference of 1933—was first postponed for half a year and then "torpedoed" by President Roosevelt.

as the proper or customary level of prosperity and living standards. They were not willing to wait in the face of a seemingly dark outlook by following orthodox lines of painful adaptation (notwithstanding their willingness to carry great sacrifices if regarded as temporary with "recompensation" in prospect). In distress public works, "controlled" inflation of one kind or another, and some degree of autarchy are at present the answer of dictators and democracies alike, and the Germans have experimented since 1916 with virtually every known type of economic "management." But in spite of Russian and Japanese examples, the world was taken by surprise when Hitler's public works assumed, with popular approval, a military character with aggressive implications.

For centuries the German people received an education of the bellicose brand. The underlying philosophy is supposed to be distilled from a long history. Was not Germany poor and exploited each time when she was weak and divided as in the Thirty Years' War and in the Napoleonic era, while Prussia obtained new provinces when Frederick the Great managed to fight the big powers, and Bismarck brought home German unity as well as Schleswig, Alsace-Lorraine, and five billion gold francs—after three victorious wars?

The larger one's army and the more one can exploit other nations the richer and more prosperous is the country, such is the gist of a traditional Prussian interpretation of history. The theory that rich nations draw their wealth from the exploitation of colonies or other controlled territories has been widely current among German schoolteachers (and professors). They rationalized further, at least since Nietzsche, that utilitarian mass happiness, democratic humanitarianism, and the allegedly immutable laws of prosperity are as many ideologies by which the possessors safeguard their "loot" against the "have-nots" (the latter allegedly short of "living space"). Thus, a naïve theory of imperialism was closely knit to a "reactionary" social doctrine.[12]

[12] An adequate "ideological" history of modern Germany is still lacking. Lévy-Bruhl's *L'Allemagne depuis Leibniz* (Paris, 1890) and F. Meinecke's *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (Munich and Berlin, 1919) are first approximations. Gooch's *Germany* (London, 1925) is a superficial compilation. M. J. Bonn's *Crumbling of Empire* (London, 1938) offers good observations. Cf. also W. Gurian's analysis, *The Future of Bolshevism* (New York, 1937).

Both have strong traditional backing. The fact that the French Revolution which carried over Europe the flag of liberation from obsolete "chains" also meant Germany's political and economic humiliation left deep traces on the nation's "mind."[13] However, the secondary role of the ideology ought to be obvious. Under the impact of Napoleonic victories, the Prussian bureaucracy became the center of economic and social progress (in the Adam Smithian sense). When, in 1815, under czarist lead, the feudal and patrimonial interests recovered their power, a long "reactionary" era followed, shaken by subsequent French revolutions. The influence of a vastly expanding free English capitalism led to a definitely new turn of the ideological tide, and economic liberalism became predominant in German thought of the 1860's. Then, Bismarck's victories by the old-fashioned "iron and blood" technique again reversed the trend. Treitschke is a typical representative of this last change: originally a liberal (*brossdeutsch*) historian, he became after 1866 a chief apologist of ultra-Prussianism. The break between Wilhelm II and Bismarck brought again a fresh swing toward liberalism, interrupted by Caprivi's fall; but the prosperous years after 1900 witnessed a definitely "progressive" trend in German politics, social attitudes, and intellectual life, largely due to the competition with a progressive Anglo-American capitalism and to the revolutionary rumbling of the Slav earth. Another reactionary reversal came with the 1914 war on the democracies and the wartime preponderance of the military. Then again, in the agony of defeat, whole Germany looked for a while at Wilson as the savior, until the disappointment with internal economic conditions and the rising hope for external politico-economic chances made them return once more to the old-time idols.

In short, German political philosophy tends to be on the side of the "stronger battalions." It accepted and glorified eighteenth-century ideologies when they were impressively supported by French bayonets as well as the nineteenth-century bourgeois outlook when convincingly suggested by British capitalistic success and naval

[13] The French Revolution imposed upon the Continent the emancipation of the Jews, thus creating a "vested interest" of the latter in the ideas of the former. Consequently, all reactionary movements suspect the Jews of "revolutionary" affiliations, which is a basic element in German anti-Semitism.

supremacy, and Bismarckian power politics when "tested" on the battlefields. It is very naïve, therefore, to attribute to the Germans any rigid philosophy. Their philosophical cycles fluctuate according to what appears to be to their "interest" at each time.[14] If there is a national characteristic at all, lack of ideological continuity and stability, and possibly an exceptional ability to sublimate worldly aims into quasi-religious enthusiasm, distinguish the "German mind" from that of Western nations.

THE DYNAMICS OF THE NAZI ASCENDANCY

An attempt to reduce a genuine break in the continuity of a nation's loyalties to a few "essentials" necessarily risks oversimplification. *Some* contributing factors may be briefly enumerated.

a) It has been indicated that after 1930 a chiliastic outlook became prevalent in Germany. The attitude in all shades of this widespread utopianism was anticapitalistic; an outstanding political expression was the rising tide of the radical vote. Virtually all pressure groups clamored for governmental rescue; the entrepreneurial group turned in the 1930–33 crisis overwhelmingly "planning" minded, demanding state protection and monopolistic "freezing" of its interests. Like Italian and Hungarian fascism, the Nazis met with sympathy on the part of broad nonlabor groups by offering to use Lenin's methods in favor of those groups. With Hitler's coming to power, radicalism became as official as (say) Lutheranism was under the Prussian kings, adding dignity to its mass appeal. Its meaning was fluid from the early days of the Nazi movement but with strongly "state-socialistic" implications in favor of the "forgotten men." Without reference to this radical tinge neither the broad popularity of Naziism nor the internal coherence of a party recruited mostly from the lower strata (especially of peasantry) could be understood.[15]

[14] It is typical, too, that German groups in foreign countries are more easily absorbed than almost any other groups. Unless "persecuted," German minorities are as a rule subservient to any form of government including American democracy, Russian czarism, and Hungarian semi-feudalism.

[15] Some combination of etatism with quasi-socialistic tendencies was a Prussian bureaucratic "tradition" of long standing (cf. W. H. Dawson, *Bismarck and State Socialism* [London, 1890]; E. A. Clark, "Adolf Wagner," *Political Science Quarterly*, LV [1940], 378–411; and H. Oncken's *Lassalle: Eine politische Biographie* [Stuttgart and Berlin, 1920]).

b) The 1931 banking crisis affected not only the entire commercial and investment banking system of Germany but also the four thousand or so savings banks, mostly municipal, and some twenty thousand co-operatives, mostly rural. Virtually all were insolvent, involving a liquid wealth of over thirty billion marks in ownership capital and deposits.[16] Bankruptcy and subsequent value liquidation on such a scale *appeared* inconceivable. Hoping for foreign help, the Brüning government chose to postpone the evil day by "freezing" the credit system with the aid of international (*Standstill*) agreements and exchange restrictions. But foreign help was not forthcoming, while the gold reserve dwindled and the "flight" of foreign and home capital continued. The artificial structure had to be maintained by more and more artificiality. Restrictions grew into an array of regulations, gradually separating Germany from normal international traffic, degrading the mark to a purely internal accounting unit, and putting industry under governmental control. This unique process still waits for its historian to analyze its intricate effects. It may suffice that Germany imposed thereby a large amount of self-sufficiency upon herself, providing at the same time "sales talk" for those with vested interest in bureaucratic management and in more autarchy. The enforced independence from foreign credit made the Germans feel free to "experiment" at home, further opening the dams to the mounting radicalism. Making the Germans self-conscious about their economic isolation was also instrumental in adding fuel to the fire of militant nationalism and imperialistic sentiments.

c) The political setup of the Republic was in many respects helpful to its enemies. The Weimar constitution gave virtual dictatorship powers to the president in an "emergency" (to be declared by him) and with the indulgence of emasculated courts three chancellors utilized this device before Hitler. The latter appeared, therefore, as merely continuing on a legally permissible road—an impor-

[16] The fact that the leading spokesmen of the Berlin "Big Five," as well as the leading private bankers carried Jewish names, is not unimportant in explaining the wave of anti-Semitism subsequent to the banking crisis. Another element of no mean importance was the fact, well remembered by the lower middle classes, that after the inflation the savings banks largely "revalued" the depositors' claims, while the commercial banks (with Jewish spokesmen!) canceled all paper-mark liabilities.

tant appearance at the outset of his rule, when the loyalty of a legalistic-minded bureaucracy was at stake. More important, however, was the fact that the Republic, to satisfy the communists, had greatly emphasized its own allegedly revolutionary break with the past, thereby officially breaking the "continuity" of the law. The law-abiding among its enemies could rationalize accordingly about embracing illegal and even "otherwise" unethical objectives.

d) To overestimate the appeal to class sentiment by the anti-bolshevik propaganda of fascism (before the present war) is probably a far less serious error than to ignore the involuntary contribution of bolshevism and "social democracy" to the victory of fascist movements (and also to anti-Semitism). What mattered was not whether there was a "real" communistic danger, as the Fascists pretended and their critics rightly denied, but whether the pretension was accepted as relevant by those to whom it was addressed.[17]

The short-lived communistic and syndicalist revolts in Central Europe had immense conseqeuences. One was a bitter resentment against labor, further nourished by the wage-raising and social spending policies of the "moderate" socialists. Consequently, every major fascist movement had been welcomed and at one time or another financed by entrepreneurial organizations to break the grip of the trade-unions. All over the Continent (with the possible exception of Scandinavia) the conviction had been established that organized labor, moderate or radical, uses the democratic process to "exploit" other classes in a monopolistic fashion and that the competitive system (or other groups' monopolistic privileges) can only be re-established if constraint by majority is met by violence of the "oppressed" minority. It is important in this connection that governmental jobs, including railroads, public utilities, etc., comprise up to 35 per cent of Continental employment. The antagonism against the growing monopolization of these vast "franchises" by socialists and Catholics, who were gradually replacing the beneficiaries of the "old regime," was easily sublimated into an ethical indignation against "corrupt" democracies.

[17] A typical example of completely ignoring this essential distinction, and consequently a basic factor in the rise of Italian fascism, is G. A. Borgese's *Goliath* (New York, 1936).

e) That the combination of a theoretical threat of bolshevism with the practice of a "moderate" socialism had been instrumental in rallying many nonlabor groups to some sort of fascist cause, is well known from Sofia and Budapest to Paris and Madrid. The actual or potential competition of the communists for the labor vote had resulted under leftist regimes—even in Austria under Renner-Bauer, although practically without a Communist party—in concessions to radical wealth redistribution and in piecemeal reforms, largely at the consumers' expense. This was serious enough, even if a united front had been accomplished; but in Germany the permanent feud between communists and Social-Democrats virtually sealed the Republic's fate. The socialists enlisted the old regime's aid to overcome *Spartakist* and other rebellions and organized an army from ranks essentially opposed to democracy. At the showdown between the republican government in Prussia and a quasi-dictatorship in the Reich (under Papen, 1932) even the "reliable" Prussian police, and thereby all power, surrendered to the Hindenburg clique, because the socialists dared not take chances on a civil war which might have worked in favor of the communists. Moreover, and for similar reasons, the Republic essentially preserved the old bureaucracy so that Hitler could take it over with comparatively little personnel change, either in the upper or in the lower structure of any but the municipal administrations.

f) Lastly, Germany's fateful agricultural tangle has to be mentioned. Her claim of being the innocent victim of commercial persecution by the "have" powers is refuted by the records of her own agricultural policy, reaching back to the tariffs and subsidies which federal and state governments of the Republic showered upon the East Elbean *Junkers*. President Hindenburg's estate was one of the beneficiaries; Hitler was made chancellor when no legitimate government could be formed to give more subsidies to the *Rittergüter* and to raise grain prices further, already up to four times higher than the import price, free of duty. This policy did not fulfil its purpose—the appeasement of the landed aristocracy—but it had the effect of disrupting Germany's already strained commercial relations with farm countries. It also lowered her industrial competitive power by raising the cost of living or inhibiting the wage reductions "neces-

sary" in the depression, and it bankrupted millions of peasants in western and southern Germany, caught in the scissors of rising fodder costs and dwindling markets for processed farm products.[18] It is no mere accident that the Nazi party's most consistent following had been recruited among the peasantry.[19] In the Third Reich racial radicalism served as ideology to benefit the party's supporters on the farm by "stabilizing" farm prices and incomes on a high plateau, in addition to a multitude of other subsidies. Of course, these autarchic farm policies became after 1936 part and parcel of the economic preparations for war.

THE ECONOMIC "LOGICS" OF AGGRESSION

For a country with high living standards but poor in natural resources as well as in "liquid capital" (credit and gold), the limitations of public works as a substitute for foreign trade are even more patent than elsewhere. In the face of unsatisfactory export volumes and prices, some other procedure of getting the raw materials was needed. Armaments promised to bring favorable commercial treaties. That did not necessarily mean war. Whether or not the Nazis "wanted" war is not relevant to our issue. Nor do the ideological pretexts matter which they used. The relevant thing is that the attempt to force industrial exports by the threat or use of arms had to lead to conflicts and conquests, or else to failure.

The attempt to substitute public works and armed pressure for competitive exports is fraught with economic fallacies. Hitler's public works (1933–35) did not create the self-perpetuating prosperity which they were supposed to initiate according to the doctrine of pump-priming (*Initialzündung*). The "multiplier" by which the national income is supposed to rise over and above the governmentally spent amount did not go a long way. The original expenditures had to be topped by more and more public works to keep the

[18] Cf. J. B. Holt, *German Agricultural Policy, 1918–1934* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1936).

[19] The racial philosophy of Hitler's version is typical of a certain "peasant mind" which is inclined to transfer breeding experience from husbandry to humanity. The biographers of Hitler and the historians of Naziism generally underestimate the significant role of the farm problem in Hitler's rise to power and of the farm following in the Nazi ranks.

upturn going.[20] But unproductive investments on a vast scale, absorbing already in peacetime up to 70 per cent of the national income, depressed the living standards as well as the export capacity of the country. The necessity of more regimentation and the problem of substitutes for vital materials arose. All these consumed in turn so much of other raw materials and of labor as to create more, rather than less, scarcity.

Second, Hitler's policies, while strengthening Germany's arms, destroyed much of her markets and all of her potential credit. The reduction of exports to Russia within six years from some seven hundred million to about forty million marks is one example. The raising of American antidumping rates against German commodities is another. Germany's exchange regulations, self-sufficiency policies, and dumping practices led to one commercial conflict after another. Heavily unbalanced budgets due to wholesale armaments, plus the internal and external aggressiveness of the Third Reich, created such antagonism as to destroy all possibility of new credits. By 1936 the country had almost ceased to be part of the international economic and financial community. This meant that she could not buy any more raw materials except for "cash." Hence the necessity of clearing, payment, and barter agreements to establish a permanent equalization of exports and imports against each individual foreign country. Up to 90 per cent of Nazi Germany's foreign trade had been forced into this system of "strait-jackets," adopted by other countries in retaliation against Germany. Hence the popularity of the outcry for colonies. (The answer of the Allies that colonial products could be bought by anyone sounded cynical, since the German means to purchase dwindled.)

A third pitfall arose from the geographic situation of Germany and the character of the countries which she was able to "bully" into economic submission. They are essentially poor countries with underdeveloped or little resources and with untrained populations. The control of the entire area from Poland to Turkey and Greece,

[20] Cf. H. Priester, *Das deutsche Wirtschaftswunder* (Amsterdam, 1936); C. W. Guillebaud, *Economic Recovery of Germany* (London, 1939); K. E. Poole, *German Financial Policies, 1932–39* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939). For Italian parallels cf. G. Demaria, *Cambi e clearings nella politica autarchica* (1939).

even if it could have been achieved without a devastating war, would not have offered Germany the basis for prosperity for which she was striving. That area of one hundred million population or so lacks most of the minerals and all plantation products Germany needs. Even its comparatively meager resources need development by large-scale capital investment, i.e., by the provision of agricultural implements, mining machinery, etc., on long-term conditions. Germany could not sink vast amounts of iron, copper, etc., in such investments without promptly receiving new raw materials. Consequently, even in 1938, after five years of losing export outlets toward the West and after strenuous efforts, Germany's trade with *Mittel Europa*, including Poland and Turkey, rose from some 4 to only 12 per cent of her total trade. Germany's markets are in western Europe and overseas, not in the Balkans. England was her greatest single customer. Only comparatively rich countries can afford on a large scale the high-quality products of German industry. No expansion by threat or force could make either raw materials grow on poor land or create purchasing power among poor people.

By 1938 the Nazi economic system was headed for a breakdown sufficiently complete to threaten political collapse by extinguishing the loyalty of the masses (and of the army), without which neither a democracy nor a dictatorship can survive. War had to be risked to keep the system going, to fulfil the virtually unlimited economic expectations which Naziism had aroused, and to avoid the loss of the nation's voluntary and forced savings almost totally sunk in unproductive military equipments and in the preparations for self-sufficiency.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

SOME BIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT WAR

RAYMOND PEARL

ABSTRACT

The basic biological principle underlying belligerent behavior is the "will to live," which is a characteristic of all living things. This characteristic has played an important role in the evolution of individual and collective human behavior. The stimuli leading to belligerent behavior arise from three sorts of situations: namely, (*a*) predation, (*b*) invasion of territory, and (*c*) courtship, mating, and reproduction. These stimuli lead to essentially the same types of response in birds and mammals as they do in man, indicating the evolutionary background lying behind war as a form of human social behavior. The propaganda element in modern warfare has definite psychobiological effects. The alleged harmful genetic effects of warfare upon large population aggregates have been greatly overrated. Other adverse biological consequences of modern warfare may be temporarily severe but do not last long. The fundamental biological problem that war presents is the problem of the evolution of new patterns of sociality in which organized warfare will have no part.

I

The essence of the biological forces and principles underlying war has been stated with greater economy of words by an English poet, Edgar Foxall, in his "Flux, 1939," than perhaps by any biologist:

> Here crawl we
> Through the long lusts of tribulation,
> Mastered by nothing save the will to live.[1]

For "the will to live" is the most fundamental of biological urges or drives, and war is one of its most important manifestations. It extends to and embraces all living things and is indeed an ineluctable characteristic of life itself. Badley has stated the matter adequately in the following words:

> For however much the behaviour of living things of different kinds may differ in detail, the main needs of life that prompt the behaviour are the same. The same urge of life is shared by plant and animal, by amoeba and by man, *showing itself in organised activity, co-ordinated in effort for the maintenance and extension of the life of the organism.* All such purposive effort—purposive, in this sense, even if completely unconscious—is a manifestation, we must infer, of the integrating principle at work in all, which . . . . "sleeps in the plant, dreams in the animal, and wakes in man."[2]

[1] *The Water-Rat Sonata and Other Poems* (London: Fortune Press, 1940).

[2] J. H. Badley, *The Will To Live: An Outline of Evolutionary Psychology* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1931). Italics mine.

Naturally the present discussion will be primarily concerned with man and that aspect of his collective behavior that is called war, but it is biologically of the first importance to any approach to a real understanding of this aspect of human behavior to realize profoundly —as many persons not biologists do not—that man's ways of acting are primarily the resultants of a long process of evolution. They find their roots in the ways of life of lower organisms. For something of the order of two thousand years past men have been, subconsciously and consciously, conditioned against such a view by theological propaganda to the effect that man is separated from all other animals by a gulf that is qualitative as well as quantitative in nature. The result is that most human beings, even including some first-class intellects,[3] are really obsessed with the biologically quite false notion that man's behavior is something *sui generis*. The real position may best be made clear by again quoting Badley:

> The life of every living unit consists of continual effort against the physical forces that threaten it with destruction. It maintains itself only by creating an equilibrium, continually disturbed and continually renewed, between the different physical processes at work in it, so that none of them comes to entire completion. It is here that we see a further characteristic of this energy of effort in distinction from physical energy: it implies working for an end which is not the natural outcome of the processes at work in the physical universe. For the familiar sequence of cause and effect it substitutes the psychological connection of effort and purpose, in which the action is the outcome not merely of previous happenings but also of the result that is to be produced. Not that the result is necessarily foreseen. In ordinary parlance, it is true, "purpose" is used to express the conscious direction of activities to a foreseen end. In this sense, of course, it cannot be applied to activities of living things in which neither any kind of foreknowledge nor even consciousness can be assumed. We can only say that they act *as if* they had such a purpose. . . . .
>
> This mode of energy, which is known to us . . . . in the feeling of self, and which may be described, in psychological terms, as purposive effort, is thus the most fundamental characteristic of life. It shows itself alike in the initial effort, common to all living things, to combat the law of inertia for the sake of maintaining life, and in the power, greatest of man's acquisitions, of following the road of highest resistance and carrying through his purposes in spite of all obstacles—the power that we know as *will*. And so, even though we cannot, of

[3] An example of the point here is the fact that in *Man the Unknown* Alexis Carrel does not once mention, let alone discuss, evolution as an element in making man what he is today, although the book has for its purpose to reach, primarily through biological considerations, an understanding of the nature of man.

course, attribute will to the lower forms of life in the full sense of the term in which we apply it to human beings, it is no mere poetic metaphor to speak of all purposive effort, from its simplest to its highest forms, as the *will to live*.[4]

II

Because men, like all other organisms, want to go on living, they collectively go to war when group survival is threatened, or is thought to be imperiled, just as individuals will fight against threatened extinction of their own lives. Graded in the intensity of its overt manifestations according to the real or fancied danger that threatens survival, there is no known or conceivable form of human behavior to which the will to live may not lead. Under its domination normally decent men will lie, steal, murder, and commit such atrocities as to make the usual comparison with beasts grossly unjust to merely animal behavior. One of the major evidences that this is so is found in the phenomenon of war. For in war the individual identifies himself with the group. The process goes according to a definite and essentially invariable pattern. The continued survival of a human group, either in its existing state or absolutely, is really threatened or is alleged to be threatened as a consequence of either the mere existence or the activities (or a combination of these two elements) of another human group. This menace to group survival, whether real or merely imagined, is then magnified by all possible applications of the arts of propaganda during a period of "negotiations" preceding actual combat, with biological effects presently to be discussed. Eventually war ensues. At once all restrictions on group behavior of the sort normally associated with such terms as law and decency automatically go by the board, if, as, and when any belligerent finds such restrictions irksome. Denials of this categorical statement will doubtless be raised by the unrealistic, having in mind the so-called "laws of warfare."[5] But if any such sentimentalist will bring forward indisputable proof that just one of these "laws"

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 28–29.

[5] As laid down in the Declaration of Paris in 1856; the Red Cross conventions of 1864, 1906, and 1929; the Declaration of St. Petersburg of 1868; the conventions and declarations of the Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907; the Poison Gas Protocol of Geneva, 1925; and other attempts to codify rules by which the game is to be played. A lucid historical summary of the efforts to make war more humane by processes of international law will be found in J. W. Garner, "Laws of Warfare," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, XV (New York, 1935), 359–664.

has not been broken at some time since 1914, by some nation or group at war, he will have rendered a signal service. Actually events in World War I, and subsequently in Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain, and China, to say nothing of World War II, have demonstrated with devastating clarity that nations and groups can, and do, flout these "laws" just as blithely as individuals did the prohibition amendment and the laws instituted to enforce it. When group behavior is lawless, as in war, the actions of individuals will inevitably also be so in greater or smaller degree and frequency. It is interesting in this connection to note that a statement that soldiers have *not* committed atrocities at a particular time and place is always regarded as important war news.

On the other side of the picture it is clearly to be understood that baser types of behavior are not universal among all soldiers all the time they are engaged in war. Habits of decency, fairness, and human dignity are too deeply ingrained for that in the great majority of human beings. It is only under the all too frequently occurring situations of strain—periods during which the individual feels that his personal survival is about to be, or is, or just has been seriously and immediately endangered—that these habits of decency that are deeply imbedded in his very protoplasm are sloughed off. The inherent decency and inoffensiveness of men, grounded deeply in their evolutionary history, have always been a source of concern to military commanders. From their point of view such types of behavior as fraternizing with opposed combatants, attitudes of individual kindness and fairness toward them, and the like, do not contribute to the defeat of the enemy, which is the main objective of military operations. Consequently in all wars strenuous efforts are made by officers to prevent such types of behavior on the part of the men. The success of such efforts is always far from complete.

Furthermore, in addition to the habituations of decency and fairness characteristic of the behavior of individual human beings, it must never be overlooked that, in all higher animals certainly, "the tendency toward a struggle for existence is balanced and opposed by the strong influence of the co-operative urge," as the matter is put by Allee.[6] How "strong" this urge or instinct for co-operation

[6] W. C. Allee, *The Social Life of Animals* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1938), p. 210.

is relatively, considered as a factor in evolution, is a matter about which there is neither universal agreement among biologists nor completely satisfactory evidence, qualitative or quantitative. But its existence as a factor in mammalian behavior cannot reasonably be doubted. Allee, and Patten before him,[7] hold that it penetrates all nature.

Belligerency for its own sake is not a normal way of life for any organism, including man.[8] Animals fight others of their own or different species in response only to a limited set of stimuli, all connected with the basic survival urge. These causal stimuli relate essentially to three sorts of situations only: namely, resistance (*a*) to predation, (*b*) to invasion of territory, and (*c*) fighting in connection with courtship, mating, and reproduction. The latter two of these categories, (*b*) and (*c*), are really at bottom only different aspects of the first, resistance to predation, which is fundamental.

Predation upon other living things, plant or animal, is a normal and universal component of the business of food-getting, which is an obligate element of living and survival. Among civilized men the process of food-getting has become so extremely complicated and intricate that the element of predation might seem superficially to have been completely lost. This is not really so; it is merely the pattern and mechanics of predation that have been altered. The primal pattern is still preserved among peoples in the hunting stage of culture and among cannibals. To the utmost power at its command every predated organism fights to prevent its being gobbled up by the predator. In the more complex patterns of sociality associated with the term "civilization," predation and resistance to it largely take economic forms.

Among the higher but infra-human vertebrates, mammals and

[7] W. Patten, *The Grand Strategy of Evolution* (Boston: R. G. Badger, 1920).

[8] According to Allee (*op. cit.*, pp. 212–13)—I have been unable to find in any Baltimore library the original source cited by him—American psychologists took a pool among themselves in 1935 as to whether, in their opinion, the tendency toward making war is an instinctive drive in man. Over 90 per cent held that there is no proof that war is an innate behavior pattern. It would be easy to overrate the significance of this result for a number of reasons. But, at the lowest estimate, it may be taken as a sort of quasi-official recognition of the fact that belligerency per se is not an important part of human behavior any more than it is of mammalian behavior generally.

birds, as well as among some of the invertebrates, notably the social insects, the evidence accumulated from ecological and behavior studies particularly during the present century indicates that a deeply rooted sense of territory as appertaining or "belonging" to the individual or the group is widespread among many species. Any attempted foreign invasion of an occupied territory is immediately resisted by fighting on the part of the occupiers. This is not the place, nor is there space, to review the evidence in any detail. Mention must, however, be made of the beautiful and exact studies of Eliot Howard on territory in relation to bird life and behavior.[9] In detailed accounts of painstaking and prolonged field observations he shows that groups of various species of birds choose particular pieces of territory as their fields of operation, of definite shapes, sizes, and positions, and defend them rigorously and aggressively against invasion for definite durations of time. He says:

> Territory is not merely localized space, it is the objective aspect of a bird's subjective state; it is action on the part of the bird from which emerges shape, size, position and duration. All these qualities, save shape, are determined by action which is provided in a bird's inherited organization; and all, save position, have their being in that organization. Shape is individual not specific, acquired not provided at birth, and comes from landmarks which each individual chooses for himself. A landmark is part of the organization and in so far as it ministers to the success of territory has biological value; but its interest lies in the act of choosing, which it discloses, not in itself as a physical thing. If a cock does not choose, neither does he fight nor sing nor break away from his winter routine to isolate himself; and if this act has no foundation in his inherited nature neither have they. We cannot isolate it, or explain it save in terms of the whole or of some principle that pervades the whole. Were it not for the whole and the unity of the whole, were it not for choice and the quickness of it we should be unaware of any pervading principle. That principle is reference. Were it not for reference, defence of territory would melt into random expressions of anger, landmarks would merge in the general background. When a cock spies an intruder his boundary checks his attack but not his anger; when he chases his mate his boundary checks his pursuit but not his passion; many actions related to reproduction are qualified by territory. So the act of choosing landmarks, since it is part of the whole, quickens with the whole, and stands in a similar relation to it as do the other actions which confirm territory, must itself be qualified by some property of the whole.[10]

[9] H. E. Howard, *Territory in Bird Life* (London: John Murray, 1920); *An Introduction to the Study of Bird Behaviour* (Cambridge: University Press, 1929); and *The Nature of a Bird's World* (Cambridge: University Press, 1935).

[10] *The Nature of a Bird's World*, pp. 75–77.

While it would be unwise to read more into the matter than the facts warrant, the evidence is clear that those factors in the causation and conduct of human warfare that relate to defense of territory against invasion, actual or threatened—and the associated and deeply involved factor of population density in relation to territory—have an evolutionary foundation lying far back and deep down in man's animal ancestry.

The linkage between the (*b*) and (*c*) types of incitements to belligerence (namely, fighting to maintain exclusive territorial possession and fighting to maintain exclusive reproductive rights and privileges) and the fundamental will to live (the survival urge) is found in a transfer or spreading of the instinct for survival from the individual to include his stirps and from that ultimately to the group of beings generally like himself to which he belongs. The reproductive urge is really only the survival urge expanded relative to time and space.

Heredity is most clearly to be apprehended as an aspect of reproduction. Living things do not merely reproduce; they reproduce *themselves*. This fact makes it clear that, philosophically viewed, the urge to reproduction is really a part—an extension if you like—of the primal urge to survival. If the individual cannot ensure his own indefinite earthly immortality he can and does try *his* very best to see that his stirp shall keep on living forever and ever. Naturally this self-reproductive process tends towards social as well as biological stability.[11]

In a significant and important book that has been too much neglected by both biologists and sociologists the British entomologist Walker[12] puts food, security, and propagation as the basic elements in the manifestations of man's "will to live" and presents detailed evidence to show that the greatest part, if not all, of human history and human evolution can be explained as the consequence of man's efforts to secure these three essentials for himself, individually and collectively. He summarizes his discussion of war in the following words, with nearly all of which the present writer is in agreement:

Summing up, the following laws can be considered fundamental:

1. Every engineering device which facilitates transportation over natural physical barriers, lessens the security of peoples.

[11] R. Pearl, "Biology and Human Trends," *Journal of Washington Academy of Science*, XXV (*1935*), 253–72; reprinted, with slight changes, in *Smithsonian Institution Annual Report for 1935*, pp. 327–44.

[12] C. C. Walker, *The Biology of Civilization* (Toronto: Macmillan & Co., 1930).

2. The natural striving after security by one people, that is to say, its natural endeavours to exist, must affect the security of other peoples. Because when a people endeavours to ensure its existence, by reason of its automatic reactions to the problems connected with food-supply, security, and social stability, its endeavours will conflict with the strivings of other peoples who are also subject to the same environmental problems. Each people is only trying to exist. When a people considers that its existence is threatened by a particular environment, which may have been brought about by the strivings of other peoples in their struggle for existence, to such an extent that no adaptation to the environment will suffice, it is forced to attempt to alter that environment. But another people may consider that any alteration of that environment affects its own existence.

The result is war.

3. The evidence of history shows that the abolition of war in civilization has only been accomplished by the establishment of a central control.

4. War in civilization to-day is a natural result of the normal processes of existence among nations sovereign in their own right and free from a common control. If the evidence of the past is final, then while a common control is lacking, and nations bear the sole responsibility for the existence of their several peoples, war will remain a persistent factor in their processes of life.[13]

III

War is a form of social behavior and, as such, is a phenomenon of group biology. In it, as has already been mentioned, the normal nonbelligerent ways of life and attitudes of individual human beings have to be overcome in order to get the individuals to act together in this particular form of group behavior. After each actual war the surviving and disillusioned combatants, on the one hand, and the youths too young at the time of the war to have been combatants, on the other hand, exhibit almost invariably and universally the psychological reaction epitomized in the phrases "There must never be another war" and "Never again so far as we are concerned." Just as invariably, and about as universally, when the next war first impends, and then later begins, these very same categories of individuals are found once more at the forefront in both the preparatory phases and later in actual combat. Incidentally it would be an interesting, if ironic, statistic to know just what proportion of those Oxford and Cambridge students who a few years ago signed solemn declarations that they would never, never fight in a war have in re-

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 314–15.

cent months become willing and extremely efficient airmen, artillerymen, and infantrymen.

The explanation of this recurring *volte-face* is found in the effects of propaganda, referred to in the preceding section. After examining realistically the historical facts as to the immediate causation of war and the "organs of society in which the war-making power is lodged," as well as the considerations controlling the "bellicose determinations" of those organs, Alvin Johnson reaches the following conclusion:

> It is impossible to say with certainty whether in all history any people as a whole or by an actual majority has willed to make war. A war situation arises in which the only possible alternatives appear to be victory or defeat; and however little the majority of the citizens of one state may desire to crush another state, they are still less willing to contemplate being crushed. After war is on, the union of the great majority in support of the war is effected, mainly by the inherent force of the situation but in part by propaganda. It is by this ex post facto consent, given unavoidably, that wars inaugurated by minority interests or in response to traditional policies present a pseudo-popular character.[14]

The chief criticism of this statement is that it seriously underestimates the relative part played by propaganda in the process. What Johnson characterizes as the "inherent force of the situation" derives its "force" almost wholly as the result of propaganda, so far as concerns its effect upon the opinions and behavior of individuals. For the individual—the common man—is not in a position really to know anything about "situations" of the sort under discussion, except from "information" reaching him through so-called "organs of public opinion" or through governmental pronouncements, specifically designed and intended to instil into the public mind a prefabricated set of ideas, attitudes, and emotions. The "information" so received is always and inevitably colored by propaganda.[15] Furthermore, an objective appraisal of the events of the last quarter-century clearly shows that military men have come more and more to regard propaganda per se as one of the most effective direct agencies in bringing about and conducting war.

[14] "War," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, XV (1935), 338.

[15] Anyone doubting this needs only to read in the periods just preceding and during an actual war the accounts *of the same identical objective events* in the leading newspapers of different countries, in order to be convinced of the truth of the statement; always assuming, of course, that the reader is in a state of mind capable of being convinced by evidence.

The psychobiology underlying the effective operation of propaganda in altering objective behavior as well as in forming and manipulating what men firmly believe to be their "opinions" or "reasoned convictions" is well stated by Burrow:

> In accordance with the investigations of phylopathology it is extremely important for students of human reactions to recognize that the phenomenon of man's social behavior, universally governed as it is by his conditioned "likes and dislikes," is a phenomenon which, though phyletic in its range, possesses in point of fact no conscious directive influence whatsoever over man's intrinsic behavior-processes. These "likes and dislikes" are the mere symptomatic, partitive reflections of similar and dissimilar index-responses—responses to which people are unwittingly, affectively subjected and over which they habitually delude themselves into believing they have conscious control when, in truth, these reflexly conditioned responses occurring inter-individually among us have everywhere reflex ("unconscious") control over man. However distasteful to contemplate, the fact is that, due to his inadvertent affect-linkages, the "symbols" which social man "thinks" he employs quite voluntarily are . . . . really employing man as a quite involuntary instrument subject at all times to their arbitrary commands. In this outlook I think it may be safely predicted that primary, internal, proprioceptive man will prove to be a very different animal from the animal which, in his symbolic, projective, reflex conditioning, he now "thinks" he is.[16]

The discussion of this most important element in the biology of war cannot be carried further here. And, indeed, there is no need to; with ghastly clarity its manifestations are being spread on the record day by day as this is written.

IV

Much has been written about the biological consequences of war, and particularly the genetic consequences. During the last quarter of a century the view has generally prevailed that war is normally and regularly dysgenic in its racial or group effect. The argument, first effectively stated in modern times by David Starr Jordan[17] and his pupil Vernon Kellogg,[18] is that since any form of recruitment

[16] T. Burrow, *The Biology of Human Conflict: An Anatomy of Behavior Individual and Social* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937), p. 316.

[17] *The Blood of the Nation* (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1903); *The Human Harvest* (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1907); *War and the Breed* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1915); see also D. S. and H. E. Jordan, *War's Aftermath* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914).

[18] *Beyond War* (New York: Henry Holt Co., 1912).

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of soldiers for war, whether by voluntary enlistment or conscription, deliberately and of set purpose chooses the physically and mentally superior part of the young adult male population existing at the time; and since, furthermore, the casualties will tend to be higher among the more superior portion of the combatants already selected for their biological fitness (because the biologically more superior individuals will tend to have more initiative, be braver, and generally tend to run into bullets faster than will the inferior individuals), the net result will be that an undue proportion of the best germ plasm will be irrevocably drained off from the national or group germ plasmic pool and lost forever, to the lasting biological detriment of the group. This argument is familiar to everyone. Hunt in 1930 brought forward new statistical evidence alleged to be in its support.[19]

On the other hand, there have been, and are, those who have urged that the basic biological effect of war is generally eugenic rather than dysgenic. It is alleged that recurring wars are essential to the maintenance and further development of "racial vigor," whatever precisely that may mean. It is not unfair to say that this was the official philosophy of Germany in Hohenzollern times and is now in Hitlerian. Such biological basis as this philosophy has is essentially Lamarckian. The argument is that, since war is a tough business, peoples who are to be successful at it must make themselves tough by self-discipline, hard and meager living that eschews all forms of indulgence, hedonism, and "softness" generally. If all this is done, so the argument runs, the population will be improved biologically, and the "race" will get stronger and stronger all the time. A minor variant of this argument always comes to the front whenever national conscription is up for political consideration. It is argued that the disciplined life, the better knowledge of personal hygiene acquired, and the physical and mental effects upon the individual of military regimentation will be "good" not only for the conscripts themselves but also for the nation. As Allee wisely points out,[20] the history of the Chinese people counts strongly against any theory that recurring wars are necessary to maintain or promote

[19] H. R. Hunt, *Some Biological Aspects of War* (New York: Galton Publishing Co., 1930).

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 232.

racial vigor. That history unmistakably shows that a peaceful way of life may be associated with unsurpassed biological vigor of the race, however appraised, over an extremely long period of time as human affairs go.

It seems on the whole fair to say that at the present time the weight of really informed and unbiased biological opinion inclines to the view that both of the opposing theories that have been set forth imply far greater group biological consequences of war than any actually known facts or any really sound genetic theory would warrant. The truth probably is that no war that has occurred in either the nineteenth or the twentieth century, at least, produced any significant or measurable *genetic* effect upon a race, nation, or group involved, considered statistically as a whole group.

There are many reasons for this view, involving a number of pertinent variables. Some of these are:

1. The relatively short duration of wars as compared with the effective reproductive span of human life. Most combatants return from war at or near the very prime of reproductive life, so that they can, and to a large extent do, have children and so pass on their own genes (for better or worse).

2. The proportion of combatants actually killed in war, and therefor biologically eliminated as individuals together with the genes they bear, to the total number actively involved in the enterprise is always small—so small that, if all the fatalities were adversely selective to the extreme degree envisaged by the Jordan theory, the form of the total gene frequency distribution for the whole population from which the combatants were drawn would probably not be sensibly altered, if it could be precisely measured. Consider the following statistics in this connection. The total population of the United States in 1910 was 91,972,266, and in 1920 was 105,710,620. According to War Department figures, the total mobilized forces of the United States in World War I numbered, in round figures, 4,355,000, or 4.7 per cent of the 1910 population and 4.1 per cent of the 1920 population. The total number "killed and died" in the war was approximately 126,000, or 2.9 per cent of those mobilized, and 0.14 per cent of the total population of the United States in 1910, or 0.12 per cent of the total population in 1920. But the mat-

ter can be pursued still further. Some of those who died in the war would have died during the same period of time had they not been among the mobilized forces. There were "killed in action" and "died of wounds received in action," taken together, a total of 2,215 officers (of all ranks together) and 48,295 enlisted men, or, all told, a grand total of 50,510 men. So that there were genetically lost to the "race" (in the sense of the total population of the United States) as a direct and obligate result of engaging in the business of fighting a war, 0.055 per cent of the 1910 population, or 0.048 per cent of the 1920 population. Five one-hundredths of 1 per cent is a small proportion. It seems unlikely that any geneticist would regard as particularly significant any such a subtraction from the total gene pool of a population of roughly one hundred million. But the matter may be pursued still further. On the Jordan theory it is alleged that the adverse selection of war is most stringent in respect of the officers. Officers are chosen to be such because they are thought to be, and on the whole in fact are, the best men involved in the enterprise—the superfit on an all-round appraisal. The total of 2,215 officers "killed in action" and "died of wounds received in action" constituted 0.0024 per cent of the total population of 1910, and 0.0021 per cent of that of 1920.[21]

[21] It may perhaps be contended that it is not fair to take the United States for such a discussion of World War I, because of the facts that we were involved a shorter time than most of the other combatant nations and did not have so high a proportion of the population mobilized. Actually the choice of the United States was determined because more detailed figures were available. But let us see what can be made out of the available data for France. In 1911 the population of France was approximately 39,602,000. The total mobilized forces in World War I included 8,410,000, or 21.2 per cent of the total population. The total "killed and died" in the war numbered 1,357,800, constituting 16.1 per cent of those mobilized, and 3.4 per cent of the total population. So, then, on the basis of 1910–11 population France mobilized about a 4 times greater proportion of her population than the United States. The percentage of the mobilized who were killed or died was 5.6 times greater for France than for the United States. If the same proportion between total "killed and died" and "killed in action" + "died of wounds received in action" held for the French troops as for the United States troops, the expected number of the latter category for France would be 126,000 : 50,510 :: 1,357,800 : x. And $x = 544,305$, which is approximately 1.4 per cent of what the total population of France was in 1911. Doubtless the proportion of "killed in action, etc.," to total "killed and died" was actually higher for French troops than for United States troops, so that the 1.4 per cent figure is too low. But 3.4 per cent of the total French population "killed and died" is certainly too high a figure to charge completely to a war

3. From a statistical point of view the loss of germ plasm to the nation or population by the loss of life of combatants in war must be trifling in its racial effect because the sisters of these male casualties remain at home and can and do marry and breed. Supposing the adverse elimination of the males to involve a sample of highly superior genes, the sample of genes carried by the sisters of the eliminated men will be statistically substantially identical with the eliminated sample, considered as an aggregate.

4. Whether approached from the Mendelian or the Galtonian point of view the precise study of genetics during the present century has demonstrated that the gene distribution of the ancestors of any particular individual rapidly (in the sense of a small number of generations) approximates the gene distribution in the general population as a whole.[22] This is true even though the genetic divergence of the individual be extreme in either the positive (superior) or the negative (inferior) direction. An example derived from studies in human longevity[23] will perhaps make the meaning clearer. A sample of 365 extremely longevous persons (all living at ages of ninety years and above) was compared with a sample of 136 persons representing the general average of the population in respect of longevity. In mean living age at observation the propositi of the two samples differed by 46.6 years, or 95.5 per cent, from each other; and in computed total completed longevity by 26.7 years, or 36.7 per cent. In other words, the selection, as regards the propositi themselves, was extreme and drastic. But the fathers of the two groups differed in completed mean longevity by only 12.3 years, or 20.5 per cent, and the mothers by only 17.7 years, or 31.8 per cent. The differences became still smaller in the grandparental generation, where they amounted to but 11.3 per cent for paternal

effect. So then we have established outside limits and can fairly see that the genetic loss to the French population as a direct result of World War I fell somewhere in between 1.4 and 3.4 per cent of that population. Sad as this loss is to contemplate humanistically, a geneticist would not regard it as a major catastrophe or one likely to alter significantly the general gene distribution of the French population as a whole.

[22] Cf. K. Pearson, "On a New Theory of Progressive Evolution," *Annals of Eugenics*, IV (1930), 1–40.

[23] Raymond and Ruth DeWitt Pearl, *The Ancestry of the Long-lived* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1934), chap. viii.

grandfathers; 10.0 per cent for paternal grandmothers; 11.0 per cent for maternal grandfathers; and 14.2 per cent for maternal grandmothers. The next (great-grandparental) generation would have shown only trifling and quite insignificant differences. As Pearson says: "It would be difficult to find a man with 16 exceptional great-great grandparents, and the average even of 16 individuals, if they are selected at random, will not be very different from mediocrity for any single character."[24]

In sum, modern genetics clearly teaches that before the adverse selectivity of warfare can seriously, or even sensibly, affect the aggregate composition of the gene pool of a large population, nation, or race, the selection must be much more widespread and drastic than it has been in any war that has ever yet occurred.

The discussion thus far in this section has been confined to the genetic effects of war. This has been deliberate, because in the past it has been this aspect that has been most emphasized in discussions of the biological consequences of warfare. It is not to be overlooked that there may be other directly biological consequences of much greater seriousness. By interferences with national nutrition, and with national psychology—particularly in such affective matters as general morale, hopefulness, and initiative—extremely serious consequences may follow war, manifesting themselves in such forms as damaged national health, lowered fertility, and in other ways. These adverse biological consequences are usually merely temporary but may be somewhat prolonged, depending upon the course of events after the war has overtly and technically ended. Apart from all other considerations, the blockade of Germany by the Allies in World War I did serious damage to the national health of that country.

V

Many sincere people fondly cherish the notion that somehow just around a corner of the collective mind lies hidden a magic formula that will insure, if discovered and applied, the end of all warfare. It is not unjust to suggest that Woodrow Wilson dallied with such

[24] *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

an idea. Biologists find no present reason to subscribe to it.[25] The earlier sections of this paper have set forth some of the considerations that underlie the biologist's pessimism about the matter. These, and others that could not be developed for lack of space, all converge to the generalization that war is an intrinsic element in all patterns of human sociality that have so far been evolved. And patterns of sociality are among the most fundamental elements of human biology. Boodin has clearly and forcibly put it in this way:

> The social group relations are as much part of the realization of the life of man as are the physical and organic environment. We have looked upon society too abstractly as though it were an artificial addition to man's biological evolution. It is in fact part of his biological evolution. The gestalt of the life of man requires the social relations for its completion. The social group is an invention by the life urge as truly as is the stomach.[26]

The real and fundamental biological problem that war presents is the problem of the evolution, or the invention by evolutionary processes which is the same thing, of new patterns of sociality in which war as it has hitherto existed will play no part. Objectively the major result of man's evolution since he first became established as a distinct species has been the unremitting, and in the last few centuries tremendously accelerating, control of natural forces and resources to his own purposes. This has been the achievement of science and its applications. The magnitude of the achievement is enormous. And intrinsically it is good. No sensible intellectual or moral objection can be raised against the material progress of civilization that science has accomplished. But such progressive development as there may have been in the moral and spiritual nature of man himself, if any, has not been at anything approaching the same rate as his material progress. The result is that today a species of mammals that is morally and spiritually at a low and primitive stage of evolution finds itself in possession of colossal material powers and resources—such powers and resources as no other species ever had, either absolutely or relatively, nor for the most part did

[25] R. Pearl, "Biology and Human Trends," *op. cit.*; "Biology and War," *Journal of Washington Academy of Sciences*, VIII (1918), 341–60; also reprinted in *Studies in Human Biology* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1924), chap. xxii.

[26] J. E. Boodin, *The Social Mind: Foundations of Social Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1939), p. 12.

man himself possess until within the lifetime of persons now living. Furthermore the sociality of this mammalian species is so primitive, so ill-kempt, so badly organized, and so lowly evolved generally that these enormous material powers can, and regularly do, fall completely under the control of single individuals, or small groups of individuals, who are selfish, greedy, vicious, dishonest, and hypocritical; whose souls know neither human decency, sympathetic and loving kindness for their fellow-men, nor social morality. Is it remarkable that this species *Homo sapiens* finds itself currently in trouble?

Any sort of world-wide harmonious and sympathetic co-operation by which men may live decently together simply does not exist. The complexity of the world of today in respect of its sheerly material aspects imperatively demands such co-operation if it is to continue to be a possible abode for *human* beings. Yet every single one of the protagonists of new social patterns, from Washington to Moscow and including assorted colleagues along the way, struggles to make his ideas prevail by the application of the techniques of chicanery, demagoguery, "purges," and military force. Selfish greed and lust for power find such methods temporarily suitable to the achievement of their ends. The standard pattern of national behavior, to which there are no exceptions, is to combat evil with evil. But real and enduring peace will never be achieved by such techniques. For a true evolution of new patterns of sociality that will be lasting and embrace all mankind there must first evolve among men more decency and dignity, more tolerance and sympathy, more kindness and forbearance, and more capacity of co-operation for the common good in the conduct of human life. The prime condition necessary for the meek to inherit the earth is that they shall *abound* in the qualities of meekness.

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THE PSYCHIATRIC ASPECTS OF WAR AND PEACE

FRANZ ALEXANDER

ABSTRACT

Rather than to seek the causes of war, it is perhaps more profitable to attempt to discover the conditions under which peace is possible. The American continent offers an opportunity for this type of study. Since the inhabitants of the Americas are largely of European origin, it is less plausible to assume that their psychological structure has been radically modified than to assume that a difference in social conditions is responsible for the more peaceful history of this continent. Where organized groups co-exist without conflicting interests, or with supplementary interests, peace is possible, and the adjacent groups may fuse into a single economic and political unit. The fact that personal conflicts within a group are settled by law or by norm is encouraging in suggesting the possibility of extending this type of settlement to intergroup conflicts. In order for norms to provide a basis for the peaceful resolution of conflicts, socialization of the individual is necessary. A democratic state requires a more socialized kind of human material than a social order based on suppression and coercion. In considering Freud's statement that wars result from man's innate destructiveness, it should be borne in mind that human aggression frequently finds sublimated outlets. There are two important conditions for peace: (1) human beings must be united in one large, well-integrated social organization; (2) there must be a technique for settling conflicting interests. It is scarcely conceivable that these conditions can be realized until one powerful group subdues the weaker ones and coerces them to participate in a larger organization. A future league of nations must recognize the necessity of coercion until consensus is established. Although the democracies should lead this supernational organization, they are averse to the use of force. They must, however, recognize their call to assume leadership.

As the manifestation of man's destructive impulses war appears as a legitimate subject of psychology. It would seem somewhat more dubious whether or not it also belongs within the more restricted scope of psychiatry—a field devoted to abnormal behavior. Certainly historical experience would not justify considering war an abnormal phenomenon.

In a letter to Einstein, Freud wrote: "Conflict of interest among mankind is in the main usually decided by the use of force. This is true of the whole animal kingdom from which mankind should not be excluded."[1] This is not an opinion but a terse statement of fact. From the point of view of psychiatry, it would seem that the pacifist, who thinks of the elimination of war as an actual possibility, might be considered a neurotic. He might easily be called a dreamer, subject to wishful thinking, who does not dare to face reality and who escapes into fantasy.

[1] *Why War?* (Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, League of Nations, 1933), p. 3.

Freud in his letter to Einstein is fully aware of this. He sees the essence of cultural development in the "strengthening of the intellect, which begins to master the instincts, and the turning inward of the tendency of aggression with all its advantageous and dangerous results."[2] He even questions whether or not culture "is leading to the extinction of mankind since it encroaches upon the sexual function in more than one way, and even today uncultured races and the backward elements of the population increase more rapidly than the highly cultivated."[3] But no matter whether we consider the cultural domestication of the human animal as progress or degeneration, the simple statement remains unassailable that, as long as powerful nations or groups of people continue to pursue their interests by force, by destruction, and by subjugation of their opponents, pacifism must be considered as a morbid phenomenon—in fact, the rationalization of self-destructive wishes. In the present state of affairs, as long as pacifism is not being shared by all inhabitants of the earth, it is a renunciation of self-defense. If self-preservation is a fundamental and normal attribute of life, pacifism must be considered a morbid phenomenon—the manifestation of self-destructiveness. It cannot be excused even as the result of unclear thinking. Anyone who is blind to the ubiquitous manifestations of human aggressiveness in the past and present can be rightly considered a man who does not face reality. If he is not of subnormal intelligence—unable to grasp events around him—his inability to face facts must be of emotional origin, and he may be considered a neurotic.

All this preamble is to refute those who seek the causes of war in a specific emotional disturbance of the masses and refer to it as a mass psychosis. We might even go one step farther and question the existence of a real peace. Since we know that war has always been the usual way of settling conflicts between groups, we might ask how peace is possible at all. It cannot be assumed that during the brief periods of peace there were no conflicting interests between different national, economic, and political groups. The answer seems to be that, at least as far as the history of ancient and western civilization is concerned, periods of peace were nothing but preparations for a

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9. [3] *Ibid.*

coming war. Those who may doubt the validity of this pessimistic interpretation of history should be reminded of the experiences of their own lifetime. Anyone who grew up before the World War in any of the central European states should have come to the conviction that that period of peace was nothing but a preparation for the World War. A casual glance at different national budgets, compulsory military service, and the different moves of the diplomatic chess game must have convinced everyone of the validity of this statement. Nobody who lived in central Europe after the World War could have overlooked the fact that all these years were devoted to a preparation for revenge, a preparation which increased in tempo with the speed of a geometrical progression.

A student of European and ancient history can differentiate rightly only between periods of actual and latent war, the latter being misleadingly called periods of peace. This statement can hardly be refuted, no matter how disinclined we may be to accept it in this simple formulation. We struggle against this depressing view because it is so difficult to look upon human events objectively without wishful distortion. We easily confuse the state of affairs we should like to have with existing conditions. In the light of this formulation the history of civilized mankind is a history of wars interrupted by preparations for more wars.

In contrast to this pessimistic and realistic evaluation of the past, which is common among European historians, stands a more hopeful attitude, frequently expressed by statesmen, publicists, and social scientists in this country. These authors like to consider Europe a congested area populated by people who are divided into small economic, racial, and political units and, on account of this unfortunate situation, live in permanent strife with each other. According to them war is characteristic for that part of the world; that is to say, it is the disease of the old world but is not necessarily a fundamental, inevitable phenomenon of social life. The experience of this country, where 122,000,000 people live in a large economic unit in peace with each other and with neighboring nations, would indicate that under the right conditions real peace is a possible state of affairs. The more cynical observer may answer: "Of course peace is possible while there are no adjacent groups with conflicting interests or the power

relations between them are extremely unequal. But wait until the oceans no longer serve as imposing barriers. Asiatic, European, and American nations will become, from the sociological point of view, adjacent nations competing in the world-markets for world-trade." In fact, the American public is divided into two groups: those who with a keen sense already anticipate that the protective value of geographical distance will shrink and finally disappear, and those who complacently continue to put their faith in the vastness of the oceans. The introduction of compulsory military service and our expenditures for national defense are the best proofs of the prevalence of the more pessimistic view that peace is nothing but preparation for war.

No matter how convincing these arguments may be, American history could be considered as an experiment of nature demonstrating that peace which is not a preparation for war is a conceivable condition of human affairs. In this continent, since the Revolutionary War and its aftermath, the War of 1812, not considering the Civil War, there was no preparation for foreign wars and no standing armies worth mentioning. The Mexican and Spanish wars were mere incidental military operations. There was no emotional anticipation of a coming war—quite different from the state of mind in which people of Europe have been raised for centuries.

Since war is the more common phenomenon and real peace the extremely rare exception, it seems more promising to approach the problem of peace and war not by asking what are the causes of war but by studying the causes or, more precisely, the conditions of peace. If war is a permanent phenomenon of human history one might more easily expect an understanding of its deeper roots if one tries to establish those unusual conditions under which peace can exist. Since the advent of dynamic psychology it is customary to approach the problem of peace and war primarily from the point of view of the individual. It is, however, quite obvious that one cannot expect from the study of the individual's psychological makeup to establish those specific conditions under which nations can live beside each other peacefully, contrary to their habit of conducting wars against each other. One cannot well assume that people deriving from the same European stock here in America have, in a brief

period, changed their psychological structure to such a degree as to explain the considerably long period of peace in this country. It is obvious that those social conditions, both national and international, under which the same types of individuals live must be responsible for war and peace. Since war is the common state of affairs, the question arises as to what those sociopolitical conditions are under which a peaceful attitude among population and leaders will prevail or, in other words, under which peaceful leaders and attitudes become popular. In this approach we are considering for the moment basic human nature as the constant factor and the sociological factors as the variables.

Contrary to a current view that war is the unavoidable manifestation of man's innate destructiveness, we have good reason to believe that both war and peace are compatible with human nature. In order to demonstrate the validity of this view the example of the Western Hemisphere appears promising, particularly the history of the United States. It would seem that whenever organized groups (in this case the individual states) live beside each other without conflicting interests peace is possible. If in addition their interests are complementary to each other (in this case the economic conquest of a vast continent) the chances of a peaceful co-existence even increase. Under such conditions it is possible for the adjacent groups to fuse into one greater economic and political unit.

In the case of the Western Hemisphere the lack of conflicting interests is the explanation of peaceful development. This is borne out by the fact that as soon as a conflict of interests has arisen between two more or less distinguishable parts of the country, as between the South and the North, war became unavoidable. Of course the Civil War was but a single interruption of a long and peaceful development. The fact that the conflicting interests could not be adjusted by peaceful negotiation and compromise but had to be decided by the victory of the more powerful North led as an immediate result to the unavoidable impoverishment of the vanquished South. Since then a slow but gradual process of readjustment is in progress—quite different from the usual post-war situations in European history, where a peace settlement was nothing but the prelude to a war of revenge.

Obviously there must be powerful irrational forces counteracting the rational course of development which would lead to co-operation and organization of neighboring groups. The example of post-war Europe is most revealing as to the nature of these irrational forces. Small economic units which formerly were united in a larger political and economic framework became separated by the Treaty of Trianon, although they lacked all necessary prerequisites for separate existence. The treaties of Versailles and Trianon were the most disastrous steps toward creating such a morbid state of affairs. Small national units which had existed in the framework of the Austro-Hungarian empire were split up into independent nations. Instead of the rational needs of economic life, national pride and unrealistic racial constructions became the basis of the new order. This procedure was essentially the same as if the United States were suddenly to be divided according to its national groups into a little Czechoslovakia, Germany, Poland, Italy, Ireland, England, and Palestine. Obviously, militant nationalism was the irrational factor which hindered a peaceful reorganization of the European nations into an integrated politico-economic system.

All this would indicate that the process of social disintegration is the direct effect of certain dynamically powerful but irrational emotional factors hindering the creation of larger economic and social entities which would allow people of different language and race to live with each other in a peaceful co-operation.

If it were only a question of reason, it would not be difficult at all to work out a plan of organization, in any given continent, which would give different national units the security of economic and national existence. It is not for objective rational reasons that the Pan-Europe dream of a Briand, a Stresemann, or a Coudenhove-Kallergi could not be realized. It is obvious that the recognition of these irrational, emotional factors are of utmost importance. As Freud has stated, an enemy which one does not see cannot be defeated. The knowledge of those emotional factors which oppose a friendly and rational organization of international relationships is the first step toward understanding the problem of war and peace.

If real peace has ever existed in the history of mankind, which seems somewhat questionable, these emotional obstacles must have

been absent during these periods. In order to find an answer we should turn our attention to the rare periods of peace and compare them with the usual state of war. History, however, does not give us any opportunity for such a study. American history appears more hopeful in this respect, but here again the objection might be raised that the relatively long periods of peace in international affairs was due to the geographical isolation of the United States and to the fact that the power relationships between the states and the adjacent nations have been so unequal. Furthermore, the conflict of interests between these different national units are smaller than anywhere else. The rarity of the population of the American continent may be quoted as an added factor. It also must be considered that great portions of this continent are still unexploited, which makes economic expansion possible without creating conflicts of interest among competing groups. As these favorable conditions are changing, as the uninhabited parts become populated, and the geographical isolation is diminishing, the possibility of war is increasing.

All this would indicate that it is not the lack of the disintegrating irrational emotional forces which is responsible for a relatively peaceful state of affairs in the Western Hemisphere but the lack of sufficiently strong conflicts. As far as such conflicts exist, the geographical obstacles against solving them by war are insuperable. If we accept Freud's statement that the conflict of interests among mankind is usually decided by the use of force, we should not be surprised to see absence of war where the conflict of interests is not excessive or where, owing to external circumstances, they cannot be settled by war. Therefore the study of the Western Hemisphere as compared with Europe does not offer a solution to our problem. As far as the psychological factors are concerned, we must find another approach. We have to look for an example of peaceful co-existence of human beings in which the conflicts are not decided by the use of force, in spite of the fact that there are conflicting interests, and the use of force is not physically impossible.

Every well-organized national unit offers such an example. Freud's above-quoted statement, like most generalizations, is ambiguous. He stated that a conflict of interest among mankind is usually decided by the use of force; but he obviously referred only to a

conflict of interests in international relationships and not to conflicts between members of the same nation. Such conflicts usually are not settled by the use of force—certainly not by warlike violence—but by law. This discrepancy between the settling of intergroup conflicts and personal conflicts within a group is indeed an encouraging fact. If man is able to live in a social system in which conflicting interests are decided by mediation and compromise, as it is done all over the civilized world and also in the so-called primitive societies, it seems to be possible that such a peaceful organization could be extended to regulate group relationships also.

Of course within a nation conflicting interests occasionally are settled by violence—as in civil wars. But while in the history of international relationship peace is the exception and war the rule, in the internal life of a nation peace is the rule and civil war the exception. The solution to our question as to the conditions of peace obviously lies in this contrast. Why do people accept a peaceful order in their national life but revert to violence to settle their international conflicts? Einstein in his correspondence with Freud on this problem seems to look primarily for an external reason. Internal order is based on the enforcement of law. Since international law cannot be enforced at present, international courts like the League of Nations are doomed to failure. Law without power of enforcement is ineffective. No international police force is conceivable at present which could match the force of any powerful single nation.

Freud, on the other hand, is inclined to see the difficulty in the biological nature of man—in his innate destructiveness. According to him, destruction for its own sake is one of the strongest human motive forces. The only condition under which human beings can live peacefully is by deflecting this destructiveness to an outward object. In a sense, therefore, national peace is dependent upon international wars. Unquestionably, both Einstein and Freud have much in favor of their arguments, yet it seems to me neither of them gave a fully satisfactory analysis of the problem.

It is easier to see the flaw in Einstein's argument. The majority of people do not need intimidation by police force in order not to commit homicide or not to steal. Within a nation police force is not the sole supporter of peace and order. Were it not for the internal psy-

chological control of the human conscience (superego), the existing police force would not be able to maintain order. Police force is needed only for checking the least adjusted members of society or those who on account of their social status have the least advantages from social order. This internal inhibitory system, the conscience, is not inherited but is the result of an educational process. It is powerfully supported by religion. The force of this internal inhibition became so strong that in our modern wars the majority of people have a genuine distaste for killing their fellowmen who belong to another nation. It is partially external coercion and partly the realization of the unwelcome necessity for violence which make men fight. It is obvious, therefore, that the lack of enforcement of international law is not an ultimate obstacle against peace. If men belonging to different national units would be further domesticated so that their consideration for the lives of people of other nations would be equally as strong as that for their own compatriots, peace would be possible. There is no reason to assume that the domestication can go only thus far and no farther. One could imagine a kind of education which would lead to the development of an international or world-conscience. Education, of course, is not a matter of individual action, and therefore such an education could be introduced only after an international organization of nations is established. At present the domestication of the human individual—his social conscience—officially stops at the national boundaries. Therefore contemporary man can only be complimented for the fact that his conscience does not meticulously accept national boundaries, and only under the influence of propaganda and often even of alcohol can he be persuaded to kill.

From this perspective it would seem that only after historical events have led to the extinction of small groups and their inclusion into larger ones could a further step in the progress of human domestication take place. In the history of nations this gradual extension of group boundaries can be clearly observed. Until as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, Italy was not yet a national entity but was divided into independent portions. For a long time almost every city was a unit in itself, fighting the neighboring city. The citizen was, in the original sense of the word, a member of a city

and not of a nation. Instead of nationalism there was the local patriotism of members belonging to the same city. A transformation of this particularistic state into a nation was accomplished as late as in the second half of the last century. Fascism is obviously a last step in the development of a national consciousness. Not much different is the history of Germany, where only Hitler abolished the rudimentary remnants of independence of the constituent parts of the Reich. It scarcely can be considered as an accident that totalitarianism developed in just those two countries where national unity and consciousness have developed later than in the rest of the great European nations.

This process of integration of more or less independent units within a nation seems to follow the pattern that the powerful part becomes dominant and subjugates the others. Gradually the difference between a dominant part, which is the crystallization point of the union, and the rest of the new unit disappears. As soon as a single German unit was formed out of Prussia, Saxony, Baden, Bavaria, and Württemberg, the crystallization point of this union, Prussia, ceased to remain the leading portion. The country became one homogeneous state. In this sense the present European war appears as the violent birth of a United States of Europe in which one dominant part will subjugate the rest and thus serve as the crystallization point of a new larger entity. The psychological expression of this new state of affairs will necessarily be the development of a European nationalism in the place of a German, French, English, or Spanish. The future historian of a not too remote age, whose nationality will be "European," will evaluate the present European war in the same way as we today evaluate the centuries-long war between the cities of Venice, Genoa, Milan, Florence, Pisa, Rome, and Naples. It is, of course, still an open question whether England or Germany will be the crystallization point of this future Pan-Europe.

Thus, if we turn to historical events, we come to the conclusion that peace can exist only between members of organized groups and that the formation of such groups leads through wars and subjugation of the weaker by the stronger. A more just organization within the new larger group is, then, a matter of later development. These historical mass events are decisive and determine the later internal

changes in the individual members of the group. Human beings do not become at first more social and then create larger social organizations, but they become forced into larger national units by wars and subjugation, and only then do they become more social in adjusting themselves to the life within this larger organization. After such larger organizations have been established, the question of enforcing the law does not exist any longer. Within a well-organized group there is no difficulty in enforcing the law which protects—if not with theoretical equality, yet to some degree at least—all members of the group. Police and its internal ally, the conscience, together secure social order.

One should not, of course, one-sidedly overlook the other aspect of this process. The human material which is to become organized into larger social units is of great significance. A creation of such a larger entity is possible only if the process of domestication of the members has advanced to a certain stage while still living in smaller groups. This process of domestication is the basis of every group life; it starts in early childhood. The overcoming of the oedipus complex is obviously the first and most significant step in this development. It means the adjustment of the individual to the first society—the family. Also in the prehistoric past, the brothers' renunciation of the use of violence against the father and against one another was obviously the first step toward the building of the first social cell—the family—under the authority of the father. With the help of a similar principle of marital tabus and renunciation of violence between male competitors the next social unit, the clan, became possible. Later clan spirit is gradually replaced by national solidarity. This is the phase of social evolution in which the human race is at present. In becoming a social being man at first must give up for the sake of the other members of the family some of his personal narcissism. Then he must abandon clan spirit (clan narcissism) and replace it with patriotism (national narcissism). Obviously the next step toward world-peace is overcoming nationalism and exchanging it for a kind of highly diluted narcissism: an all-encompassing humanism. In this progressive process of extension of self-love to object love, every step consists in the desperate struggle to overcome the previous stage. Every psychoanalyst knows that in early life individual

narcissism is the greatest obstacle against accepting and recognizing the rights of the other siblings. History shows that particularistic clan spirit was the greatest obstacle against the creation of a unified nation. The fight of the peers against the centralistic tendencies of the kings in English and Hungarian history, the struggle of the Italian cities under the leadership of one or two prominent families for their independence, are the most convincing examples. Against the rational necessity for the fusion of smaller units into greater ones, there is the irrational tendency of the smaller units to maintain their independent existence. This particularistic tendency is not fully abandoned even after the smaller entities have been fused into a higher organization. In times of stress, when the larger unit is exposed to external attacks and is defeated, the dormant individualistic tendencies of the formerly independent constituents become mobilized and a process of disintegration sets in. The decline of the Austro-Hungarian empire is an exquisite example. It is only natural that any organization will have little stability when the constituent parts are dissatisfied because the mutual sacrifices which every member has to make for the sake of social order are unequally distributed. The cohesion of such an organization is secure only by the superior suppressing force of the powerful exploiting group and not by the co-operation of all the constituents. Only if the constituent groups voluntarily give up their independent existence for the sake of greater security and enjoy the advantages of the coalition, as in an ideal democracy, will the larger social organism become a stable institution. It is obvious that such a democratic state requires a more socialized kind of human material than any other social order based on suppression and coercion. Only human material which has progressed far beyond the more primitive stages of personal, clan, and class narcissism can live in a social order that is based on free consent and enlightened self-interest. According to the testimony of history such an advanced state of affairs can develop only gradually. At first the constituent group must be forced into a larger social unit by superior power of a sominant group.[4] Only then follows a further

[4] Hitler with his astute political instinct is keenly aware of this historical principle. He writes in *Mein Kampf* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1940): "Thus also the founding of the German Reich was by itself not the result of some common intention

socialization of the personality in a long process of adjustment of the individual to his new social climate.

The human material of the group which by conquest of the weaker ones becomes the crystallization point of a larger entity is by no means irrelevant. The future history of Europe will be entirely different if the coming Pan-Europa is organized under British or German predominance. From a distant historical point of view the end effect might be the same. The road to it, however, would certainly be smoother and less tortuous in the first than in the second case.

This seems to be the answer to Einstein's statement concerning the difficulties of enforcing international law. This difficulty is merely a relative one. So long as independent Italian cities existed, there was no way of enforcing the law which protected all citizens of the Appenine Peninsula. As soon as this part of the world became organized into one national state, there was no longer any difficulty in enforcing laws which insured peace and order within the new nation.

Now we may turn to Freud's views concerning the innate destructiveness of man as the insuperable obstacle against peace. His departure seems unassailable. The internal peace of a nation is possible only at the price of war with the neighbor. Men must hate and destroy something. Only if they have a common external object of hate can they be saved from each other's destructiveness. Leaders know this instinctively, and, in order to avert revolution, they instigate war. The question is whether this is a universal principle or is true only under certain conditions.

We deal here obviously with a dynamic principle of collective life which, like every dynamic principle, expresses a quantitative relationship. "Man is innately destructive—war is the manifestation of destructiveness—*ergo*, man will always have to conduct wars" is the

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along common ways but rather the result of a conscious—sometimes also unconscious—wrestling for hegemony out of which struggle Prussia finally emerged victorious. . . . . For who in German lands would seriously have believed two hundred years ago that the Prussia of the Hohenzollerns and not Habsburg would some day become the germ cell, founder and teacher of the new Reich?" (*op. cit.*, pp. 754–55). And in another place in discussing how federated states develop into a united state he says: "But the very construction of the Reich did not take place on the basis of the free will of the identical actions of the individual states, but as the effect of the hegemony of one State among them, Prussia" (*ibid.*, p. 831).

kind of scholastic deductive syllogism which may well serve as harmless intellectual gymnastics for those amateur philosophers who try to revive prescientific thinking of the Middle Ages, but it is useless for learning something about the complex phenomena and the world surrounding us. Freud did not follow this philosophical procedure which he so thoroughly disavowed in his writings. Although he assumed that man has an innate destructiveness, he studied the manifestation of this destructiveness under different conditions and found that this destructiveness might be diverted toward external objects, thus allowing people within the group to maintain internal peace. Where he did not go far enough into the differential analysis of the problem was in discussing the relation of destructiveness to war. Killing is certainly not the only manifestation of human aggression; litigation by law in the defense of one's own interests can also be considered one of its expressions. Neither can a political campaign be equated to war. Even intellectual endeavors to understand and master the environment can be considered as sublimated manifestations of aggressive impulses. The mere fact that man has aggressive impulses does not permit us to postulate that war is unavoidable.

This is not the place to discuss Freud's problematic death-instinct theory. The relationship of aggressiveness to self-preservation is still, however, an open question. The existence of an innate destructiveness for its own sake, which goes beyond the limits of self-preservation, has not been convincingly demonstrated. Not that such a destructiveness for its own sake, in the form of sadism, would not exist as a secondary phenomenon. There is more and more evidence that sadism must be considered a secondary erotization of an originally only self-preservative aggressiveness. It seems that in morbid development, when large quantities of inhibited hostile impulses accumulate, these may be drained by sadistic behavior which serves merely as a gratification and not for self-preservation. Should this view prove correct, there is hope that when individual interests are well preserved by reasonable social order, international peace is a possible state of affairs.

Obviously, democracy comes nearest to a peaceful solution of the problem of maintaining social order within one nation; an international league of nations organized along the principles of democracy

is at least a theoretically conceivable solution of international peace. Of course such an international democratic organization of all the inhabitants of the earth would mean the gradual disappearance of political and economic boundaries between national or continental entities. We do not possess sufficient knowledge of sociodynamics to predict that historical development will necessarily lead to a continuous enlargement of politico-economic units until all inhabitants of the earth are organized under one system. History shows that, apart from the tendency toward the emergence of large social entities, there is also in operation the opposite principle of disintegration and separation leading to the breaking-up of empires. One after another—the Roman Empire, the Holy Roman Empire, that of Genghis Khan, of Islam, of the Hapsburgs, and of Napoleon—have been dissolved. Possibly at present we are witnessing the dissolution of the British Empire. The estimation of the quantitative relationship between these upbuilding and disintegrating forces of history is beyond our present knowledge.

Peace is obviously the function of many factors—two of them outstanding. Peace among large numbers of human beings is possible if they are united in one large and well-integrated social organization, usually under the leadership of one powerful dominant element. This is the *Pax Romana* or *Pax Britannica* type of peace. The other factor is represented by the technique by which conflicting interests are settled among the members of one social organization and between different organizations. This technique, whether it is based on violence or negotiation, does not depend on the innate qualities of man but on his mentality, dependent upon the prevailing ideology which influences the prevailing education. From this point of view the democratic type of society and ideology seems to offer the greatest chances toward peace. *Pax Romana* was based on the suppressing force of that dominant power which was the crystallization point of the larger organization. Because such peace is based primarily on power, it is of temporary nature. At the beginning *Pax Britannica* also was unquestionably based on superior force and only gradually assumed a more democratic structure. When conflicting interests are not settled by their free expression, negotiation and compromise, the particularistic tendencies of the constituent parts, which originally

were independent, is great. The astonishing cohesion of the British Empire, which we are witnessing at present, is due to the fact that its constituent parts are members of the Empire by their own choice and also because the whole Empire is threatened by a common enemy. Only a democratic, international organization of the world would warrant lasting world-peace.

The experience of history does not entitle us to hope that such a state of affairs, even if conceivable, could be achieved without at first one powerful group subduing the weaker ones and coercing them to participate in a larger organization. Later a gradual co-ordination of conflicting interests may ensue. The further domestication of man will be an adjustment of the individual to a new and more encompassing social organization which at first must be created by force. The cardinal question is whether or not a democratic or an autocratic nation will be the crystallization point of such a world-organization. The League of Nations failed because it did not recognize that at the beginning it must rely on armed force. At the beginning a powerful nation or a group of nations must enforce international law by their superior force. At the beginning the league cannot be based on theoretical justice or the equal right of all participants. At first it must function as an enlightened benevolent tyranny only to progress to the status of constitutional monarchy and finally to democracy. The League of Nations was an anemic institution theoretically conceived in utter disregard for the dynamic principles of history and mass psychology. A future league of nations will have to accept the historical principle that at first only with power can masses and groups be welded into a social organization. Its armed force can be reduced to something like a police power only after this new order has found an internal, psychological ally in the form of an international conscience.

It is of great importance that the superior power enforcing the new supernational organization should be a democracy, the most progressed form of social organization. The tragic paradox of history is, however, that democracies, which should serve as the model of the future supernational organization because of their nature, are averse to revert to force. Totalitarian states, on the other hand, are full of internal unresolved tensions and in order to survive are driven to-

ward dynamic expansive imperialism. Therefore they are destined to create new supernational organizations. They are more likely to make the first necessary step toward coalition by coercion. Their ideology of force, suppression, and racial superiority, however, makes them unsuited to create a stable organization of the subjected nations. The only way out of this dilemma is that democracies finally recognize their historical vocation to assume leadership toward a new league of nations. This must be based at first both on justice and on armed force, the latter to be discarded only gradually at the same pace as the indispensable internal psychological ally in man's personality gains strength. This internal ally, a slowly growing product of education, is an advanced form of humanism which does not stop at economic, linguistic, or racial borders.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF WAR

BRONISLAW MALINOWSKI

ABSTRACT

It is confusing to regard individual acts of violence and primitive feuds as general antecedents of modern warfare and fallacious to regard war as a necessary result of man's biological nature. In human societies the impulse of anger is usually tranformed into attitudes of hostility or into acts of violence which are culturally determined. Within an institution conflicts are subject to the norms of custom, technique, ethics, and law. Warfare is culturally productive when it creates a new institution, a nation-state. The economic motive is not present in warfare until there has developed a body of portable wealth; until food can be preserved and transported and until the productive arts have advanced so that one man can produce more than he consumes. The most important cultural effect of conquest is an enrichment in national life through a division of function between conquerors and conquered and through the development of new institutions in which the conquerors provide the political element and the conquered, the economic efficiency. The note of totalitarianism, in so far as it saps the resources of culture and destroys its structure, is incompatible with the constitution of human societies for the normal business of producing, maintaining, and transmitting wealth, solidarity, reason, and conscience, all of which are the real indices and values of civilization.

I. WAR THROUGH THE AGES

In any symposium of social sciences on war a place might be rightly claimed for anthropology, the study of mankind at large. Obviously the anthropologist must not appear merely as an usher, heralding the advent of war in the perspective of human evolution; still less as the clown of social science, amusing the symposium with anecdotes on cannibalism or head-hunting, on preposterous magical rites or quaint war dances.

Anthropology has done more harm than good in confusing the issue by optimistic messages from the primeval past, depicting human ancestry as living in the golden age of perpetual peace. Even more confusing is the teaching of those who maintain or imply that war is an essential heritage of man, a psychological or biological destiny from which man never will be able to free himself.[1]

[1] The view of the primeval pacifism of man is associated with the names of Grafton Elliot Smith, W. J. Perry; of Fr. W. Schmidt and the other members of the Vienna school. The studies of R. Holsti, van der Bij, and G. C. Wheeler show that the "lowest savages" did not live in a state of "perpetual warfare." This is substantially correct. It does not, however, justify generalizations such as Elliot Smith's: "Natural man . . . . is a good-natured fellow, honest and considerate, chaste and peaceful."

The view that war has been, is, and will remain the destiny of mankind has been

There is, however, a legitimate role for the anthropologist. Studying human societies on the widest basis in time perspective and spatial distribution, he should be able to tell us what war really is. Whether war is a cultural phenomenon to be found at the beginnings of evolution; what are its determining causes and its effects; what does it create and what does it destroy—these are questions which belong to the science of man. The forms, the factors, and the forces which define and determine human warfare should, therefore, be analyzed in a correct anthropological theory of war.

All these problems have their practical as well as theoretical bearing. As a member of a symposium on war, inspired by pragmatic as well as philosophical interests, the anthropologist himself must be fully acquainted with the present circumstances of warfare and the practical problems which arise out of our contemporary crisis. There is no time to be wasted on fiddling while Rome burns—or, more correctly, while Rome assists Berlin in burning the world.

Dictated by common sense, indispensable to sound statesmanship, running through abstract and philosophic reflection, persistent in and above the battle cries of intrenched armies and scheming diplomacies, the main problem of today is simple and vital: shall we abolish war or must we submit to it by choice or necessity? Is it desirable to have permanent peace and is this peace possible? If it is possible, how can we implement it successfully? There is obviously a price and a great price to be paid for any fundamental change in the constitution of mankind. Here, clearly, the price to be paid is the surrender of state sovereignty and the subordination of all political units to world-wide control. Whether this is a smaller or greater sacrifice in terms of progress, culture, and personality than the disasters created by war is another problem, the solution of which may be foreshadowed in anthropological arguments.

I think that the task of evaluating war in terms of cultural analysis is today the main duty of the theory of civilization. In demo-

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elaborated by S. R. Steinmetz and supported by such anthropological authorities as Sir Arthur Keith and Professor Ralph Linton. It has been partly accepted, among other leaders in social science, by Dr. J. Shotwell and Professor Quincy Wright. A balanced and clear as well as essentially sound presentation of the beginnings of warfare and its real determinants is to be found in the article on "War" in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, written by Professor Alvin Johnson.

cratic countries public opinion must be freed from prejudice and enlightened as regards sound knowledge. The totalitarian states are spending as much energy, foresight, and constructive engineering on the task of indoctrinating the minds of their subjects as in the task of building armaments. Unless we scientifically and ethically rally to the counterpart task, we shall not be able to oppose them. At the same time the full cultural understanding of war in its relation to nationality and state, in its drives and effects, in the price paid and advantages gained, is necessary also for the problem of implementing any fundamental change.

The problem of what war is as a cultural phenomenon naturally falls into the constituent issues of the biological determinants of war, its political effects, and its cultural constructiveness. In the following discussion of pugnacity and aggression we shall see that even preorganized fighting is not a simple reaction of violence determined by the impulse of anger. The first distinction to emerge from this analysis will be between organized and collective fighting as against individual, sporadic, and spontaneous acts of violence—which are the antecedents of homicide, murder, and civic disorder, but not of war. We shall then show that organized fighting has to be fully discussed with reference to its political background. Fights within a community fulfil an entirely different function from intertribal feuds or battles. Even in these latter, however, we will have to distinguish between culturally effective warfare and military operations which do not leave any permanent mark either in terms of diffusion, of evolution, or of any lasting historical aftereffect. From all this will emerge the concept of "war as an armed contest between two independent political units, by means of organized military force, in the pursuit of a tribal or national policy."[2] With this as a minimum definition of war, we shall be able to see how futile and confusing it is to regard primitive brawls, scrimmages, and feuds as genuine antecedents of our present world-catastrophe.

II. WAR AND HUMAN NATURE

We have, then, first to face the issue of "aggressiveness as instinctual behavior"; in other words, of the determination of war by

[2] Cf. my article, "The Deadly Issue," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLIX (December, 1936), 659–69.

intrinsically biological motives. Such expressions as "war is older than man," "war is inherent in human nature," "war is biologically determined" have either no meaning or they signify that humanity has to conduct wars, even as all men have to breathe, sleep, breed, eat, walk, and evacuate, wherever they live and whatever their civilization. Every schoolboy knows this and most anthropologists have ignored the facts just mentioned. The study of man has certainly evaded the issue concerning the relation between culture and the biological foundations of human nature.[3]

Put plainly and simply, biological determinism means that in no civilization can the individual organism survive and the community continue without the integral incorporation into culture of such bodily functions as breathing, sleep, rest, excretion, and reproduction. This seems so obvious that it has been constantly overlooked or avowedly omitted from the cultural analyses of human behavior. Since, however, the biological activities are in one way determinants of culture, and since, in turn, every culture redefines, overdetermines and transmutes many of these biological activities, the actual interrelation and interdependence cannot be left outside anthropological theory. We shall have briefly to define in what sense certain phases of human behavior are biological invariants and then apply our analysis to aggression and pugnacity.

Every human organism experiences at intervals the impulse of hunger. This leads to search for food, then to the intake, that is, the act of eating, which, in its wake, produces satiety. Fatigue demands rest; accumulated fatigue, sleep; both followed by a new state of the organism which the physiologist can define in terms of the conditions of the tissues. The sex impulse, more sporadic in its incidence and surrounded by more elaborate and circumstantial cultural determinants of courtship, sex taboos, and legal rulings, nevertheless leads to a definite joint performance—that of conjugation, which again is followed by a state of temporary quiescence as regards this impulse. Conjugation may start a new biological sequence of events:

[3] The above phrases within quotation marks have been taken from current scientific literature concerning war. The theoretical problems of basic human needs and their satisfaction in culture have been fully treated in my article, "Culture," in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, and in an essay on "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis" published in this *Journal*, XLIV (May, 1939), 938–64.

conception, pregnancy, and childbirth, which must occur regularly within any community if it is to survive and its culture to continue.

In all these simple and "obvious" facts there are a few theoretical principles of great importance. Culture in all its innumerable varieties redefines the circumstances under which an impulse may occur, and it may in some cases remold the impulse and transform it into a social value. Abstinences and long-drawn fasts may slightly modify the workings of the organism as regards sex and hunger. Vigils and prolonged periods of intensive activity make rest and sleep determined not merely by organic but also by cultural rulings. Even the most regular and apparently purely physiological activity of breathing is linked up with cultural determinants—partly in that housing and sleeping arrangements somewhat condition the amount of oxygen available and the rate of breathing and partly in that the act of breathing, identified with life itself, has been the prototype of a whole set of practices and beliefs connected with animism. What, however, can never be done in any culture is the full elimination of any of these vital sequences, imposed on each culture by human nature. We can condense our argument into the form of the simple diagram:

IMPULSE → BODILY REACTION → SATISFACTION

We can say that the least variable as regards any cultural influences of the three phases is the central one. The actual intake of air or food, the act of conjugation, and the process of sleep are phenomena which have to be described in terms of anatomy, physiology, biochemistry, and physics. The second important point is that both links—between impulse and bodily reaction and between that and the satisfaction—are as clear-cut physiological and psychological realities as is the bodily reaction itself. In other words, each culture has integrally to incorporate the full vital sequence of the three phases. For each of those tripartite vital sequences is indispensable to the survival of the organism, or, in the case of sexual conjugation and pregnancy, to the survival of the community. However complicated and substantial might be the cultural responses to the basic needs of man—responses such as courtship, marriage, and family in relation to sex; economic arrangements within the household, food-

producing activities and the tribal or national commisarist, in response to hunger—they are in one way biologically determined, in that they have to incorporate each integral vital sequence with all its three phases and links between them, intact and complete.

Can we regard pugnacity and aggressiveness and all the other reactions of hostility, hate, and violence as comparable to any vital sequence so far discussed? The answer must be an emphatic negative. Not that the impulse of aggression, violence, or destruction be ever absent from any human group or from the life of any human being. If the activity of breathing be interrupted by accident or a deliberate act of another individual, the immediate reaction to it is a violent struggle to remove the obstacle or to overcome the human act of aggression. Kicking, biting, pushing, immediately start; a fight ensues, which has to end with the destruction of the suffocated organism or the removal of the obstacle. Take away the food from the hungry child or dog or monkey and you will provoke immediately strong hostile reactions. Any interference with the progressive course of sexual preliminaries—still more, any interruption of the physiological act—leads in man and animal to a violent fit of anger.

This last point, however, brings us directly to the recognition that the impulse of anger, the hostilities of jealousy, the violence of wounded honor and sexual and emotional possessiveness are as productive of hostility and of fighting, direct or relayed, as is the thwarting in the immediate satisfaction of a biological impulse.

We could sum up these results by saying that the impulse which controls aggression is not primary but derived. It is contingent upon circumstances in which a primary biologically defined impulse is being thwarted. It is also produced in a great variety of nonorganic ways, determined by such purely cultural factors as economic ownership, ambition, religious values, privileges of rank, and personal sentiments of attachment, dependence, and authority. Thus, to speak even of the *impulse* of pugnacity as biologically determined is incorrect. This becomes even clearer when we recognize, by looking at the above diagram, that the essence of an impulse is to produce a clear and definite bodily reaction, which again produces the satisfaction of the impulse. In human societies, on the contrary, we find that the impulse of anger is in almost every case transformed into

chronic states of the human mind or organism—into hate, vindictiveness, permanent attitudes of hostility. That such culturally defined sentiments can lead, and do lead, to acts of violence, simply means that acts of violence are culturally, not biologically, determined. Indeed, when we look at the actual cases of violent action, individual, or collective and organized, we find that most of them are the result of purely conventional, traditional, and ideological imperatives, which have nothing whatsoever to do with any organically determined state of mind.

It is interesting to find that when the argument for a biological or psychological determinism of aggressiveness as something inherent in man's animal nature is put forward, examples from prehuman behavior are easy to find. It is easy to show that dogs, apes, baboons, and even birds fight over females, food, spatial or territorial rights. The study of immature children in primitive tribes, or in our own nurseries, discloses that the argument by violence is very often used and has to be constantly watched over and regulated by adults.[4] This, indeed, might have suggested to any competent observer that the elimination of violence and of aggression, and not its fostering, is the essence of any educational process.

When we are faced with the question where, how, and under what circumstances, acts of purely physiological aggression occur among human adults, we come again to an interesting result. Cases of sound, normal people attacking, hurting, or killing one another under the stress of genuine anger do occur, but they are extremely,

[4] Cf., for instance, the arguments and factual documentation given in the books by E. F. M. Durbin and John Bowlby, *Personal Aggressiveness and War* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1938), and by Edward Glover, *War, Sadism and Pacifism* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1933). Both these books can be taken as examples of the incorrect and insufficient analysis of what aggressiveness really is, and of the tendency to confuse the issues by blaming "human nature" for the present catastrophic incidents of collective, mechanized slaughter, which we like to call "World War II." Good examples without faulty interpretation will also be found in *Frustration and Aggression*, by John Dollard and others, published by the Institute of Human Relations, Yale University (1939). To my colleagues at this Institute, to Dr. John Dollard and Dr. Neal A. Miller, I am greatly indebted for the benefit derived in discussions on aggressiveness and instinctive behavior. Part of the present argument was read as a paper before the Monday Evening Group of the Institute, and the suggestions and criticisms of Professors Mark A. May, Clark L. Hull, and Robert M. Yerkes have been incorporated into this article.

indeed, negligibly, rare. Think of our own society. You can adduce an indefinite number of cases from a mental hospital. You can also show that within very specialized situations, such as in prisons or concentration camps, in groups cooped up by shipwreck or some other accident, aggression is fairly frequent. Such a catastrophe as a theater on fire or a sinking boat has sometimes, but not always, the effect of producing a fight for life, in which people are trampled to death and bones broken through acts of violence, determined by panic and fear. There are also cases in every criminal record, primitive or civilized, of homicidal injuries or bruises which occur under outbursts of anger and hatred, or a fit of jealousy. We see that "aggressiveness" within the framework of an adult cultural group is found under the headings of "panic," "insanity," "artificial propinquity," or else that it becomes the type of antisocial and anticultural behavior called "crime." It is always part and product of a breakdown of personality or of culture. It is not a case of a vital sequence which has to be incorporated into every culture. Even more, since it is a type of impulsive sequence which constantly threatens the normal course of cultural behavior, it has to be and is eliminated.

III. THE HARNESSING OF AGGRESSION BY CULTURE

Another interesting point in the study of aggression is that, like charity, it begins at home. Think of the examples given above. They all imply direct contact and then the flaring-up of anger over immediate issues, where divergent interests occur, or, among the insane, are imagined to occur. Indeed, the smaller the group engaged in co-operation, united by some common interests, and living day by day with one another, the easier it is for them to be mutually irritated and to flare up in anger. Freud and his followers have demonstrated beyond doubt and cavil that within the smallest group of human co-operation, the family, there frequently arise anger, hatred, and destructive, murderous impulses. Sexual jealousies within the home, grievances over food, service, or other economic interests occur in every primitive or civilized household. I have seen myself Australian aborigines, Papuans, Melanesians, African Bantus, and Mexican Indians turning angry or even flaring into a passion on occasions when they were working together, or celebrating feasts, or

discussing some plans or some issues of their daily life. The actual occurrence, however, of bodily violence is so rare that it becomes statistically negligible. We shall see shortly why this is so.

Those who maintain that "natural aggressiveness" is a permanent cause of warfare would have to prove that this aggressiveness operates more as between strangers than between members of the same group. The facts taken from ethnographic evidence give an entirely different answer. Tribal strangers are above all eliminated from any contact with one another. Thus, the Veddas of Ceylon have arrangements by which they can transact exchange of goods and give symbolic messages to their neighbors—the Tamils and Singhalese—without ever coming face to face with them. The Australian Aborigines have an elaborate system of intertribal avoidances. The same applies to such primitive groups as the Punans of Borneo, the Firelanders, and the Pygmies of Africa and Malaysia.[5]

Besides the avoidances there are also to be found clear and legalized forms of contact between tribes. In Australia and in New Guinea, all over the Pacific, and in Africa we could find systems of intertribal law, which allow one group to visit another, to trade with them, or to collaborate in an enterprise. In some regions an intrusion on the part of a stranger, against the rules of intertribal law, and breaking through the normal dividing line, was dangerous to the intruder. He was liable to be killed or enslaved; at times he served as the *pièce de resistance* in a cannibal repast. In other words, the execution of such a trespasser was determined by tribal law, by the value of his corpse for the tribal kitchen, or of his head to the collection of a head-hunting specialist. The behavior of the murderers and of the murdered has, in such cases, obviously nothing to do with the

[5] Cf. C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, *The Veddas* (Cambridge, 1911), and G. C. W. C. Wheeler, *The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia.* A full ethnographic analysis of factual data cannot be given in this article. The professional anthropologist will be able to assess the documentary evidence of the references. I hope soon to publish a memoir with full ethnographic material in support of the present argument. I am under a great debt of obligation to the Cross-Cultural Survey, organized by Professor G. P. Murdock at the Institute of Human Relations, Yale University. In this survey evidence concerning war and intertribal relations is fully collected and classified under rubrics 43–44. It is accessible to all students of anthropology. Dr. Stephen W. Reed and Dr. Alfred Métraux have assisted me greatly in discussing the anthropological problems and facts bearing on my approach to war.

psychology of anger, pugnacity, or physiological aggressiveness. We have to conclude that, contrary to the prevailing theoretical bias, aggression as the raw material of behavior occurs not in the contact between tribal strangers but within the tribe and within its component co-operative groups.

We have seen already that aggression is a by-product of co-operation. This latter organizes human beings into systems of concerted activities. Such a system, or institution, as we can call it, is the family. A small group of people are united under the contract of marriage. They are concerned with the production, education, and socialization of children. They obey a system of customary law, and they operate conjointly a household—i.e., a portion of environment with an apparatus of implements and consumers goods. The clan and the local group, the food-producing team and the industrial workshop, the age grade and the secret society are one and all systems of concerted activities, each organized into an institution.[6]

Let us try to understand the place of aggressiveness within an institution. There is no doubt at all that, within these short-range co-operative and spatially condensed forms of human organization, genuine aggressiveness will occur more readily and universally than anywhere else. Impulses to beat a wife or husband, or to thrash children, are personally known to everybody and ethnographically universal. Nor are partners in work or in business ever free of the temptation to take each other by the throat, whether primitive or civilized. The very essence of an institution, however, is that it is built upon the charter of fundamental rules which, on the one hand, clearly define the rights, prerogatives, and duties of all the partners. A whole set of minor and more detailed norms of custom, technique, ethics, and law also clearly and minutely lay down the respective functions as regards type, quantity, and performance in each differential activity. This does not mean that people do not quarrel, argue, or dispute as to whether the performance or prerogatives have not been infringed. It means, first and foremost, that all such dis-

[6] I have suggested, in the above-mentioned article "Culture," that this concept of institution is, in anthropological analysis, preferable to that of culture complex. This point will be more fully elaborated in a forthcoming article entitled "The Scientific Approach to the Study of Man," to appear in a volume entitled *Man and Science*, of the "Science and Culture Series," edited by Dr. R. N. Anshen.

putes are within the universe of legal or quasilegal discourse. It also means that the dispute can always be referred, not to the arbitrament of force, but to the decision of authority.

And here we come upon the fact that the charter—the fundamental customary law—always defines the division of authority in each institution. It also defines the use of force and violence, the regulation of which is, indeed, the very essence of what we call the social organization of an institutionalized group. The patriarchal family supplies the father with the right to rule and even with the implements of violence. Under mother-right the father has to submit, to a much larger extent, to the decisions and influences of his wife's family, notably of her brother. Within the institution of the clan, quarrels and dissensions are very stringently proscribed, for the clan in many cultures acts as the unit of legal solidarity. The myth of the perfect harmony of all clansmen, however, had to be exploded.[7] Nevertheless, quarrels within the clan are rapidly and effectively eliminated by the definite, centralized, and organized authority vested in the leaders and the elders. The local group not only has the right to co-ordinate the activities and the interests of its component households and clans; it also has the means of enforcing its decisions if violence has to be used or prevented. The tribe, as the widest co-ordinating group, has also its legal charter, and it has often also some executive means for the enforcement of decisions bearing upon quarrels, disputes, and feuds within the group.

It is characteristic once more that most fighting on the primitive level occurs between smaller units of the same cultural group. The members of two families or two clans or two local groups may come to blows. We have instances of such fighting among the Veddas, the Australian Aborigines, and other lowest primitives.[8] Such intratribal

[7] Cf. my *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (New York, 1926), among other contributions to this problem.

[8] Perhaps the best and most detailed account of a type of fighting in which one clan functions as a social unit against another is to be found in Lloyd Warner's book on the Murngin entitled *A Black Civilization* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1937). His evidence shows that such armed disputes, though at times destructive and lethal, are carried out with strict rules, over definite issues of clan interests; and are concluded in a peace ceremony, which re-establishes the order of tribal law after an infraction by one of the clan members. All the data, well assembled and classified, can be easily studied in the Cross-Cultural Survey at Yale.

fighting is always the result of the infraction of tribal law. A member of a clan or a family is killed. A woman is abducted or an act of adultery committed. Only in the rarest of cases, a spontaneous brawl or fight ensues immediately. For there exist rules of tribal law which define the way in which the dispute has to be fought out. The whole type of fighting between families, clans, or local groups is conventional, determined in every detail by beliefs and elements of material culture, or by values and agreements. The collective behavior in such fighting, which is characteristic of the primitive level of lowest savages, is guided at every step and is controlled by factors which can be only studied with reference to the social organization, to customary law, to mythological ideas, as well as to the material apparatus of a primitive culture.[9]

When there is a strong rivalry between two groups, and when this leads to a general state of mind—generating frequent outbursts of anger and sentiments of hatred over real divergences of interest—we find an arrangement in which occasional fights are not only allowed, but specially organized, so as to give vent to hostile feelings and reestablish order after the feelings have been overtly expressed. Such occasional tournament fights take sometimes pronouncedly peaceful form. The public songs of insult, by which the Eskimo even up their differences and express hatred, grievances, or hostility, are a well-known example of this. In Central Europe the institution of Sunday afternoon drinking and fighting fulfils the function of an organized and regulated exchange of insults, blows, at times injuries and casualties, in which accumulated resentments of the week are evened up. We have a good description of such regulated fights within the group among the Kiwai Papuans, among the Polynesians, and among the South American Indians.

Anthropological evidence, correctly interpreted, shows, therefore, that there is a complete disjunction between the psychological fact of pugnacity and the cultural determination of feuds and fights. Pug-

[9] If space would allow, we could show that witchcraft, which is also an important tool of expressing anger or hatred, is a characteristic substitute mechanism. The use of direct violence is eliminated by translating the reaction of anger into a sentiment of hatred, and expressing this, not by any fighting or use of force, but by mystical acts of hostility.

nacity can be transformed through such cultural factors as propaganda, scare-mongering, and indoctrination into any possible or even improbable channels. We have seen the change in France: the pugnacity of yesterday has overnight become a lukewarm alliance, and the friendship of the most recent past may, at any moment, flare up into the pugnacity of tomorrow. The raw material of pugnacity does admittedly exist. It is not in any way the biological core of any type of organized violence, in the sense in which we found that sex is the core of organized family life, hunger of commissariat, evacuation of sanitary arrangements, or the maintenance of bodily temperature a biological factor around which center cultural adjustments of clothing and housing. Anger and aggressiveness may flare up almost at any moment in the course of organized co-operation. Their incidence decreases with the size of the group. As an impulse, pugnacity is indefinitely plastic. As a type of behavior, fighting can be linked with an indefinitely wide range of cultural motives.

Everywhere, at all levels of development, and in all types of culture, we find that the direct effects of aggressiveness are eliminated by the transformation of pugnacity into collective hatreds, tribal or national policies, which lead to organized, ordered fighting, but prevent any physiological reactions of anger. Human beings never fight on an extensive scale under the direct influence of an aggressive impulse. They fight and organize for fighting because, through tribal tradition, through teachings of a religious system, or of an aggressive patriotism, they have been indoctrinated with certain cultural values which they are prepared to defend, and with certain collective hatreds on which they are ready to assault and kill. Since pugnacity is so widespread, yet indefinitely plastic, the real problem is not whether we can completely eliminate it from human nature, but how we can canalize it so as to make it constructive.

IV. TRIBE-NATION AND TRIBE-STATE

In our study of anthropological evidence in so far as it throws light on modern warfare, we are in search of genuine primitive antecedents of fighting, such as occurred in historical times, and of fighting as it has become transformed in the modern world wars. The use of violence, clearly, has to receive a fuller sociological treatment. Na-

tionalism and imperialism, and even totalitarianism—in my opinion, a phenomenon of cultural pathology—must be supplied with their evolutionary background and their ethnographic antecedents.

We have already seen that when two clans or two local groups fight with each other within the framework of the same tribal law, we deal with cases of legal mechanisms, but not with antecedents of war. We have to face now the question of how to define, in terms of social organization and of culture, the groups which can legitimately be regarded as pursuing some prototype of international policy, so that their battles can be considered as genuine precursors of warfare.

The concept of tribe and of tribal unity would naturally occur to every anthropologist or student of social science. An ethnographic map of the world shows, on every continent, well-defined boundaries which separate one tribe from the other. The unity of such a tribe consists *de facto* in the homogeneity, at times identity, of culture. All tribesmen accept the same tradition in mythology, in customary law, in economic values, and in moral principles. They also use similar implements and consume similar goods. They fight and hunt with the same weapons and marry according to the same tribal law and custom. Between the members of such a tribe communication is possible because they have similar artifacts, skills, and elements of knowledge. They also speak the same language—at times divided by some dialectical varieties—but generally allowing free communication. As a rule, the tribe is endogamous, that is, marriage is permitted within its limits but not outside. Consequently, the kinship system usually welds the whole tribe into a group of related and mutually co-operative, or potentially antagonistic, clans. The tribe in this sense, therefore, is a group of people who conjointly exercise a type of culture. They also transmit this culture in the same language, according to similar educational principles, and thus they are the unit through which the culture lives and with which a culture dies.

In the terminology here adopted, we can say that the tribe as a cultural entity can be defined as a federation of partly independent and also co-ordinated component institutions. One tribe, therefore, differs from the other in the organization of the family, the local groups, the clan, as well as economic, magical, and religious teams.

The identity of institutions, their potential co-operation due to community of language, tradition, and law, the interchange of services, and the possibility of joint enterprise on a large scale—these are the factors which make for the unity of a primitive, culturally homogeneous group. This, I submit, is the prototype of what we define today as nationality: a large group, unified by language, tradition, and culture. To the division as we find it between primitive culturally differentiated tribes there correspond today such divisions as between Germans and Poles, Swedes and Norwegians, Italians and French. In our modern world these divisions do not always coincide with the boundaries of the state. Hence, all the contemporary political problems of nationalism, imperialism, the status of minorities, and of irredentist groups are covered by the principle of national self-determination. All such problems hinge obviously on the relation between nation and state.

The principle of political unity or statehood can also be found—on a primitive level—in creating divisions as well as in establishing unity. We know already that authority, as the power to use physical force in the sanctioning of law, exists even at the lowest level of development. We have seen that it is the very essence of the constitution of organized systems of activities, that is, institutions. We have seen that it also functions as the basis for a wider territorial control of the relations between institutions. At the lowest level we found the local group as the widest co-ordinating unit with political prerogatives. If we were to survey the political conditions at a somewhat higher level of development, we would find in most parts of the world, in Melanesia and Polynesia, in Africa and parts of America, that political power is wielded by much larger regional groups, united on the principle of authority and, as a rule, equipped with military organization, the duty of which is partly internal policing, partly external defense or aggression. Much of my own field work has been done in the Trobriand Islands, where such politically organized regions were to be found and where a clear prototype of a politically organized state could be seen at work.

We have thus introduced another concept for which the word "tribe" is also used in anthropology. I submit that the distinction between political and cultural units is necessary. To implement it

terminologically, I suggest that we coin the two expressions "tribe-nation" and "tribe-state." The tribe-nation is the unit of cultural co-operation. The tribe-state has to be defined in terms of political unity, that is, of centralized authoritative power and the corresponding organization of armed force. It is clear from all that has been said that the tribe-nation is an earlier and more fundamental type of cultural differentiation than the tribe-state. The two do not coincide, for we have many instances of the tribe-state as a subdivision of the tribe-nation. The Maori of New Zealand, the Trobriand Islanders, the Zulu before European advent, as well as many North American tribes, could be quoted as examples of this. Among them the tribe-nation embraces many tribe-states. On the other hand, we could adduce from East and West Africa examples in which two or more tribe-nations are united within the same tribe-state. I have in mind the kingdoms of Unyoro and Uganda, such political units as the Masai or the Bemba, all of whom have "subject minorities" within their dominion.[10]

The two principles of statehood and nationality must, therefore, be kept apart in theory, even as they are different in cultural reality. Nevertheless, there has always existed a convergence of the two principles and a tendency toward the coalescence of the two groups—the nation and the state. In Europe this tendency, under the name of nationalism, has made its definite appearance in political aspirations and as a cause of wars and rebellions ever since the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. Its main exponents were Germany, Poland, and Italy, where the disjunction of the two principles had been most pronounced. Many historians regard nationalism in this sense as an entirely new phenomenon of recent European history. In reality nationalism is probably as old as an early appearance of political power. On the one hand, a primitive nation, that is, a tribe carrying a homogeneous culture, is best protected against

[10] Such conditions can clearly be paralleled from the map of historical and even contemporary Europe. Austro-Hungary was a monarchy in which some fourteen or fifteen nationalities were federated. Germany before the Napoleonic Wars was a nation divided into many small states. Italy was also parceled out and partly subject to foreign rule before its unification in 1871. Poland for one hundred and fifty years was a nation partitioned among three large states. Switzerland is a political entity embracing four component nationalities.

outside disturbances by being organized into a tribe-state. On the other hand, the strongest tribe-state is the one which coincides with the tribe-nation, since political organization is even under primitive conditions most solidly based on the association with the group who are fully co-operative through the possession of one language, one system of customs and laws, one economic machinery, and one type of military equipment.

V. WAR AND PRIMITIVE POLITICS

We can now return to the role played by fighting in the early crystallization of statehood and nationality. As a working hypothesis, we might suggest that once a strong local group developed a military machine, it would use this in the gradual subjugation of its neighbors and extension of its political control. Ethnography supplies us with the evidence that fighting between local groups of the same culture does exist. It also supplies us with a clear picture of conditions in which fairly extensive political units, which form states within a larger nation, are in existence. The study of the *status quo* and of fragments of history among the Maori of New Zealand, among several African tribes, as well as all we know about the pre-Columbian history of Mexico and Peru, points to the fact that once armed military operations start in a region, they tend to the formation of the nation-state. The archeologist and historian concerned with the Mediterranean world might show that analogous developments produced the Roman state, some of the Greek political units, and the empires of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia. Wars of nationalism, therefore, as a means of unifying under the same administrative rule and providing with the same military machine the naturally homogeneous cultural group, that is, the nation, have always been a powerful force in evolution and history.

Warfare of this type is culturally productive in that it creates a new institution, the nation-state. Obviously, since the political unit extends to embrace the cultural one, both assume a different character. The co-ordination of any subdivisions of such a group, whether regional or institutional, become standardized and organized. Moreover, a nation-state usually assumes a much more pronounced control over economics and man-power, over contributions

to the tribal exchequer and public services rendered. It can also enforce its decisions, that is, sanction administrative activities and customary law. It is legitimate, therefore, to regard fighting of this type as a genuine antecedent of certain historical wars. For fighting here functions as an instrument of policy between two tribe-states, and it leads to the formation of larger political groups, and finally, of the tribe-nation.

It is necessary to remember that organized fighting at higher stages of savagery or barbarism does not always present this politically significant character. Most of the fighting at this stage belongs to an interesting, highly complicated, and somewhat exotic type: raids for head-hunting, for cannibal feasts, for victims of human sacrifice to tribal gods. Space does not allow me to enter more fully into the analysis of this type of fighting. Suffice it to say that it is not cognate to warfare, for it is devoid of any political relevancy; nor can it be considered as any systematic pursuit of intertribal policy. Human man-hunting in search of anatomic trophies, the various types of armed body-snatching for cannibalism, actual or mystical, as food for men and food for gods, present a phase of human evolution which can be understood in terms of ambition, thirst for glory, and of mystical systems. In a competent analysis of warfare as a factor in human evolution, they must be kept apart from constructive or organized systems of warfare.[11]

So far we have dealt with fighting organized on political principles and performing a political function, and we have dealt briefly with sportive types of human man-hunting. Where does the economic motive enter into our problem? It is conspicuously absent from the earliest types of fighting. Nor are the reasons difficult to find. Under conditions where portable wealth does not exist; where food is too perishable and too clumsy to be accumulated and transported; where slavery is of no value because every individual consumes exactly as much as he produces—force is a useless implement for the transfer of wealth. When material booty, human labor, and condensed wealth —i.e., precious metals or stones—become fully available, predatory raids acquire a meaning and make their appearance. Thus, we have to register a new type of fighting: armed expeditions for loot, slave

[11] "The Deadly Issue," *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1936.

wars, and large-scale organized robbery. We could quote examples from East and Southeast Africa, where cattle raiding was a lucrative industry associated with war. Among the northwestern tribes of America, slavery is found perhaps in its simplest type and furnishes one of the main motives of intertribal feuds. Nomadic tribes who, as organized robber bands, controlled some of the caravan routes in North Africa and in Asia, developed and used their military efficiency for a systematic levy of tribute, and for loot at the expense of their wealthier sedentary, mercantile or agricultural, neighbors.

We have, in the above analysis, made one or two distinctions, perhaps too sharply, but for the purpose of isolating the principles which lead to the appearance of genuine, purposeful warfare. We have spoken of nationalism as an early tendency leading to political wars and the formation of primitive nation-states. We spoke of organized raids carried out under the economic motive. These types of fighting very often coincide. It is even more important to realize that nationalism, as the tendency of extending political control to the full limits of cultural unity, is never a clear-cut phenomenon. Nationalism seldom stops at the legitimate cultural boundaries of the nation. Whether it be a Hitler or a Chaka, a Napoleon or an Aztec conqueror, a Genghis Khan or an Inca ruler, he will readily and naturally overstep the boundaries of his nation. Nationalism readily turns into imperialism, that is, the tendency of incorporating other nations under the political rule of the military conqueror.

Here we arrive at a new phenomenon which has played an important role in the development of mankind. Conquest, the integral occupation of another cultural area by force, combines all the benefits of loot, slavery, and increase in political power. Conquest is a phenomenon which must have played an enormous part in the progress of mankind at the stage where, in a parallel and independent manner, we had the establishment of large agricultural communities and militarily strong nomadic or cattle-raising tribes. From the conditions found in various parts of the ethnographically observable world and from the records of history we can retrace and reconstruct the main characteristics of culturally constructive conquest. The best ethnographic areas for this analysis are to be found among the East African tribes, where we still can study the symbiosis of invad-

of an impulse but to collective forms of sentiment and value. As a mechanism of organized force for the pursuit of national policies war is slow in evolving. Its incidence depends on the gradual development of military equipment and organization, of the scope for lucrative exploits, of the formation of independent political units.

Taking into account all such factors, we had to establish, within the genus of aggression and use of violence, the following distinctions: (1) Fighting, private and angry, within a group belongs to the type of breach of custom and law and is the prototype of criminal behavior. It is countered and curbed by the customary law within institutions and between institutions. (2) Fighting, collective and organized, is a juridical mechanism for the adjustment of differences between constituent groups of the same larger cultural unit. Among the lowest savages these two types are the only forms of armed contest to be found. (3) Armed raids, as a type of man-hunting sport, for purposes of head-hunting, cannibalism, human sacrifices, and the collection of other trophies. (4) Warfare as the political expression of early nationalism, that is, the tendency to make the tribe-nation and tribe-state coincide, and thus to form a primitive nation-state. (5) Military expeditions of organized pillage, slave-raiding, and collective robbery. (6) Wars between two culturally differentiated groups as an instrument of national policy. This type of fighting, with which war in the fullest sense of the word began, leads to conquest, and, through this, to the creation of full-fledged military and political states, armed for internal control, for defense and aggression. This type of state presents, as a rule, and for the first time in evolution, clear forms of administrative, political, and legal organization. Conquest is also of first-rate importance in the processes of diffusion and evolution.

The types of armed contest, listed as (4) and (6) and these two only, are, in form, sociological foundations, and in the occurrence of constructive policy are comparable with historically defined wars. Every one of the six types here summed up presents an entirely different cultural phase in the development of organized fighting. The neglect to establish the differentiation here introduced has led to grave errors in the application of anthropological principles to general problems concerning the nature of war. The crude short-

circuiting—by which our modern imperialisms, national hatreds, and world-wide lust of power have been connected with aggression and pugnacity—is largely the result of not establishing the above distinctions, of disregarding the cultural function of conflict, and of confusing war, as a highly specialized and mechanized phenomenon, with any form of aggression.

We can determine even more precisely the manner in which anthropological evidence, as the background of correct understanding and informed knowledge, can be made to bear on some of our current problems. In general, of course, it is clear that since our main concern is whether war will destroy our Western civilization or not, the anthropological approach, which insists on considering the cultural context of war, might be helpful.

Especially important in a theoretical discussion of whether war can be controlled and ultimately abolished, is the recognition that war is not biologically founded. The fact that its occurrence cannot be traced to the earliest beginnings of human culture is significant. Obviously, if war were necessary to human evolution; if it were something without which human groups have to decay and by which they advance; then war could not be absent from the earliest stages, in which the actual birth of cultural realities took place under the greatest strains and against the heaviest odds. A really vital ingredient could not, therefore, be lacking in the composition of primitive humanity, struggling to lay down the foundations of further progress.

War, looked at in evolutionary perspective, is always a highly destructive event. Its purpose and *raison d'être* depend on whether it creates greater values than it destroys. Violence is constructive, or at least profitable, only when it can lead to large-scale transfers of wealth and privilege, of ideological outfit, and of moral experience. Thus, humanity had to accumulate a considerable stock of transferable goods, ideas, and principles before the diffusion of those through conquest, and even more, the pooling and the reorganization of economic, political, and spiritual resources could lead to things greater than those which had been destroyed through the agency of fighting.

Our analysis has shown that the work of cultural exercise is as-

sociated with one of the two widest groups, the tribe-nation. The work of destroying and also of reconstructing in matters cultural is associated with the tribe-state. Here, once more, it will be clear to every social student that, in giving this ethnographic background to the concepts of state and nation, of nationalism and imperialism, we may have contributed to the theoretical clarification of the corresponding modern facts.

What matters to us today, as ever, is human culture as a whole, in all its varieties, racial and religious, national or affected by regional differentiation of interests and of values. Nationhood in its manifold manifestations, today as always, is the carrier of each culture. The state should be the guardian and the defender of the nation, not its master, still less its destroyer. The Wilsonian principle of self-determination was scientifically, hence morally, justified. It was justified to the extent only that each culture ought to have full scope for its development—that is, every nation ought to be left in peace and freedom. Self-determination was a mistake, in that it led to the arming of new nations and more nations, while it ought to have meant only the disarming of dangerous, predatory neighbors. Self-determination can be perfectly well brought about by the abolition of all states, rather than by the arming of all nations.

Thus, the general formula which anthropological analysis imposes on sound and enlightened statesmanship is the complete autonomy of each cultural group, and the use of force only as a sanction of law within, and in foreign relations, a policing of the world as a whole.

VII. TOTALITARIANISM AND WORLD WARS I AND II IN THE LIGHT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropological analysis of modern conditions cannot stop here, however; nor need it remain satisfied with the important but very general statement just formulated. To vindicate its claim of applicability to the savagery of civilization, as well as to the civilizations of savages, it is necessary to go a step or two further and submit the cultural pathology of today, that is, totalitarian systems and World Wars I and II, to a somewhat more detailed and searching analysis.

World war, that is, total war, is, in the light of our anthropological criteria, as distinct from the historical wars up to 1914 as these were different from head-hunting or slave-raiding. The influence of present warfare on culture is so total that it poses the problem whether the integral organization for effective violence—which we call totalitarianism—is compatible with the survival of culture.

Culture, as we know, is exercised in each of its varieties by the co-operative working of partly independent, partly co-ordinated institutions within the group, which we defined as the nation. It has been thus exercised and transmitted from the very beginnings of humanity, right through to the beginnings of this century. The foundations of the industrial, liberal, and democratic era which, as I am writing this, still survives in the United States and in a few Latin-American countries, were laid on the very same structure of institutional differentiation and co-ordination by the state, which controlled the development of human civilization as a whole. The principle of totalitarianism, black or red, brown or yellow, has introduced the most radical revolution known in the history of mankind. In its cultural significance it is the transformation of nationhood and all its resources into a lethal, "technocratic" instrument of violence. This becomes a means justified by the end. The end is the acquisition of more power for one state, that is, more scope for organizing violence on a larger scale and for further destructive uses. Thus, the end of totalitarianism, in so far as it gradually saps all the resources of culture and destroys its structure, is diametrically opposed and completely incompatible with the constitution of human societies for the normal, peaceful business of producing, maintaining, and transmitting wealth, solidarity, reason, and conscience, all of which are the real indices and values of civilization.

The war of 1914–18 was, I submit, different in all fundamentals from the historical wars of constructive conquest. In its technique, in its influence on national life, and also in its reference to the international situation it became a *total* war. Fighting goes on now not merely on all the frontiers geographically possible; it is waged on land, on sea, and in the air. Modern war makes it impossible to distinguish between the military personnel of an army and the civilians; between military objectives and the cultural portion of national

wealth, and the means of production, the monuments, the churches, and the laboratories. Lines of communication, seats of government, centers of industry, and even centers of administrative, legal, and scientific activity are rapidly becoming targets for destruction, as much as garrisons, fortified lines, and airdromes. This development is not only due to the barbarism of a nation or of a dictator. It is inevitable, for it is dictated by the modern technique of violence.

The total character of war, however, goes much further. War has to transform every single cultural activity within a belligerent nation. The family and the school, the factory and the courts of law, are affected so profoundly that their work—the exercise of culture through autonomous self-contained institutions—is temporarily paralyzed or distorted. It is enough to look at the statistics of mobilization in man-power, in activity, and in public opinion to realize that at present it has become possible to transform some hundred million human beings into one enormous war machine. And it is obvious that when two war machines of this size are launched against each other, the one with the less perfect and total mobilization is bound to succumb.[12]

[12] Fuller data illustrating the complete remolding of all national life during war and as preparedness for war, will be found in Professor Willard Waller's symposium on *War in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Dryden Press, 1940). The four essays on economy, the state, propaganda and public opinion, and on social institutions in war time should, in my opinion, be read carefully by all students of the subject. They show that total war completely transforms the substance of modern culture. The reader, pursuing them in the light of our present analysis, may be able to draw even more pointed conclusions, especially in assessing that totalitarianism is nothing but the constitution of the nation on a war-time basis. That this effect of war is not generally understood or appreciated can be seen from the final essay in Professor Waller's volume, in which Dr. Linton, a competent authority upon all matters anthropological, seems to minimize the destructiveness of war and of its profound influence on culture. Speaking of modern war, he affirms that "its uniqueness, especially as regards potentialities for destruction, has been greatly overrated. . . . . The principles upon which successful war must be waged have not changed since the dawn of history, while the destructive intent of war has certainly diminished. . . . . In Europe . . . . still other factors . . . . will keep intentional destruction to a minimum. . . . . It seems safe to predict . . . . that . . . . there will be no swift victories against large or powerful nations" (What about France? *op. cit.*, pp. 535–38). Such opinions, and they are by no means exclusive to the writer quoted, show how easy it is to miss the real issue. Even if we admitted that the toll of some twenty million human lives taken by the last World War was of no great importance; nor yet the fifty million maimed and rendered useless, we would have to assess the disorganization in economic matters, the lack of security as regards wealth

The stupendous, almost miraculous successes of Hitler's Germany have so dazzled the public opinion of neutrals and belligerents alike, that some of the real lessons have not yet been learned. In the mingled reaction of horror and admiration which followed the *Blitzkrieg* against Poland, the "conquest" of Denmark and Norway, with the implicit subjugation of Sweden, the campaign against the Low Countries, and the shattering collapse of France, many of us had to fight hard against the feeling that, after all, totalitarianism is "a better and bigger" regime than "the decaying demo-plutocracies." Sound anthropological understanding of these facts as cultural phenomena teaches something else. An organized gang of criminals will always gain the upper hand in an armed attack on a bank. The only chance the bank has is, not in fighting the gang, but in having a police force to protect it. And the police will be really efficient if it prevents the formation of an armed gang with such instruments of violence at its disposal, as would make defense impossible, or at least costly and destructive. Prepared aggression will always get the better of unprepared defense. Defense must be prepared so as to prevent aggressiveness, rather than fight it.

And here we come to the most important element in the cultural assessment of totalitarianism. Born out of the first World War, it was, in principle, nothing less and nothing more than the application of the political techniques developed between 1914 and 1918 as the type of political, economic, educational, and propagandist regime, suitable to the carrying-out of a major war.

Nazi Germany developed a system of values which could, through the technique of modern propaganda and under the sanction of a perfectly organized police, be made to become the doctrine of the whole nation. The system of values was based on the superiority of one race, of one nation within this race, and of one organized gang within the nation. Such a doctrine, it can be seen easily, is functionally adapted to the creation of highly artificial, but nevertheless effective, sentiments of superiority, aggressiveness, national egoism,

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and life, and the general debasement of civic and ethical principles. The real issue, however, discussed in the text, is whether the integral influence of preparedness for, and the use of, violence do or do not disorganize the texture of modern civilization.

and a morality which fits perfectly well into a universal barrack-room drill. Parallel to indoctrination, there had to go the complete reorganization of social life. The family, the municipality, the schools, the courts, the churches, and all the institutions of intellectual and artistic production were put directly under the forced and armed control of the state. Never before in humanity has the autonomous working of component institutions been so completely submitted to state control. Never, that is, has the exercise of culture become so completely paralyzed. This means, in terms of individual psychology, that any differential initiative, any formation of independent critical judgment, any building-up of public opinion through discussion, controversy, and agreement, has been replaced by a passive acceptance of dictated truths. As regards the social structure of the nation, the control from above has had the effect of replacing spontaneous solidarity between husband and wife, between parents and children, among friends or partners, by a mechanically imposed "spirit of unity," to be accepted regardless of any personal impulse, reasonable judgment, or ruling of conscience.

We know well how the results of individual research, the teaching of the various religions, and the creation of artists have been prescribed, limited, and directed. In religion, notably, we can see that Naziism is trying to substitute its own dogmatic system, its ritual, and its ethics for those of Christianity, as well as for the established ethics of Western civilization and the convictions of scientific judgment.

It is not necessary to inveigh against the totalitarian system; certainly this is not a place for moral indignations or partisan views. Scientific ethics, in any case, must be limited to a clear statement of the consequences of a type of action, whether this be a small-scale enterprise or a world-wide system. The science of man, however, has always the right and the duty to point out what the consequences of a cultural revolution will be. This is the foundation of all applied science. Social science must not be afraid of predicting, anticipating, and developing some ethics of reason. This does not mean that we have the duty or the liberty of condemning certain ends on moral grounds. We can, however, point out, if this is the result of our considered opinion and analysis, that totalitarianism must lead to the

destruction of the nation with which it is associated and, later on, to destruction on international scale.

Totalitarianism is an extreme expression in the shift of balance between state and nation. It is extreme because modern means of mechanical mobilization of man-power, economic resources, and spiritual values have become so dangerously effective that it is now possible to refashion whole communities—consisting of hundreds of millions—and to change each of them from a nation, exercising, transmitting, and developing culture, into a belligerent machinery supreme in war, but unsuited, perhaps unable, to carry on the national heritage of culture. The German nation, once leading in science and in art, rich in a highly differentiated regional folklore, peasant life, and economic diversity, has now been changed into a large-scale barracks. It would be an important historical task to show how much of Germany's greatness was due to the racial, regional, and traditional differences of its component parts. The progressive extinction of this diversity is the price which Germany, as a nation, had to pay in order to make Germany, the state, so powerful. Nationalism in this modern totalitarian form is pernicious because it has become the greatest enemy of the nation itself.

And what is the place of totalitarianism in international policies and politics? It is obvious that humanity is now faced with two alternatives—the final victory, in the long run, of totalitarianism or democracy. No state organized on a peace basis, that is, for the fullest and most effective exercise of civilization, can compete with a state organized for efficiency in war. Nazi victory can be final only if Hitler's nation-state, one and alone, assumes full control of the whole world. If this were probable or even possible, we might well argue that once humanity is submitted to one conqueror, the conditions of creative and constructive conquest will set in, with the usual beneficent results, obtained at a great price, but finally acceptable.

The possibility of a complete victory of one state does not exist. If Germany wins, she will have at least three more totalitarian powers to reckon with—Italy, Russia, and Japan. When Italy falls out and becomes a mere appendage of Hitlerism, the United States of America may have to enter the ranks of totalitarian countries. For, on the assumption that Great Britain is beaten and absorbed into the Ger-

man-led totalitarian block, as France has become, the United States must continue in isolation. This will mean, again, either embracing totalitarianism or withdrawing into a precarious state of semi-independence in matters political, economic, and cultural. Fortunately, Great Britain is still fighting the battle of liberty and civilization and, as its habit has always been, it may remain beaten in all battles except the final one.

Totalitarianism, unless it becomes the universal empire of one single power, is not a source of stability but of age-long periodic world wars. Anthropological analysis supports those who believe that war must be abolished. Nationalism, in the sense of a demand for cultural autonomy within each group united by language, tradition, and culture, is legitimate and indispensable to the carrying-out of the very business of culture. Such cultural autonomy of the component parts of present-day humanity is, or was, the principle of the national life of Switzerland and of the old Austro-Hungarian empire; of the relations between the powerful United States and its Latin-American neighbors, who would be entirely unable to defend their cultural autonomy by force, but enjoy it, with all-round benefits, by the policy of the "good neighbor."

We are now living in a world where fashions come and go, and where the soundest ideals and principles are discredited because they are considered to have become worn out or worn too long. This attitude in itself is almost as pernicious as certain germs of totalitarianism. The student of social science ought to fight against it. I would, therefore, reiterate the beliefs which inspired some of the finest thinkers and best fighters of the last war. I believe that war can legitimately be fought only to end war. I believe that the future peace of mankind is possible only on a principle of a commonwealth of nations. I believe that in a humanity still divided by races, cultures, customs, and languages, a full tolerance in racial relations, in the treatment of nationalities, and national minorities, and in the respect for the individual, is the very mainspring of all progress and the foundation of all stability. The great enemy of today is the sovereign state, even as we find it in democratic commonwealths—certainly as it has developed into the malignant growth of totalitarianism. The real failure of the Wilsonian League of Nations was due to

the fact that its very builders refused to pay the price which it obviously imposed. They were not prepared to abrogate one ounce of their national sovereignty, forgetting that this was the very material out of which the League had to be constructed.

Unless we courageously, resolutely, and with due humility, take up the principles, the ideals, and the plans which originated at first in America and were also first denounced by this country, we shall not be able to overcome the major disease of our age. This may be called total war, or totalitarianism, or extreme state sovereignty, or injustice in matters racial, religious, and national. It always results in the substitution of force for argument, of oppression for justice, and of crude, dictated mysticism for faith and reason.

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THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF WAR

OBSERVATIONS AND NOTES

ROBERT E. PARK

ABSTRACT

The view is here advanced that war is a political institution in process—an institution whose function has not been defined, whose structure is not yet fixed. The attempt to put war into a biological category errs not so much from a failure to distinguish between social and biological aspects of war as from failure to distinguish between competition and conflict as different aspects of the "struggle for existence." Competition may be regarded as an individuating or analytic process; conflict as an integrating process. Wars have provided the necessity for an organization of society which, for the purpose of collective action at least, has become immeasurably superior to the primitive horde. The state not only had its origin in war, but its chief function continues to be preparation for and execution of war. Where no common interests or "constitutional understandings" exist to make compromise possible, wars seem inevitable. Ideological wars turn out to be struggles for land because political control and sovereignty of territory are necessary to maintain the different ways of life represented by the parties to these conflicts. The function of war has been (1) to extend the area of peace, (2) to create within that area a political power capable of enforcing it, and (3) to establish an ideology which rationalizes and a cult which idealizes the new political and social order.

By making warfare more efficient and more terrible, modern technology has made war itself our No. 1 social problem. There is a vast literature on war and peace; but, aside from what has been written about the science and art of warfare, there is little or nothing in the literature that throws light on the nature of war or its role and function in the life and natural history of society. Furthermore, what we have learned about the effects of war, while it has made peace more desirable, has not made war any less inevitable.

Most of what has been written in recent years in regard to the problem of war and of peace may be fairly summed up in the vigorous language of General Sherman's apology for his "march to the sea." "War," said he, "is hell"—that is to say, it is cruel, barbarous, economically disastrous and politically atavistic, and generally unconscionable. This recognizes the problem but contributes nothing to its solution. I might add that problems which can be fairly described only in epithets are notoriously hard to deal with. In so far as this is true in the case of war, it seems to be because we have no adequate working conception of what war is.

The immediate consequences of war are obvious enough, but we do not know the long-run effect of wars and the preparations for wars upon society and human nature. It is inevitable that struggles which involve the very existence of peoples have had and will continue to have, as long and as often as they are repeated, a profound effect upon the nature of men, their attitudes and institutions. "Peace," it has been said, "has been the dream of wise men but war has been the history of nations." When, however, we seek to make war the subject of systematic and scientific investigation, we do not seem to have language in which to describe these influences in general terms. We need to ask ourselves: What is war?

We do not know whether to regard war as a natural phenomenon, like an earthquake or a pestilence, or to classify it as a social phenomenon, like a political contest or an elementary form of judicial procedure, like the ancient trial by battle—an institution which may be said to survive at present in Germany and elsewhere in Continental Europe in the form of the duello. In short, we do not know whether war is to be conceived as a social institution or as a biological and social process.

Trial by combat seems to have been a peculiar custom of certain German tribes and was imported by them into western Europe in the course of the Germanic invasions. It was, according to Gibbon, first made a legal institution in Burgundy by an edict of King Gundobald in A.D. 501 and was later "propagated and established in all the monarchies of Europe from Sicily to the Baltic." The church and the clergy were, for various reasons, opposed to the institution, and it is recorded that the King, in defending his edict against the objections and complaints of one of his bishops, disposed of the matter finally with this appeal to common sense and the consensus of mankind. "Is it not true," he said, "that the event of national wars and private combats is directed by the judgment of God; and that his providence awards the victory to the juster cause?"[1]

The conception of war as a procedure in which issues that cannot otherwise be adjudicated are decided, if not by force of arms, at least by physical combat, has persisted to the present day in several

[1] Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* Vol. III, chap. xxxviii, p. 331.

interesting forms—the strike, for example.[2] Taking account of the changes in the modes of thought which have taken place since Gundobald made his defense of trial by battle, it is interesting and, in a sense, reassuring to note that the conception of war upon which warfare is conducted today is not substantially different from what it was fourteen hundred years ago. Treitschke in his lectures on politics, in which he set forth fully the Prussian conception of war, defined its function in much the same language as King Gundobald. He says: "Between civilized nations also war is the form of litigation by which states make their claims valid. The arguments brought forward in these terrible law suits of the nations compel as no arguments in civil suits ever can do."

In illustrating and enforcing his conception of war as an instrument of political policy and a method by which states may, if they can, "make their claims valid," Treitschke reminds his students, to whom these lectures are addressed, that "often as we have tried by theory to convince the small states that Prussia alone can be the leader in Germany, we had to produce the final proof upon the battlefields of Bohemia and the Main."

Treitschke's notion that war may be conceived as a form of litigation between states, whether wholly valid or not, helps to make war intelligible in so far as he seems to identify the role of modern war with that of the ancient custom of trial by battle. "It is important," Treitschke adds, "not to look upon war always as a judgment from God. Its consequences are evanescent but the life of a nation is reckoned in centuries, and the final verdict can be pronounced only after a survey of the whole epoch," a sentence which reminds one of Schiller's famous dictum, "*Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht.*"

When and how far war may be conceived as a judicial procedure remains a question. While the institution of trial by battle seems to have been based, like war, on a purely nonrational procedure, these contests did, nevertheless, have the character of a judicial procedure in so far as they were duly regulated by custom and sanctioned by tradition.

[2] E. T. Hiller, *The Strike: A Study in Collective Action* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928).

The same may be said, with some qualifications, to be sure, of war. Even in the little wars of primitive people intertribal etiquette usually prescribed some formalities for the declaration of war and the conclusion of peace. In the great wars of more civilized peoples there have always been some accepted rules of warfare, though not always rigidly enforced. The so-called "laws of war" were mainly designed to lessen the cruelties and hardships of warfare, particularly for the innocent bystanders, namely, the neutrals and civilian populations.[3]

One of the more important actions taken for the regulation of warfare between European peoples was the Declaration of Paris, adopted in 1856 at the close of the Crimean War. This was followed by the Red Cross Convention of 1864, providing for certain immunities for doctors, nurses, and other persons engaged in caring for the sick and wounded.

Not only civilians, however, but military experts and professional soldiers acknowledging that there are "technical limits at which war ought to yield to the requirements of humanity," have from time to time sought to regulate by international understanding the consequences of unrestricted warfare. In 1868 the Russian czar called an international conference, composed entirely of military officers and experts, to secure an agreement to limit the use of a type of bullet which inflicted needless suffering. The recommendations of this conference were embodied in the Declaration of St. Petersburg, binding the parties to renounce, among other things, the use of "projectiles weighing less than 400 grammes (about 14 ounces) which are explosive or charged with fulminating or inflammable substance." The Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907 followed, and, as a result of these and other conferences, an elaborate code for the conduct of war was drawn up and adopted. However, in view of the uncertainties of the interpretation and enforcement of these "laws" under actual conditions of warfare the code was happily supplemented by a proviso in the preamble which provided that, until a more complete system of regulation should be agreed upon, "inhabitants and belligerents should remain under the protection and the rule of the principles of the law of nations, as they result from the

[3] *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1935), XV, 359.

usages established among civilized peoples, from the laws of humanity and the dictates of the public conscience."[4]

Since that time warfare, with the rapid advance in the technology of war, has assumed ever vaster proportions and achieved an ever more terrible efficiency. International politics, meantime, has become more realistic and more cynical. "Total warfare," so called, is limited neither to the heavens above nor to the waters under the earth, and, with the advent of the new "strategy of treachery and terror," war has invaded the realm of the spirit—the last stronghold of free souls. Under these circumstances a "peace offensive" may be as effective a means of conquest as physical warfare.

Since propaganda has come to be recognized as one of the weapons of warfare, it has, by means of the radio and other forms of communication, not only broken down the last effective barrier dividing nations but abolished the distinction that once existed between peace and war. William James said thirty years ago in an article that sounds as if it had been written yesterday:

> "Peace" in military mouths today is a synonym for "war expected." The word has become a pure provocative, and no government wishing peace sincerely should allow it ever to be printed in a newspaper. Every up-to-date dictionary should say that "peace" and "war" mean the same thing, now *in posse*, now *in actu*. It may even reasonably be said that the intensely sharp competitive *preparation* for war by the nations *is the real war*, permanent, unceasing; and that the battles are only a sort of public verification of the mastery gained during the "peace"-internal.[5]

Under these conditions it is difficult to conceive of war as a form of judicial procedure even as elementary as the ancient trial by battle. It is even doubtful whether it can any longer be regarded, as it once was, as an "institution recognized by international law."[6] This is true in spite of the German War Book and other treatises in which the rules of the game have been rigorously defined.[7]

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 361.

[5] *The Moral Equivalent of War*, a leaflet published in 1910 and circulated by the Association for International Conciliation and republished in part in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, Vol. XXII, No. 25 (October 12, 1940).

[6] Herman Lutz, "War Guilt," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XXIII, 356.

[7] See "Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege," translated by J. H. Morgan in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, XV, 361.

War has, in a summary way, settled international disputes but not always in accordance with any recognized principle of justice or necessity inherent in the international situation. Otherwise, each new war as it occurred would have provided a precedent not merely for defining progressively the rules of warfare but for determining the issues involved in these "terrible lawsuits." As a matter of fact the precedents do exist. They make up a large part of the subject matter of our histories. But no principle seems to have emerged from them that is likely to enable us to deal with the issues of new wars as they arise. More often, so far from adjudicating international disputes in accordance with some general understanding or tradition, not to say principle, of international law, war has been an innovating and revolutionary force tending to overturn the existing international order and to challenge the tradition and principles upon which that order at any time has rested.

Thus World War II, which began with the assumption that its purpose was to revise the treaties with which World War I was concluded, is now proclaiming itself a world-revolution. It is no longer, as was once announced, a war to enforce the claims of the Have-Nots against the Haves. It is rather an ideological war—a war to establish a new order based upon a new political philosophy and a new philosophy of life.

This, then, is the interesting but anomalous status which war seems to occupy in the international social order. It is an institution—a political institution—in process; an institution whose function has not been defined, whose structure is not yet fixed in custom and in tradition. Such usages governing the conduct of wars as have grown up and been accepted in the past have, indeed, tended to legitimatize wars and give them an institutional character. But legitimacy is a characteristic that attaches to something regarding which we know what to expect. We do not know what to expect of war any more.

Considering the manner in which wars are now waged and the definition of "total war" by General Ludendorff, the modern world, whatever it may do in practice, has accepted, as an intellectual proposition, Professor George Mead's dictum that war "as a policy for adjudicating national differences is utterly discredited." It is

discredited because, as Professor Mead concludes, "if logically pursued it leaves nothing to be adjudicated, not even the enemy nations themselves."[8,9]

The obvious, if not insuperable, difficulties of bringing war within the limitations of an institutional order where its function would be defined and its excesses controlled has led some students of political society to conceive war in biological rather than in sociological terms and to define its function accordingly as biological rather than social. Thus, Spencer Wilkinson, professor of military science at Oxford University, in an article on war in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, introduces the subject with a reference to an observation upon which Malthus based his theory of population and Darwin his theory of the origin of the species—namely, the observation that living organisms multiply more rapidly than the food supply, and for that reason there is "a perpetual competition among all living creatures, including human beings, for the means of subsistence." Among the higher organisms, certainly in the case of man, competition often assumes the form of conflict. As a matter of fact, animals "are usually equipped with organs of attack and of protection or evasion. On the one hand teeth, tusks, paws, claws, electricity; on the other hand shells, hides, scales and devices for camouflage."

Because he is not only a gregarious animal like sheep but a social and rational creature as well, man carries on the "struggle for existence," as Darwin described it, not merely by individual competition but by the conflict of organized groups or societies. Such a conflict between organized groups is war, and the instrument by which wars are carried on are armies.

The author pushes the biological interpretation still further. He conceives the army as itself an organism, "a society within a so-

[8] "Every individual in the nation is expected to give his entire strength either at the front or at home, and this he can only do when he realizes that it is an immutable and inviolable truth that war is being waged solely for the existence of the nation. A totalitarian policy must put at the disposal of such a war the strength of the nation and preserve it and only a conformity to the fundamental racial and spiritual laws will succeed in welding nation, conduct of war, and politics into that powerful unity which is the basis of national preservation" (General Erich Ludendorff, *The Nation at War* [London, 1936], p. 54).

[9] George H. Mead, "National-Mindedness and International-Mindedness," *International Journal of Ethics*, XXXIX, No. 4 (July, 1929), 400–404.

ciety." The weapons with which an army fights are—like the claws, paws, and tusks with which the lower animals are equipped—the instruments with which nations and peoples carry on the struggle for existence. So conceived, war becomes a form of natural selection, its function being to determine the survival not so much of individuals as of peoples and of the institutions by means of which nations and peoples carry on their collective life. The conception of war in terms of Darwin's theory of evolution, since it seems to accept war as fatally rooted in the very nature of human relations and of society, has not been accepted by the advocates of international peace. Militarists, on the other hand, even when they make no apologies for it, are likely to regard war as an inevitable incident of international relations, just as conflict has invariably been an incident and an instrument of political action wherever a political society has existed.

Von Moltke, who led the Prussian army in the three wars which brought about the establishment of the Second German Reich, wrote in a letter that has become famous: "Perpetual peace is a dream and not even a happy dream." From other statements one gathers that Moltke conceived of war, as others have before and since, as one of the instruments of God's mysterious providence designed not to settle international disputes but (1) to purge society of a political regime and a social order which were decadent and doomed to destruction and (2) to supersede these with forms more vigorous and fit to live.[10]

The attempt to put war into a biological category goes astray, it seems to me, not so much from a failure to distinguish between the social and biological aspects of wars as from a failure to distinguish between competition and conflict as different aspects of the "struggle for existence." As a matter of fact, the existing species have not survived merely because they were "superior" to those that perished but rather because they were the "fitter," i.e., they fitted the "niches" in the natural economy in which they occur. Thus the

[10] See Dr. G. F. Nicolai, *The Biology of War* (New York, 1918), pp. 521–22. Written during World War I and translated from the German by Constance A. Grande and Julian Grande, this volume by a professor of physiology is perhaps the most thoroughgoing criticism of the biological conception of war in the literature of the subject.

first effect of competition has not been to destroy but to distribute the different organisms and species as they have successively appeared in the evolutionary series. It is as if each individual and each species had been condemned to be forever seeking the particular spot in the biosphere where it could live, and to survive by reproducing its kind. In turn, this distribution has been one of the instruments for the evolution of new species. The dispersion of the species, their diversification and preservation in all their diversity, as described by the older naturalists and their successors, the plant and animal ecologists, is one of the most fascinating chapters in the story of biological evolution.[11]

Dispersion was facilitated by the fact that competition between organisms of the same species, since they make similar demands on the habitat, is more intense than the competition between organisms of different species. Dispersion is an incident of the food quest. A further consequence of this dispersion has been the formation of associations, like that of the vine and the fig tree, of mutually interdependent species. This interdependence, like that of the predacious animal and its prey, does not necessarily result in the extirpation of either species but rather in the preservation of both.

It is by competition in the first instance that the dispersion and diversity of organisms is made possible; but it is by competition, also, that what is called the "balance of life" is maintained and the diversity of the species is preserved. This mutual interdependence of organisms has been described as "the web of life."

Within the limits of a geographical habitat the interdependence of the species inhabiting it tends to become more intimate and more vital. Such a region in which plants and animals maintain a kind of biological economy is described by ecologists as a "community." This is, however, a community, *nota bene*, without institutions. Such a community is, in fact, a kind of society, since it is composed of individual organisms living together; but it is different from the so-called animal societies, like those of the social insects, in this important respect—it is composed of species which, because they do not interbreed, have no "family ties." They have no instincts, as

[11] See Richard Hesse, *Ecological Animal Geography*, translated and edited by W. C. Allee and Karl P. Schmidt (New York, 1937).

is the case of the social insects, which hold the individual units of the family or of other genetic groups together during the periods of reproduction and of the infancy of the progeny. Animal societies are, after all, merely great families. Communities, as the term is used by ecologists, are associations organized territorially in which the nexus which holds individual organisms of the divergent species together is purely economic. Societies, as the term applies to animals, are associations of individuals genetically related and organized on a familial pattern.

The two fundamental types of association which I have sought to distinguish as they exist among the inferior species—namely, (1) the territorial and ecological or economic and (2) the familial or social—are reproduced, with substantially the same differences, in the interrelations of races and peoples. This is true even though the different races, being of the same species, interbreed freely where the opportunity offers, as organisms of different species do not.

Generally speaking, the type of association that I have called "communal"—using the word in the sense in which that term is employed in ecology—is identical with that widespread system of relationships which commerce has spun among the peoples of the world, a form of association which is likely to be more intimate and personal among neighbors but more impersonal and less intimate among those who are either wholly unaware of their biotic and economic interdependence or know it only at second hand. This net of economic relationships in which, individually and collectively, races and peoples are ineluctably bound together corresponds in a general way to the "web of life" in which all living creatures are involved.[12]

[12] We have studied the forms of life, and we have considered the adaptation of these forms to the exigencies of this or that habitat. In every habitat we find that there is a sort of community or society of organisms not only preying upon but depending upon each other and that certain balance, though often a violently swaying balance, is maintained between the various species so that the community *keeps on*. The particular name given to this subject of vital balances and interchanges is "Ecology." "Economics" is used only for human affairs; ecology is really an extension of economics to the whole world of life. Man is always beginning his investigations too close to himself and finding later that he must extend his basis of inquiry. The science of economics —at first it was called political economy—is a whole century older than ecology. It tries to elucidate the relations of producer, dealer, and consumer in the human com-

On the other hand, within this wide-ranging economy, which at the present time extends to the limits of the habitable world, kinship ties and economic relationships are, in human society, further complicated by the existence of institutions—familial, economic, political, and religious—which do not exist in animal societies.

It is quite possible, as some anthropologists have contended, that primitive man—the genuinely primitive man—being a gregarious creature, may have lived for long periods of time wandering about in the forests in flocks or herds, without formal organization or institutions of any sort. There are, at any rate, in remote corners of the world peoples like the Semangs in the tropical forest of the Malay Peninsula, the Veddas of Ceylon, or the blameless Punan of Borneo whose mode of life is said to approach in its simplicity that of the lower animals. In this age of innocence, where there were no formal social order and no institutions, there were, we are told, no wars.[13] As soon, however, as men came together to carry on any common enterprise, under circumstances where it was necessary to preserve discipline and maintain tension over any considerable length of time, some more efficient sort of organization was needed. It was under these circumstances that institutions seem to have come into existence.

Institutions, generally speaking, have had their origins in some collective action—some common enterprise or social movement that

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munity and show how the whole system carries on. Ecology broadens out this inquiry into a general study of the give and take—the effort, accumulation, and consumption in every province of life. Economics, therefore, is merely human ecology; it is the narrow and special study of the ecology of the very extraordinary community in which we live. It might have been a better and brighter science if it had begun biologically (H. G. Wells, Julian S. Huxley, G. P. Wells, *The Science of Life* [New York, 1931], III, 961).

[13] The Punan of Borneo are among the most primitive people, culturally speaking, in the world. For untold ages they have lived in the forests of Borneo, well out of the way of the great movements that have swept through the archipelago, carrying culture from India to the East. There is no reason to believe that they had been influenced strongly by any food-producing people until the Kayan and kindred tribes came up into the central watershed on their way toward Sarawak.

In the Punan we have a food-gathering people of good physique and bright intelligence who have remained comparatively undisturbed and therefore present to us typical conditions among really primitive peoples in general (see G. Elliot Smith, *Human History* [New York, 1929], p. 199).

required concert and continuity of action over a considerable period of time. The most elementary form which these movements take is undoubtedly that of mass migration. The connection and correlations between mass migration and war in the historical process have been discussed in a recent volume by Frederick Teggart.[14] Other social movements are those that seek to bring about some sort of reform in the manners or in the economic and political organization of existing society, like the feminist or the prohibition movement. But there are also other movements that aim at more drastic changes, for example the revolutionary and religious movements initiated by political sects—fascism, communism, and socialism.

All these movements entail a more or less consistent collective action over a considerable period of time; but, compared with the changes which are ordinarily described as evolutionary, they are relatively sudden and catastrophic. They are, however, different, not merely in degree but in kind, from those more gradual and evolutionary, sometimes insensible, changes which take place with the slow accumulations of time—changes which are the results of the minor innovations, accommodations, and adaptations of a multitude of individuals who, like these little marine animals (Anthozao) which build the coral islands, co-operate unconsciously to bring into existence a structure of whose character and dimensions they are hardly conscious.

Such changes as social movements bring about might be characterized as "mutations"—mutations that are planned and promoted. Social changes that are planned, particularly when they are planned on a grand scale, almost always have consequences that can never quite be foreseen. These consequences, therefore, are very largely just what happens rather than what was planned. Society is so far from being a closed system that one cannot deal with it either as an artifact or as a system of mechanical forces.[15]

[14] *Rome and China: A Study of Correlations in Historical Events* (University of California Press, 1939).

[15] Where will you find in history a case of a great purpose rationally adopted by a great society and carried through to the intended result and then followed by the expected consequences in the way of social advantage? You can find no such thing. Men act from immediate and interested motives like these for which they have waged war, and the consequences may be advantageous or disadvantageous to men. The story of

Of all the common enterprises and of all the collective actions that men have undertaken, war is undoubtedly the most imposing in the amount and quality of the effort men put forth; the most devastating and revolutionary in its consequences. Into war—a great war, a total war—man puts all that he has: his wealth, his science, his indomitable will, and eventually his very existence. It is certain, therefore, that as far as man has sought to control his destiny by his collective planning and collective action, these titanic contests—the death struggles of superorganisms—have had the most tremendous effects, not only upon society and its institutions, but upon man himself, his spirit, his personality, and his terrestrial career. The amount of effort that man puts forth in war, however, as well as the passions and sentiments that these efforts arouse, are due not merely to the fact that man is here competing with other men but that he is conscious of those with whom he is in competition, not only of their acts, but of their purposes and intentions. Under these circumstances competition becomes conflict; a competitor an enemy.

Cooley, who seems to have been the first to undertake to give an account of competition in sociological terms, says its function is "to assign each individual his place in the social system." He adds that "competition is not necessarily a hostile contention nor even something of which the competing individual is always conscious," since "from our infancy onward throughout life judgments are daily forming regarding us of which we are unaware, but go to determine our careers."

Cooley does not, however, distinguish the very different consequences that ensue (1) when competition is not conscious and (2) when it is, i.e., when it is conflict. Competition does indeed determine our place in the economic system since it assigns us to the job and function we can perform rather than to the one we should choose to perform. But status, whether it is occupational or social—in any of the various senses of that term—gets its peculiar character because it is a result of conscious competition, i.e., emulation, personal conflict, war; because, in short, it is the outcome of a struggle, not

these acts and consequences makes up human history (*Essays of William Graham Sumner*, edited, with prefaces, by Albert Galloway Keller and Maurice R. Davie [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934], p. 148).

merely for a spot in the sun or for a job but for recognition and a place in an existing social order.

Gaetano Mosca in his *Elementi di scienza politica*, recently translated under the title of *The Ruling Class*, referring to the attempts to introduce Darwin's doctrine of evolution of the species into the social sciences, declared that its application to social relations is based upon a fundamental confusion, since it identifies "the struggle for existence" which is characteristic of the lower animals with "the struggle for pre-eminence" which is characteristically human and "a constant phenomenon that arises in all human societies, from the most highly civilized down to such as have barely issued from savagery." Incidentally, Mosca points out that conflict, like competition, is not merely a means of biological selection. On the contrary, like competition, it is the principle of organization. Its function is not to destroy but ultimately to assimilate the vanquished. This involves the imposition upon them of the status of a subject people and, incidentally, the assignment to them of a function in the territorial economy within which the victors are dominant. Mosca's statement is:

> In a struggle between two human societies, the victorious society as a rule fails to annihilate the vanquished society, but subjects it, assimilates it, imposes its own type of civilization upon it. In our day in Europe and America war has no other result than political hegemony for the nation that proves superior in a military sense, or perhaps the seizure of some bit of territory.[16]

Although the struggle for status or, as Mosca calls it, the struggle for "pre-eminence" is an obvious characteristic of human society, it has by no means diminished or taken the place of the unceasing, if silent, struggle of races and peoples for survival. Comparative studies of vital statistics of different peoples and population groups show that.[17] Rather has the struggle for pre-eminence, as Corrado Gini's demographic investigations indicate, had a profound effect upon biotic competition, "the competition of life," as Sumner calls it. This is a consequence of the fact that every population group

[16] Translated by Hannah D. Kahn and edited and revised with Introduction by Arthur Livingston ([New York and London, 1939], p. 29).

[17] See S. J. Holmes, *The Negro's Struggle for Survival* (University of California Press, 1937); also Romanzo Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii: A Study of the Mutually Conditioned Processes of Acculturation and Amalgamation* (New York, 1937).

tends to die at the top. Pre-eminence as it is achieved by any group or class is accompanied by a declining birth rate in the pre-eminent class. "As a rule," says Gini, "the upper classes are less fertile than the middle, and these, as a rule, are less so than the lower classes."[18] The effect of this is "to provoke a current from the middle classes to the upper, and from the lower to the middle" in order to fill the gaps that have been created by the decline of fertility in the upper classes or the decline in birth rate from whatever causes.

These and other considerations to which recent population studies have called attention indicate that the struggle for existence, i.e., the competition of life and for space—*Lebensraum*, to use the German expression—whether it takes the form of biotic competition or the more obvious form of struggle for pre-eminence, is a more complicated matter than has been assumed by those who have sought to explain war as an incident of natural selection and the struggle for existence.

From this point of view competition, as distinguished from conflict, appears as an individuating, not to say analytic, process. It tends to dissolve the traditional social order into its individual elements in order that it may bring about a greater specialization and wider division of labor in an ever wider circle of those economically interdependent individuals and groups which constitute the economic community. The communal order, where it exists, is thus an effect of competition. Conflict, on the other hand, tends to bring about an integration and a superordination and subordination of the conflict groups, whether they be familial and tribal in character, as among the simpler peoples, or national, racial, and religious, as among more sophisticated peoples.

These two terms—community and society—employed in this restricted sense, designate two aspects—biological and cultural—of a single entity which presents itself in one aspect as a biotic community, i.e., a population occupying a territory, settled in a habitat, and in the other as an institutional and cultural unit, a society organized to act collectively and eventually politically.

However one may finally conceive the role which war has played

[18] Corrado Gini, Shiroshi Nasu, Oliver E. Baker, and Robert Kuczynski, *Population* ("Lectures on the Harris Foundation" [Chicago, 1929]).

in the long process of history, it is obvious that its function has not been merely that of an adjudicator of intertribal or international disputes. Rather, these disputes and the wars that grew out of them have provided the occasion and the necessity for an organization of society which, as it evolved, has become immeasurably superior, for the purposes of collective action at least, to the gregariousness of the primitive horde or the animal herd.

The effect of hostility upon the organization and solidarity of the groups in conflict has been frequently noted, but no one has stated it in more memorable terms than William Graham Sumner in his *Folkways*, where, discussing the mechanisms of "we-group" and the "others-group" relationships, he says:

> The relation of comradeship and peace in the we-group and that of hostility and war towards others-groups are correlative to each other. The exigencies of war with outsiders are what make peace inside, lest internal discord should weaken the we-group for war. These exigencies also make government and law in the in-group, in order to prevent quarrels and enforce discipline. Thus war and peace have reacted on each other and developed each other, one within the group, the other in the intergroup relation. The closer the neighbors, and the stronger they are, the intenser is the warfare, and then the intenser is the internal organization and discipline of each.[19]

In insuring peace within as its consequence, war has created (1) in the family and in societies organized on a familial pattern a moral solidarity based on personal loyalties and piety and (2) in the state a political institution which has made collective action possible on a scale of which there is no promise in primitive society.[20] The fact that in the division of labor between the sexes man was not only the hunter but the fighter, who now and then brought home a strange woman, is responsible for putting him at the head of the family. It is probably one reason why, in primitive society, the

[19] (New York, 1906), p. 12; see also Sumner's essay "War" in the *Essays of William Graham Sumner*, II, 136–73.

[20] When for the first time in the history of the world the group of people who happened to be living in Egypt abandoned the nomadic life and began to till the soil they were accomplishing a vastly greater revolution in the affairs of mankind than the mere invention of the crafts of the farmer and the irrigation engineer. They were committing themselves to the much more formidable task of erecting the complicated edifice of civilization and formulating the fantastic doctrine of the state system which has dominated the world ever since (Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 252–53).

matriarchate has, in most cases, been succeeded by the patriarchate —a change which Sumner believes may have been the greatest and most revolutionary in history.[21]

It was, however, not merely war but the life-long intimacy and dependency of every member of the family on every other, the sense of security in the family circle and the terror of all that was outside of it, which created the moral solidarity so characteristic of familial society including the clan and the tribe. As soon as man achieved a more or less settled existence and began to accumulate property, wars were undertaken for less romantic purposes and for less interesting and more manageable booty. In fact, war became with pastoral peoples not merely an adventure but a vocation. Robbery among many of the Bedouin tribes was considered as legitimate a method of gaining a livelihood as agriculture. Lippert refers to it as "Bedouin livelihood."

It happens occasionally today in North Africa that desert tribes come to terms with a settled population, whom they have long regarded as their legitimate prey, by accepting tribute in lieu of the booty they were accustomed to carry off. In such case it is part of the agreement that the erstwhile marauders become the protectors of their erstwhile victims, holding off other tribesmen who would otherwise plunder them. Sometimes, however, mobile and warlike desert tribes have not been content merely to exact tribute from, but have chosen to make a conquest of, their sedentary neighbors. This, in fact, seems to have been the way in which the state has normally come into existence, i.e., by the conquest of an agricultural by a pastoral and nomadic people. Friedrich Ratzel says:

> The war-like character of the nomads is a great factor in the creation of states. It finds expression in the immense nations of Asia controlled by nomad dynasties and nomad armies, such as Persia, ruled by the Turks; China, conquered and governed by the Mongols and Manchus; and in the Mongol and Radjaputa states of India, as well as in the states on the border of the Soudan.[22]

In any case, sociologists and historians who have investigated the

[21] See Sumner, *Folkways*, pp. 355–56; see also Maurice R. Davie, "War and Women," in his *The Evolution of War: A Study of Its Role in Early Societies* (Yale University Press, 1929), pp. 96–102.

[22] Quoted by Franz Oppenheimer, *The State: Its History and Development Viewed Sociologically* (Indianapolis, 1914), p. 54.

subject seem to agree that the state not only had its origin in war but that its chief business is still, as Dealey says, "to be ready for war and to wage it whenever national safety or national interest demand it."[23]

As states have come into existence by war, it has seemed to certain writers that they are forever condemned to continue their conquests in order to maintain their existence. Nothing is more demoralizing to an army or to a military state than peace, and nations to survive must act. There must always be some great collective enterprise on the national agenda in which all classes can actively participate. "It is not yesterday, tradition, the past, which is the decisive, the determining force in the nation. . . . . Nations are made and go on living by having a program for the future."[24]

War has been and still is the greatest, the most strenuous, if no longer the most glorious, enterprise in which nations can engage; and there seems to be, as George Mead has insisted in his reply to William James, no substitute for war. "The age of discussion" has not yet, as Walter Bagehot believed it should and would, superseded the age of war.[25]

What is probably taking place is that the issues in international controversies are being steadily narrowed by the increase of political knowledge, i.e., a more searching analysis of international situations and a more realistic conception of the processes involved in the functioning of political societies. Even discussions are more fruitful when they are based on facts. But facts assume the existence of some common assumptions, either implicitly or explicitly accepted by the parties to the discussion. In political controveries they involve the existence of a common body of tradition and of constitutional, that is to say fundamental, understandings, by reference to which what was a datum becomes a fact. In most wars what I have called "constitutional understandings" are involved, as they were, for example,

[23] See Davie, *op. cit.*, where (p. 166) James Q. Dealey, *State and Government*, is quoted.

[24] José Ortega y Gasset, *Invertebrate Spain*, translation and Foreword by Mildred Adams (New York, 1937), p. 26.

[25] Walter Bagehot, "The Age of Discussion," *Physics and Politics* (New York, 1904), chap. v, pp. 156–204.

in our war between the states, as they are in the present World War. In such cases neither discussion nor "appeasement" is likely to bring a solution. Where no common interest appears that makes compromise possible, wars seem inevitable. But men like Mead believe there is, or should be, no such instance; no situation that would not eventually yield to an intelligent analysis of the facts.[26]

As states brought into existence a society that was organized on the basis of territory rather than on common race and culture, it was more or less inevitable that they should seek to expand their territories. In carrying on their wars for that purpose, however, they were always seeking a frontier which they could defend; always seeking to find a boundary behind which the state could stabilize society and live in peace. But always the frontiers receded as the armies approached them. A land-hungry population was always moving beyond the established frontiers, and new means of travel and transportation were constantly extending the area over which it was possible and necessary to exercise sovereignty in order to maintain peace.

With the organization of the city-state there began, in contrast with the dispersion of peoples characteristic of primitive life, a movement for the coming-together and integration of races and peoples—a tendency which is characteristic of cities and civilized life. The city, as we must remember, has been not merely the market place and focal center of a constantly expanding trade area or market. It has been at the same time the seat and center of an expanding dominion—a dominion and an authority which was invariably dispersed or relaxed in times of peace but constantly tightened and intensified when the beacons on the hilltops announced the approach of war. For war and peace are, as Sumner suggests, so intimately related that one may say that peace creates the problem that war is required to solve.

While the struggle for possession of the land has provided the occasion for most international wars, there have been other wars, like the Crusades to gain possession by Christians of the Holy Sepulcher or the Islamic wars to win the world for Allah and Mahomet. These so-called holy wars were actually ideological wars,

[26] Mead, *op. cit.*, pp. 355–407.

seeking primarily to propagandize a cult. But all wars, imperialistic wars, that seek to expand the territory of the state always turn out, as in the case of the present World War, to have an ideological core. They are wars "to end war" or they are wars to defend the democratic way of life from the invasions of a collectivistic and totalitarian imperialism.

On the other hand, ideological wars turn out, likewise, to be struggles for land and living space. This is because, in order to maintain the different ways of life represented by the parties to these conflicts, political control and sovereignty of a territory in which they can survive is indispensable.

What can one say, finally, in regard to the nature of war and its function? Generally speaking, one may say that war is politics. It is, generally speaking, politics in its original, noninstitutional, and nonrational form—a form in which the belligerent states or parties seek by force of arms (1) to extend the territorial limits of their sovereignty and (2) to establish and impose upon the nations and peoples with whom they are in conflict a political and economic order which is in the interest of the dominant party, race, or nation. This gives a new significance to Freeman's statement that "history is past politics" and "politics is present history."

Historically, the function of war has been (1) to extend the area over which it is possible to maintain peace, (2) to create and organize within that area a political power capable of enforcing it, and, finally, at least in most cases, (3) to establish an ideology which rationalizes, and a cult which idealizes and so gains understanding and acceptance for, the new political and social order which the victor has imported or imposed upon the vanquished. This is the way that war settles issues. It is in this sense that one may say with Schiller: "The world's history is the world's judgment" on the acts of men and of nations.

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INTERNATIONAL PEACE—BY COURT OR GOVERNMENT?[1]

HANS KELSEN

ABSTRACT

The lessons which one can draw from the breakdown of the League of Nations for a future organization for international peace are as follows: (*a*) that it was not possible to insure peace within the international community and simultaneously to guarantee against external aggression, attempting simultaneously the disarmament of the member states, without creating an international armed force; (*b*) that it was a mistake, therefore, to place in the center of an international organization an executive body such as the League Council without a judicial body such as the permanent World Court at The Hague; (*c*) and it was a further mistake not to have established the compulsory adjudication of disputes among members. In order to lay the psychological foundation for a future peace organization it is necessary to eliminate the prejudices which stand in the way of the establishment of a compulsory adjudication of international disputes. It is equally indispensable to avoid the error of believing that it is impossible to submit all disputes between states to an international tribunal, as long as there is no legislative body to adapt the inadequate system of international law as it exists today to existing political relationships. The discussion concludes with an analysis of the problem of whether, in addition to an international court with compulsory adjudicative powers, an administrative body, the main function of which would be the execution of the decisions of the court, would be expedient.

I

In order to deal with the problem posed by the editors of this periodical—"the legal structure conducive to peace"—one must first make clear, as far as the legal structure of the international community is concerned, under what conditions an international community might exist which would really guarantee an enduring peace. Among the most important of these conditions are:

1. A fairly satisfactory regulation of the territorial relations of the states forming the community. This kind of regulation is possible only if it is conducted as extensively and honestly as possible according to the principles of the right of self-determination of peoples. Where minorities are unavoidable they are to be organized as entities with constitutional rights. The treaty establishing the international community will grant them the status of personality in international law so that they will have the right to call upon an

[1] Translated from the German by Aaron Bell, graduate student at the University of Chicago.

international court in case of the violation of the provisions for minorities.

2. There must be as far as possible political and economic homogeneity among the states forming the community. There is as little reason to expect communist and capitalist states to exist side by side even in a fairly loose international organization as to expect democratic and autocratic states to combine in an enduring community. In this context one should not cling too closely to the traditional conceptions of democracy and autocracy. Both have changed their meanings in the developments of the last twenty years. One of the most important tasks involved in preparing the way for the peace of the future is to clarify these meanings. For this purpose the Constitution of the United States may be used as an example. It represents up to the present time the best solution of the problem which has clearly appeared in Europe in the clash of democracy and autocracy: How can a stable and effective government be combined with extensive participation by the people in the formation of state policy and with personal liberty among the citizens?

II

After considering the preconditions of the international community the problem of its political and economic organization arises. It must be emphasized here that the political problem is prior to the economic problem. If history since the first World War has taught us anything, it is the priority of the political over the economic. One may hope to regulate satisfactorily economic relations among the states only after the states have been combined successfully in an enduring political community. The present unfortunate state of international economic relations is due primarily to the drive toward autarchy. This will disappear of itself when its causes, political insecurity, and the danger of war are removed.

The main question concerning the political organization of the international community of the future is whether it shall be a judicial or an administrative community—i.e., whether in the center of the organization there should be an international court or a governing body (as was set up in the Covenant of the League of Nations).

In order to answer this question we must carefully analyze the

constitution and activity of the League of Nations, and in particular we must consider critically the activity of the Council of the League. It may be readily conceded that of the political tasks proposed for the League of Nations in its constitution only the functions of settling conflicts between members, formulated in Articles 12–16, has been fulfilled with any degree of succsss. Disarmament, proposed in Articles 8 and 9, has completely miscarried. Article 10, which guaranteed the territorial integrity of members of the League against external aggression, was never really applied. Neither was the so frequently invoked Article 11, at least as far as it provided for the maintaining of peace by any means essentially different from mediation and conciliation. Article 19, which provided for eventual amendments, was impracticable from the beginning, and Article 22, providing for the government of mandated territories, gave hardly the opportunity for more than a sham activity. The so-called technical functions of the League, Articles 23–25, are so distant from its real ends that they need not be discussed further here. Nothing is more characteristic of the failure of the League than the fact that in recent discussions of its problems and activities there has been a tendency to emphasize its technical functions at the expense of all the others. But in order to combat the opium trade and prostitution it was not necessary to establish the League. It can readily be shown that a court is better fitted to settle disputes than a governing body like the Council of the League. This is clear from the very nature of the problem and will be substantiated by an unprejudiced examination of the activities of the League of Nations in this realm.

The Covenant of the League assigned the chief role in settling disputes to the Council of the League rather than to the permanent World Court mainly because the drafters of the Covenant could not consent to establish a compulsory international jurisdiction for all conflicts. This concession could not be made because the two preconditions considered above for an enduring community at peace were lacking when the League of Nations was founded. Moreover, compulsory international jurisdiction encountered, and still encounters, great prejudice. To eliminate this prejudice as much as possible by clarifying the true nature of the problem is likewise an important task in preparing for future peace.

III

Territorial disputes cannot very well be decided by the judgment of a court if the claims cannot be supported by appealing to a positive law. The boundaries of the states within an international community must from the very beginning be arranged in such a way that they do not violate any vital interests. Otherwise, this community will have little prospect of a long-continuing existence. Vital interests, however, are not to be viewed as violated unless a considerable portion of the population is repressed by incorporation within a particular state organization against their wills. Such repression may be unavoidable, because the right of self-determination for some reason or other cannot be exercised, but in such cases all justified interests are protected if the particular element of the population receives full minority protection guaranteed by international law. Disputes arising out of such a situation can very well be adjudicated by a court, which, at least in principle, has positive law[2] to apply to the case. If a member of the community must be forced to respect the decision, it has put itself also morally in the wrong. These principles correspond so closely to the general conviction that a government would have some difficulty in resorting to war in disregard of these principles. Thus the way is prepared—at least ideologically—in the best possible manner for collective sanctions against the violator of the law, especially if the sanction has the character of a judicial decision.

IV

The main objection which is continually brought against the establishment of an obligatory international jurisdiction is that the system of international law to be applied by the court is deficient and that there is no international legislative body empowered to reform this legal order. This analogy with national law asserts that an obligatory international jurisdiction is only possible if at the same time there is a sort of international parliament responsible for the creation of law by majority vote. From the fact that it is impossible to form

[2] The term "positive law" means the actually valid legal order in contradistinction to "natural law," moral law, or justice. Positive law is both statutory and customary law.

such a legislative body it is concluded that an obligatory international jurisdiction is also impossible. This argument is incorrect in every respect. The development of national law indicates on the contrary that the obligation to submit to the decision of the courts long precedes legislation, the conscious formulation of law by a central power. Within the individual states courts have for centuries applied a legal system which could not be changed by any legislator, but which developed, exactly like present-day international law, out of custom and agreements; and in this legal system custom was for the most part, if not exclusively, formed by the practice of the courts themselves. We have no reason to assume that international law will or can develop any differently from state law. The court which exercises the jurisdiction of deciding *all* the legal disputes of those parties subject to the law, even if it is empowered by the constitution to apply only the positive law, will adapt this law in its concrete decisions gradually and imperceptibly to actual needs—in other words, will decide on the basis of "equity." The history of Roman and Anglo-American law shows how judicial decisions create law. But even from a purely theoretical standpoint the assumption of an absolute opposition between the creation of law and the application of law, between legislation and judicial decision, is untenable. The opposition is in reality only very relative, and every act applying law is at the same time an act creating law. One should not overlook the important fact that in the last analysis the law is not what the legislator more or less clearly sets forth or what the rule of custom more or less comprehensibly implies. The law is what the court finally decides. If one judges the institution of legality properly, if one is satisfied to observe that the concrete actual law is embodied only in judicial decisions in the individual case, if one sees that there is no absolute guaranty of the individual decision corresponding to the general law which should be applied, then one will view the general and abstract form of law—the statute, the rule of custom, and especially the function of legislation—in a new light. One will avoid overestimating the function of legislation and will understand why there can be no legislator without a judge even though there can very well be a judge without a legislator.

V

The incorrect assumption—that there can be no compulsory international jurisdiction because there is no complete and satisfactory international legal order—lies at the basis of most of tne arguments with which governments justify their refusal to submit all international disputes to the decision of a court; take, for example, the ever recurring appeal to the gaps in international law. An international court cannot be intrusted with the decision on all disputes because for very many cases the legal order to be applied by the court lacks any applicable norm. This argument is taken from the theory of national law and has often been refuted in that realm. It is false because it alleges the logical impossibility of a decision, although it can easily be shown that a decision is always *logically* possible. Either the claim raised by one state against the other in a legal dispute is justified by the legal order, because a particular legal norm obligates the defendant to act in the required way; in this case the complaint is admitted or else the claim raised cannot be justified by the legal order, since it contains no legal norm which might obligate the defendant to act in the required way. And in the latter indeed the claim is to be rejected; and it is rejected on the basis of the positive, actually valid legal order which permits all its subjects to do or omit anything it does not forbid them to do or omit. This logically possible application of the legal order may be undesirable from a juridico-political or moral or any other standpoint. But this may happen even in cases where one does not speak of "gaps" in the legal system because the complaint is allowed on the basis of the positive law. This reference to a gap in the legal system is only a way of expressing a desire to *reform* the legal system. If one has recognized the way in which judicial jurisdiction exercises the function of reforming the legal order, then the argument from ostensible gaps in the legal system against the obligation to submit all conflicts to judicial jurisdiction no longer holds.

VI

We can treat in the same way the assertion, which has already become a dogma, that an international court can indeed decide about *legal disputes* but not about *political conflicts*. A dispute has

a "political" and not a legal character when a party to the dispute tries to justify its position by appealing not to positive law but to another normative system, and therefore desires that the conflict be decided not on the basis of a norm of positive law but on the basis of another principle. The distinction between political and legal disputes, and the rejection or limitation of international jurisdiction based on this distinction, are again founded on the supposed need to reform the positive law, whether or not this reform is, in fact, necessary. It has been shown from the theory and history of law that it is a completely essential function of the courts, which can under no conditions be withdrawn from them, to reform the law to be applied. Therefore the distinction between political and legal disputes is bound to fail in the aim for which it was originally conceived—namely, to sabotage obligatory international jurisdiction.

VII

In this connection we should like to observe that the statement—positive law is from one viewpoint or another inequitable or unjust—is a subjective value-judgment. The party to a dispute whose interests in a concrete case are not protected by positive law will be easily persuaded that the law itself is inequitable, unjust, and needs to be reformed, while the other party will be convinced of the opposite. If some question should be withdrawn from the directly interested parties and turned over to an objective party to decide, then the question of the equity or justice of the positive law is involved. Indeed, paradoxical as it may seem at first sight, a group of independent, experienced, and conscientious men, professionally in contact with law, who are not themselves involved in the particular conflict of interests are better fitted to decide than the legislator who is always more or less politically committed; especially since the decision of the court is fundamentally limited to the special case and can therefore take account of its special character. The disinclination of governments to subject all disputes to the decision of a court can, therefore, not be justified by alleging the inability of courts, according to their very nature, to adapt the law to the requirements of equity or justice. The exactly opposite argument seems more acceptable, for it is not so much the party desiring a re-

form of the actually valid international law but rather the party interested in its being kept unaltered who has cause to hold back from obligatory jurisdiction. For a court which has a monopoly on deciding all disputes within a community needs to give due consideration to equity and justice even if it is not explicitly empowered to do so by the constitution. Under such conditions of jurisdiction, consideration is likely to be given to questions of equity and justice in much greater measure than in a court whose jurisdiction has only an optional character. The establishment of obligatory jurisdiction is, therefore, first of all a problem of confidence. Much depends on the possibility of finding a procedure by which a really independent court can be formed which is able to fulfil its duties in a way satisfactory not only from a moral but also from a technical point of view. We can as little doubt the possibility of such a procedure as that the procedure underlying the permanent international court at The Hague left much to be desired. Above all, the dependence of the judges on the states to which they belonged was not restricted as much as was actually possible. A careful investigation of all the methods involved in this discussion from a psychological and a social-technical viewpoint and an evaluation of all our experiences in this direction are further tasks in preparing the way for the future peace.

VIII

Of relatively subordinate significance is the question of whether there should be established, in addition to the court, a mediating agency which shall try to settle disputes by proposing solutions accepted by both parties. The importance of such a mediating agency is not very great. If the normal diplomatic process does not bring about a reconciliation of a dispute between the two parties, a special mediating commission has little prospect of success.

On the other hand, if an international court is established with obligatory jurisdiction, another institution must be set up beside the court solely to execute the decision of the court if, in opposition to the constitution, the parties to the dispute do not submit to the decision. This is an organ of administration similar to the Council of the League. But its function is restricted to the execution of

judicial decisions. This will facilitate considerably both its composition and particularly its procedure—especially since its decisions will be adopted according to the majority-vote principle.

In addition to the nonfulfilment of a judicial decision by one of the parties to a dispute, there is the second case of coercive proceedings by the league against a member who resorts to war against another member without calling upon the court. In this case also the collective sanction has the character of the enforcement of judicial decision if also, in this case, the court has to be called upon either by the party affected or by the administrative council itself to determine the illegal character of the action.

IX

The Covenant of the League of Nations established not the permanent World Court but the League Council at the center of the international organization, because the League of Nations had not only the task of maintaining peace within the community but also the task of protecting its members against attack from outside. This was necessary because the League set up armament reduction by the individual states as one of its main purposes. A state can be persuaded to reduce its armaments appreciably only if it is assured at the same time that, in case of attack by a state which is outside the League and, therefore, not obligated to disarm, all the forces of the other members of the League will be available. If their help is to be effective, they must keep their disarmament within very definite limits. A real disarmament of the members is only possible if at the same time the League establishes a central military force. Although nothing was further from the minds of the founders of the League of Nations than just this solution of the problem, nevertheless they proposed the idea of disarmament so vigorously that, directly after the first seven articles setting up the organization, comes Article 8 naming disarmament as the first of the tasks which the League is committed to perform.

Because the Covenant of the League treats the disarmament of its member states as one of the principal problems of international organization, it ignores the distinction, essential from the standpoint of the social technique of an international community, between the

maintenance of peace within and the protection against attack from outside, between the sanctions against an unconstitutional recourse to war on the part of one of its members and the measures to be taken against a nonmember disturbing the peace. In this last connection the League of Nations and, above all, the organ having jurisdiction in this matter, the League Council, have failed as badly as in regard to disarmament. Nothing can demonstrate this more clearly than the fact that the violation of the territorial integrity of member states, when it came from outside and led actually to the complete annihilation of these states, as in the cases of Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, in open opposition to the provisions of Articles 10 and 11, did not even reach the stage of discussion in the League, whereas in the cases of the treaty-violating attacks by members of the League, the League at least made an attempt to perform its duty, as in the Manchukuo, Abyssinia, and Finland cases.

Considering the two tasks—(1) the maintenance of peace within and (2) protection against attack from the outside—if we consider the means normally at the disposal of such an international organization, the experience of the League of Nations teaches that the second task can hardly be performed satisfactorily. It is perhaps no accident that it is just this task which an international court would not be expected to fulfil, that an international function is involved which lies completely beyond the possible competence of an international court. It should be completely clear then that if an international organization is to be established in the future which from the beginning will be concerned only with the maintenance of internal peace, this community should be organized around a court. In the light of the experience of the League, protection against external attack should be left to a policy of alliances among the member states.

X

Such a situation, and only such a situation, can and will lead to that limitation of armaments which cannot otherwise be enforced by any international constitution short of a real over-state with great central power. A state of this sort, restricted to Europe, or even combining Europe and America, belongs for the present, however, in the realm of utopia.

Indeed, the mere establishment of an international judicial community with obligatory jurisdiction would be a considerable limitation of the sovereignty of the member states. But experience teaches that states submit more easily to an international court than to an international government. Treaties embodying court decisions have proved up to now to be the most effective. Seldom has a state refused to execute the decision of a court which it has recognized in a treaty. The idea of law, in spite of everything, seems still to be stronger than any other ideology of power.

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WAR AND CIVILIZATION IN THE FUTURE

FREDERICK J. TEGGART

ABSTRACT

When we look to the future there are various neglected points which should be considered. (1) Modern warfare has become increasingly destructive by the military utilization of advances in knowledge and inventions made by civilians. So, too, warfare is being directed increasingly against civilians and their industrial activities. It is necessary, therefore, that civilians should begin to take a direct interest in military problems. (2) The possession of superior armament has been accompanied, in modern times, by the growing assertion of absolutist theories of government, especially by Fichte and his successors in Germany. (3) The difficulties inseparable from war do not end with the conclusion of peace. Demobilization creates more difficult problems than mobilization. We need a close-up investigation of what has happened in different countries after the return of armies to civil life. (4) The theory of the state is a doctrine of violence, but modern thought is dominated by theories of violence. Darwin's conception of a "war of nature" in which "the more dominant groups beat the less dominant" was welcomed in Germany as supporting militarist arguments. (5) We must look forward to the invention of ever newer agencies of destruction as long as we keep on insisting upon theories of violence. But we can readily trace the dissemination of the ideas which are undermining civilization, and we must face the difficulties which have been created by the work of men such as Fichte, Darwin, and Marx. The future of civilization turns upon the ability of scholars to meet the responsibility of intellectual leadership.

Once, not so long ago, we engaged in a "war to end all wars." Now war again envelops the world. Obviously there must have been some error in the ideas which we entertained after the conclusion of hostilities in 1918. It may be admitted that any peace conference will of necessity be beset with problems of such immediate urgency that matters, even though of importance, which merely look to the future can be accorded little consideration. We, however, who are not directly engaged in expediting warfare might well take time to examine some "points" which are again likely to be overlooked.

I

The first observation to be made in the present circumstances is that the renewal of warfare has been accompanied by the extensive use of weapons which were of minor importance a quarter of a century ago. In the past, successful wars have usually turned upon the exploitation of new inventions, and, in modern times at least, these inventions have been made by civilians.

Modern warfare dates from the development of machine tools in manufacturing plants—a departure which made possible the large-scale production of weapons on a uniform pattern. In the years from 1866 to 1871 the Prussians attained ascendancy in Europe when their famous "needle gun," a breech-loading rifle, proved superior to the old muzzle-loading musket, and when the name of Krupp came into the foreground with the invention of the breech-loading field gun. In 1877 an American breech-loading rifle enabled the Turks to hold up the Russians at Plevna. Likewise the possession of quick-firing cannon enabled Menelek to defeat the Italians at Adowa in 1896. After 1890 the magazine repeating rifle and the Maxim machine gun represented developments of the highest importance. The weapons employed in the war of 1914–18, like those conspicuous at the present moment, require no comment. What, however, is likely to be overlooked is that the weapons to which the Germans have owed their successes were not of their own invention. The comment of a classical scholar is worth recalling: neither Germany nor ancient Rome, he says, invented the weapons they used with great effect. The Germans did not invent the machine gun, the submarine, the airplane, or the tank, but they utilized the models provided by others with a greater realization of their possibilities for warfare.

New weapons have always entailed new tactics and new departures in military training. It is of particular importance, therefore, to recognize that "experienced" officers have always been opposed to changes in equipment and drill and have been rigidly conservative in their judgment concerning innovations. The veteran officers of one war dictate opinion on military questions for their respective countries, and these leaders, as a class, have ordinarily been highly resistant to technical changes. It is not remarkable, then, that the army defeated in one war should be the successful one in the next. Success follows the adoption of inventions borrowed from any source; defeat follows over confidence in methods and appliances which had proved useful on earlier occasions.

Since 1850 each decade has seen the introduction of new weapons made possible by the inventive genius of civilians and methods of production devised by industrialists. Nevertheless, in time of peace

civilians take little interest in problems of military efficiency, though it is the civilian population which in the long run is most deeply affected by the outcome of war. The people of any country should be kept constantly reminded that the condition of the army is not the concern only of those permanently employed in military duties. As a means of enlightenment we need a history or histories of wars as related to inventions, with special reference, not to the antecedents of victories, but to the frequent source of defeat in the conservatism and overconfidence of commanders in time of peace.

The inventions now being employed for purposes of destruction are products of advances in physical science and technology. For three hundred years western Europeans have believed that increase of scientific knowledge would of necessity bring increased well-being in society at large and hitherto undreamed-of ameliorations of everyday life. In experience, however, the advancement of scientific knowledge has aided war and now threatens a destructiveness which may exceed the resources and capacity of civilization to repair. Seemingly, the more we advance in knowledge, the more war prospers. Nevertheless, the essential fact is that the sciences concerned with human intercourse and relations have failed to keep pace with physics and chemistry.

II

The improvement of firearms in the sixteenth century was accompanied by a remarkable growth of absolutism in national governments. So a second observation to be made at the present moment is that the renewed activity of Germany is associated at one and the same time with a superconfidence in new weapons and with a reassertion of the German theory of the War-State. This theory is not merely "totalitarian" in the sense that the State is supreme over the entire life of every individual but also in the sense that the prime business and end of the State is war. In German doctrine, "Peace counts for nothing in history."

The theory of the War-State goes back to Fichte's hysterical *Addresses* after the German defeat at Jena in 1806. Fichte gave expression to the view that the State is an institution based on force and presupposes war of all against all. He asserted that there is

neither rule nor law governing the relations of one state to another except the will of the stronger. He promulgated the doctrine that "the goal of the German nation is to dominate mankind." In the generation after Fichte, Bernhardi maintained that in war "a truly civilized nation finds the highest expression of its strength and vitality." The doctrines of Fichte found a professorial exponent from 1874 to 1896 in the person of Treitschke, who taught at the University of Berlin. In his lectures Treitschke maintained that the essential function of the State is to make war. War is the molder of nations. Without war there would be no State. All states have come into existence through war. War will last as long as more than one state continues to exist. Peace is merely a condition of veiled warfare. A state cannot possibly bind itself for the future by the treaties it may make; every State must reserve to itself the right to decide upon its treaty obligations. States do not arise out of the sovereignty of the people—they are created against the will of the people. And to descend to mere particulars, this university professor asserted that the acquisition of Holland "is as necessary to us as our daily bread." Nietzsche expressed the same views in ecstatic utterances, and Spengler's pronouncement that "war is the creator of all things great" is simply the echo of a drumbeat which has sounded in willing German ears since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The theory of the War-State proclaims war and demands war as the condition of its self-realization.

III

The War-State is organized consciously for the prosecution of war, but in every country the prosecution of war calls the War-State into being. The immediate effect of actual war is an assertion of the total dominance of the government and, if need be, the coercion of every individual within the country.

The difficulties inseparable from war, whatever the outcome of the conflict, do not end with the cessation of fighting, for demobilization presents in the long run problems which have graver issues than the calling out of troops. The men drafted as soldiers are "returned" to civil life, and a grateful country suggests that they should be given preference in employment. Yet, contemporane-

ously, those who were engaged in war industries—many of them experts diverted to the construction of the elaborate equipment now required for military action—are also "disbanded." And where, as in England, the majority of able-bodied men and women have been drawn into war work, the disbanding process must eventually assume bewildering proportions. We most urgently need a detailed and thorough study of what has happened in different countries at different times when those engaged in the efforts demanded by war have been released from their war activities.

There is another aspect of the cessation of war which should not be forgotten. Governments do not make money; they spend it. The expenditure of money is the only means by which governments attempt to solve the problems of war and the problems which arise in succession to war. So all types of aid for the readjustment of life are conceived of in terms of dollars and cents. Similarly, depressions in business and periods of unemployment evoke agitation for governmental aid. Consequently, men are employed in avowedly "unprofitable" projects. In Germany the same situation has been met by governmental employment of men in the "unprofitable" project of preparation for war, and sooner or later all other governments have been compelled to follow suit. But elaborate preparation for war means ultimately the prosecution of war, and the new war must be followed eventually by new demobilization, new difficulties of readjustment, and new calls upon the government for money. Owing, moreover, to the vast destruction of buildings and dwellings in civilized countries occasioned by the newest type of warfare, governments will be forced to discover resources for the physical rehabilitation necessary to the continuance of existence. In rebuilding men will, of course, make provision for protection against air raids in the future—protection which will be obsolete when, twenty years hence, new inventions will have increased the possibilities of destruction.

IV

The theory of the War-State is a doctrine of violence, but it is not the only doctrine of violence preached in modern times.

In 1776 Adam Smith formulated the opinion that "the natural

course of things," if undisturbed, would result necessarily in "the natural progress of opulence." As one of his contemporaries said:

> The great and leading object of his speculations was to illustrate the provisions made by nature in the principles of the human mind, and in the circumstances of man's external situation, for a gradual and progressive augmentation in the means of national wealth; and to demonstrate that the most effectual plan for advancing a people to greatness was to maintain that order of things which nature has pointed out.

Had human institutions, Smith remarked, never disturbed the natural course of things, the improvement of every growing society would have followed a certain specified series of steps. But, he goes on, though this natural order of things must have taken place in some degree in every society, it has, in all the modern states of Europe, been, in many respects, entirely inverted. Measures imposed by governments have retarded, instead of accelerating, the progress of society toward real wealth and greatness. He put his faith, then, in "the natural order of things" and advocated a strict limitation of the sphere of governmental action.

A hundred years later Herbert Spencer thought that some guidance for political action could be reached by asking, "What is the normal course of social evolution?" He argued, in a manner not incompatible with the views of Adam Smith, that existing institutions "raise impediments to the development of better institutions" and supported this view by the argument that "though structure up to a certain point is requisite for growth, structure beyond that point impedes growth. . . . . The completion of structure involves arrest of growth." At this point he comes to a stop—"the process of social evolution will take its own course in spite of us." He admits that his conclusion is disappointing but ends with the thought that "comparatively little can be done" beyond "uniting philanthropic energy with philosophic calm."

Contemporaneously, however, Karl Marx (in London) went a step further. He accepted the view that societies go through the same stages of evolution: "The country," he says, "that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future." (He appears, in this statement, to have overlooked the all-important "if" clause of Adam Smith's reasoning.)

He then goes on to say that "the successive phases of the normal development" of a society present obstacles which cannot be removed by legal enactments. What follows this reversal of Adam Smith's view of social evolution is, as everyone is aware, the declaration of the necessity of "revolution." To overcome the development inherent in "the natural course of things" Marx advocated "the complete destruction of the capitalist State, and the substitution for it of a quite different type of State made by the workers in the image of their own needs, as the instrument of a proletarian dictatorship" (G. D. H. Cole). The "normal development" of society must be broken down as a necessary preliminary to the establishment of a new order. Marxism is an appeal to violence in the name of inferiority. But violence has also been approved in the name of superiority.

In 1860 and 1861 Marx expressed the opinion that Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) "serves me as a basis in natural science for the class struggle in history." One or two aspects of this judgment invite remark. First, as everyone knows, and as Engles noticed, a principal element in Darwin's theory of natural selection was taken from the *Essay on Population* of T. R. Malthus. Since, however, the views of Malthus were derived from observation of social phenomena, it follows that Marx discovered a scientific basis for his own theory in Darwin's application to natural history of the conception of "the struggle for existence" in human society. Second, Marx entirely overlooked the main contention of Darwin that change in the forms of life is invariable "slow, gradual, and continuous," that species have descended from other species by "slow and scarcely sensible mutations," that natural selection "can never take a great and sudden leap, but must advance by short and sure, though slow steps." Consequently, there would be no basis in natural science, as represented by Darwin, for the theory of "revolution."

Darwin conceived of a "war of nature" in which "the more dominant groups beat the less dominant" and in which "the old forms are beaten and yield their places to the new and victorious forms." "New species become superior to their predecessors, for they have to beat in the struggle for life all the older forms." In the *Descent of Man* he applied this principle to human existence. "In the rudest

state of society," he says, "the individuals who were the most sagacious, who invented and used the best weapons or traps, and who were best able to defend themselves, would rear the greatest number of offspring." He then goes on to remark that "the tribes which included the largest number of men thus endowed would increase in number and supplant other tribes. . . . . As a tribe increases and is victorious it is often still further increased by the absorption of other tribes." From the remotest times, he continues, successful and thus superior tribes have supplanted other tribes, and, at the present day, superior nations are everywhere supplanting barbarous nations. In the course of this discussion he came, however, to a view which is directly opposed to that in the *Origin of Species*, for he abandoned the conception that evolution was always "slow, gradual, and continuous." History, he said, "refutes the idea that progress is normal in human society"; man has risen from a lowly condition of culture by slow and interrupted steps. Changes, then, have been occasioned at different times and in different places by exceptional events, and the path of progress has been marked by the triumph of superior nations over those less well equipped.

Darwin's later view received wide recognition. Thus, in Germany, D. F. Strauss (author of the famous *Life of Jesus*, which was translated by George Eliot), in a work entitled *The Old Faith and the New*, upheld military conquest and social inequalities as right because natural. History, he thought, consists in the eternal development of races, the subjugation of one by the other, and, at last, of many by one. The humanitarian zeal of our time, he said, has declared itself against war. Societies are formed and conferences held to insure its complete abolition. But why do they not also agitate for the abolition of thunderstorms? Cannon will continue to be the *ultima ratio* of nations. So Darwinism may be said to have joined hands with the German theory of the War-State and to have supported the view that possession of superior military equipment demonstrates the cultural superiority of those who have acquired it.

V

In the world as we find it we must look forward to the invention of ever newer agencies of destruction. We may well be dismayed at

the conditions created by modern advances in physical science and technology, since we can expect no future without rapidly recurring periods of "total war."

Civilization is menaced by war, but because it is dominated by theories of violence and by preachments of strife as the means to the establishment of a millennium—such as Nietzsche imagined. Strife, war, and revolution are openly advocated as the procedure necessary for the settlement of difficulties, not only in the external relations of states, but within every nation.

But the ideas which play an all-important part in modern existence were formulated by individuals—whose names and works are known to us—for the purpose of exciting populations, classes, and individuals to acts of destructiveness. Onward from 1808 the mind of the German people has been obsessed by the glory and necessity of war. For the forty years from 1860 to 1900 the intellectuals of France, England, and America accepted the domination of the doctrine of struggle and violence inherent in Darwinism. With the coming of the twentieth century, the fashion of thought underwent a change, and the new generation of intellectuals submitted to what they conceived to be a new type of thought by exchanging Darwinism for the teachings of Marx.

The essential difficulties of the modern world are difficulties in thought. Are we to admit a permanent intellectual bondage to views put forward in the nineteenth century by Fichte, Darwin, and Marx? The future of civilization turns upon our ability to face the difficulties in thought which confront us. Preparation for the future is the obligation of scholarship, just as the prosecution of the struggle of today is the responsibility of government. We may look forward confidently to the ruin of our civilization if we cannot bring ourselves to face the burden of intellectual leadership. All great periods in history have been times when men were found willing to face difficulties in accepted ideas. The opportunity lies open.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

In the interest of encouraging presentation of divergent views, the editor invites comments on the articles and the book reviews appearing in the *Journal*.

THE PROBLEM OF THE CONCEPT IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY[1]

Professor Blumer's article in the March, 1940, *Journal* deserves comment. It clearly illustrates how the orthodox, "common-sense" language employed by many sociologists sets problems for them which are easily solved with the newer linguistic tools developed by such writers as Ayer, Bentley, Carnap, Dewey, Korzybski, Lasswell, Ogden, Richards, and Woodger. Blumer points out that "nothing is gained" in the field of social psychology "by changing the designation or label."

We can all agree that the mere incidental changing of a designation or label, where such change does not represent a reorientation in method of analysis and technique of procedure, is unimportant. But, at least for those who take as their purpose in social analysis the facilitation of social control (as Thomas and Znaniecki have described it), much may be obtained through changing the theory of designation employed.

Blumer would presumably accept the Thomas and Znaniecki approach, in general; however, the criticism of much current factual research because it "has done little to clarify concepts" leads one to wonder. Either his objective is different from that more or less tacitly assumed by most of his colleagues (in which case the point ought to have been made explicit, but the present criticism, so far as directed toward his article, is unfair)[2] or more likely he is falling into a trap set for him by his terminology, for no one except the worshiper of word magic need care about clarification of concepts for its own sake, and no one, save such a worshiper, would seriously suggest that observation of phenomena can ever suggest which words are "right" to use.

The term "concept," which is the key term in Blumer's article, indicates where his difficulties arise.[3] As Bentley has shown, the ordinary psychologist

[1] Herbert Blumer, *American Journal of Sociology*, XLV (1940), 707–19.

[2] Even if he does not, there are many sociologists who aspire to build an ultimately useful discipline and yet would accept Blumer's linguistic assumptions.

[3] One may of course use "concept" in a nontraditional sense, as Devereux did in the article immediately preceding Blumer's, but this lays one open to constant misconstruction, too.

and sociologist accepts the disjunctions of "practical common-sense" without question as to their utility, segregating "ability" from "behavior," "personality" from "activity," "thought" from "communication," etc. Such an acceptance, he argues, confuses the observable and the hypostatized. Especially is this true of the word "concept,"

which must be appraised as utterly hopeless for intelligible use . . . . convenient where one has no definite attitude as to what he is talking about . . . . necessary where the old mind-language is relied upon. Nine-tenths of the scientists . . . . who today attempt to analyze their own procedures would find no substitute . . . . yet they would be better off if they dropped it and replaced it with "word" . . . . referring to the observable; using "concept" they depend upon the antiquated and unobservable. "Concept" sets forth what mind is supposed to "do" with "words" where "words" are employed by it as incidental or accidental tools. Observably, however, "concept" is a name for a kind of "word" and not a very well defined "kind." . . . . Take "word" as communicative behavior and observe it in its full setting in behaviors, and nothing further is needed. . . . .[4]

For instance, when Blumer mentions that the "unsettled content of the concept encourages thinking to move along divergent lines without the benefits yielded by logical coherence," it is more difficult to know what observable phenomena are being described than if a possible translation—"the imprecise reference of certain terms often leads to difficulty in realizing what we are talking about, since such imprecision leads to faulty communication and careless classification"—is used.

"What is needed," Blumer says, "is a working relation between concepts and the facts of experience." If by this he means that language must be as useful as possible in recording, describing, standardizing, and generalizing, such writers as Korzybski and Hayakawa[5] show how we may progress along this line. They enable us to avoid the pitfall of empiricism (realizing only that each fact is different) and of generalization (trying to categorize too many different facts together) by enabling us to generalize about variance. It is a temptation to explain the way in which they do this, but any sociologist who will study their works can make the application himself.[6]

If Blumer accepted these discoveries he would not experience the difficulty which he says must be found in determining whether or not an act is "aggressive," "belligerent," etc. Social acts, he maintains, "cannot be reduced to a physical act or translated into a space-time framework and still retain the char-

[4] A. F. Bentley, *Behavior Knowledge Fact* (1935), pp. 285–86, 305–6. "Term" is, for grammatical reasons, superior to "word."

[5] A. Korzybski, *Science and Sanity* (2d ed., forthcoming; Lancaster, Pa: Science Press, 1940); S. I. Hayakawa, *Language in Action* (2d prelim. ed., multigraphed; Chicago, 1940 [published ed., forthcoming, 1941]).

[6] See also my expositions in the monthly newsletters of the Committee for Conceptual Integration (A. Blumenthal, chairman, State T. C., Maryville, Mo.), September (of Korzybski) and October (of Burke and of Richards), 1940.

acter suggested by the adverbs employed." Unfortunately for Blumer's contention, such writers as Lasswell, accepting the language appropriate to a space-time framework, have already described how such a translation may be made;[7] Blumer's "it can't be done" serves simply as an unfounded discouragement to those who hope for genuine progress in the social sciences.

LEWIS A. DEXTER

Committee To Defend America by Aiding the Allies

REJOINDER

I am not certain that I understand Mr. Dexter's comments, and hence my remarks may miss the point of his criticisms. I infer that I am charged with believing concepts to be mental entities with intrinsic meaning (a "worshiper" of "word magic"). Since I regard such a belief as an absurdity, either my article was badly written or else Mr. Dexter has misread it. The article stressed the need of testing the references of concepts against the data of empirical experience; there would be no place for such empirical testing if concepts were self-contained entities. In criticizing certain current efforts to secure precision of concepts through specialized procedures, I was referring to the tendency to ignore crucial references implied in the concepts. To retain these untested references unwittingly in the meaning of a concept while, presumably, limiting the meaning to the tested references is, of course, to have still an ambiguous concept. I suspect that Mr. Dexter has misunderstood me on this point.

I have not had the privilege of reading Dr. Lasswell's unpublished discussion to which Mr. Dexter refers in his concluding paragraph. The inability of outstanding thinkers to solve the problem over some three centuries makes me dubious of the alleged solution. I shall await with keen interest the opportunity to read Dr. Lasswell's treatment.

HERBERT BLUMER

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AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CITIES[1]

These remarks are intended to consider, not the relationship between social phenomena and economic prosperity, but the methods utilized by Ogburn and Coombs to measure those relationships. In their article these investigators find small correlations between income level and certain social conditions in cities

[7] H. D. Lasswell, *Personality, Culture, and Education* (New York: General Educational Bulletin, 1939), pp. 54 ff. (multigraphed) (to be published).

[1] W. F. Ogburn and L. C. Coombs, *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVI (1940), 305–15.

such as growth rate, racial composition, age distribution, magazine circulation, and home-ownership. Inasmuch as each of these social conditions is affected by other factors (as Ogburn and Coombs state) it is quite impossible to obtain an accurate representation of the economic level—social condition relationship unless the influence of these other factors is held constant. The significance of this becomes apparent if we consider two examples from Ogburn and Coombs's paper.

They find a small positive correlation between economic level and the number of lawyers and dentists and also between economic level and magazine circulation. The increased magazine circulation in the cities with the higher economic ratings may be determined by the greater number of lawyers and dentists in those cities, not by the economic rating itself. If the influence of the number in the professions was neutralized or held constant by statistical techniques, then the correlation between circulation and economic activity may very well disappear.

Again, the economic level is correlated, on the one hand, positively to the number of the middle-aged or the child-bearing group and, on the other, negatively to the birth rate with the age distribution disregarded. In other words, the birth rate of the cities with higher economic ratings tends to be lowered by that higher income and at the same time raised by the greater number in the child-bearing group. Thus, it is very likely that with the age factor held constant there would be a more marked negative correlation between the birth rate and the economic level.

It becomes apparent, then, that the correlations will shift as other influential factors are held constant. Consequently, as simple correlation does not hold these other factors constant, it cannot produce an accurate picture. A more laborious but potentially more fruitful method are partial-correlation techniques whereby the correlation between two phenomena can be measured and at the same time the influence of other quantitative factors can be neutralized.

HAROLD ROSS

Grand Rapids, Michigan

REJOINDER

We tried a number of partial correlations, but they did not change the results appreciably. This being the case, it seemed a little tedious to publish these, in view of the fact that adequate partial-correlation analysis takes up quite a bit of space.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN
AND
LOLAGENE C. COOMBS

University of Chicago

ROBERT EMMET CHADDOCK: 1879–1940

Through the death of Professor Robert Emmet Chaddock on October 21, 1940, sociology loses an able teacher and a distinguished contributor in the field of quantitative social science. Professor Chaddock at the time of his death was chairman of the department of sociology at Columbia University where he had been professor of sociology and statistics since 1922 and a teacher since 1911. His field of specialization was in population and vital statistics, and his book on *Principles and Methods of Statistics* was one of the most widely used books in that field.

His career was particularly distinguished in the practical aspects of the development of statistics. At the time of his death he was the chairman of the Census Advisory Committee, on which he had served through several censuses. His efforts to advance the cause of quantitative science in the social field led him to close association with the advisory council of the Milbank Memorial Fund, of which he was a member. He was also a member of the American Committee of the International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problems. He was chairman of the Advisory Committee on Research for the Welfare Council in New York City and vice-chairman of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics.

Much of Professor Chaddock's activity was associated with the American Statistical Association. He was a very effective secretary from 1917 to 1924 and helped to build up the Association into the large organization it now is. He became its president in 1925 and had since been quite active in the meetings of the executive committee. One of his most significant services was in furthering the cities census committees. Dr. Laidlow, together with Dr. Chaddock, developed the idea of census tracts as a unit for enumeration and tabulation of the population of New York City. The purpose was to ascertain the infant death rate in poor and rich communities. The census tract was taken up by many other cities, especially Chicago, and its use carried very much further than was done in New York. Professor Chaddock was also instrumental in forming the Central Statistical Board which has been effective in co-ordinating the statistical work of the different branches of the government in Washington. The development of statistics and the growth of quantitative social science is much further along because of the many years of devoted service which Dr. Chaddock gave to the movement.

Professor Chaddock was sixty-one years of age and is survived by his wife, a daughter, and son-in-law.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

University of Chicago

NEWS AND NOTES

American Youth Commission.—The Commission has recently published E. L. Kirkpatrick's *Guideposts for Rural Youth*, a consideration of occupational and environmental adjustments resulting from the overpopulation of youth in the nation's rural areas, and *Matching Youth and Jobs* by Howard M. Bell, a study based upon a co-operative project of the Commission and the United States Employment Service.

Carnegie Corporation.—The report of the president and of the treasurer, 1940, reveals that, of more than $29,000,000 given in grants since 1911, almost $5,000,000 was in the field of the social sciences. Recipients of appropriations authorized for the year 1940 under the heading "Research, Studies, and Publications" include the National Research Council, Social Science Research Council, National Bureau of Economic Research, Council on Foreign Relations, Community Service Society, Milbank Memorial Fund, and the National Advisory Counsel on Radio in Education. In addition, an appropriation of $165,000 was made during the current fiscal year for the comprehensive study of the Negro in America.

Gunnar Myrdal, director of the Negro in America Study, is expected to return from Sweden in January. Samuel A. Stouffer, University of Chicago, has been acting director of research in the absence of Dr. Myrdal. The research staff has prepared numerous memoranda, many of which are of book length. To expedite publication of those manuscripts which report new contributions, an editorial committee has been established which consists of Donald R. Young, chairman, University of Pennsylvania, William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago, and Shelby Harrison, Russell Sage Foundation. Professor Stouffer is serving as secretary to this committee.

Census Library Project.—Owing to the suspension of the demographic statistical services of such organizations as the International Statistical Institute, International Labor Office, the League of Nations, and the London School of Economics, the Eighth American Scientific Congress sponsored the formation of the Inter-American Statistical Institute and urged the creation of a world demographic collection at the Library of Congress. Concurrent with this recommendation, a Census Library Project, sponsored jointly by the Bureau of the Census, the Carnegie Corpora-

tion, and the Library of Congress, was formally established at the Library of Congress on September 16, 1940. The project is under the supervision of a committee consisting of Halbert L. Dunn, for the Bureau of the Census, Frank Lorimer, for the Population Association of America, Stuart A. Rice, for the organizing committee of the Inter-American Statistical Institute, Richard O. Lang, for the American Statistical Association, and James B. Childs, chief of the Division of Documents of the Library of Congress, as chairman. J. H. Shera, formerly bibliographer of the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, has technical charge of the project. The general objective is the development of a library center for the collection and dissemination of printed and other materials, especially official census publications, relating to population for all countries of the world by (*a*) the concentration of such materials in a central location in the Library of Congress, (*b*) the completion of the collections of the Library, (*c*) the development of a union catalogue of materials not in the Library but available elsewhere, (*d*) the creation of a broad reference service for both scholars and the general public, and (*e*) the preparation and publication of a bibliography, or a guide, to official census materials.

With the aid of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation the Library of Congress has initiated a system of fellowships to bring to the Library, for periods of one year each, younger members of university faculties. In this program demography is represented by Edward P. Hutchinson, on leave from Harvard University, who will co-operate with the Census Library Project and the editors of *Population Index.*

Division of Statistical Standards (*formerly Central Statistical Board*). On August 27 the President appointed an Advisory Committee on Selective Service "to work with the Joint Army and Navy Selective Service Committee in planning the procurement of man power for our National Defense." Members of the Advisory Committee are: Frederick Osborn, Bureau of the Budget, chairman; William H. Draper, Jr., War Department; Floyd W. Reeves, National Defense Advisory Commission; Joseph P. Harris, National Defense Advisory Commission; Wayne Coy, Federal Security Agency; and Channing W. Tobias, National Council of the Y.M.C.A. Elbridge Sibley, Bureau of the Budget, is serving as secretary of the Committee. The Committee has been in almost continuous session considering questions of policy and procedure relating to selective service, and members of the Division's staff have been assisting in the preparation of forms, in connection with their regular tasks of clearance and review.

The United States chapter of the *Inter-American Statistical Compen-*

dium, entitled "Statistical Services and Activities of the United States," which was prepared by the Central Statistical Board for the Statistical Section of the Eighth American Scientific Congress, has been reproduced as a separate volume. It contains twenty-three sections, each prepared by a recognized expert in an important field of statistical information. Each author discussed the present character of statistics in his field, the recent developments in these data, and the additions and improvements still needed. The *Compendium*, with chapters for each of twenty-two American nations, will be published during the early winter. A limited number of copies of the United States chapter are now available upon request.

The Division of Statistical Standards recently distributed to federal and other public agencies and private organizations throughout the country more than three thousand copies of a statement urging that agencies which are establishing occupational surveys and training or placement programs adopt either the Dictionary of Occupational Titles of the Bureau of Employment Security or the Occupational and Industrial Classifications of the Bureau of the Census, depending upon the particular occupational classification problem with which a project is faced. Statistics arising out of either classification system can be converted to the other system by means of the Convertibility List of Occupations prepared by the Joint Committee on Occupational Classification of the American Statistical Association and the Division of Statistical Standards. Anyone interested in seeing the statement may secure a copy from the Division.

Social Security Board.—Under the title *Trends in Public Assistance, 1933–1939*, the Board has published extensive data on public assistance and works programs covering the seven-year period. The report brings together in one volume a record of the operations of all state and territorial programs for general relief, old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind for the entire period since the inauguration of the Social Security Act. Copies of this report are available at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., at 20 cents each.

Society for Social Research.—The autumn program of the Society consisted of four papers, "Natural History of a Religious Group: A Case Study," by A. T. Boisen; "Psychological Approach to the Study of Social Change," by W. B. and O. M. Lurie; "Criteria of Success in Presidential Elections," by H. F. Gosnell; and "Leadership in Labor Unions," by F. H. Harbison. The program was concluded with a symposium on Lundberg's *Foundations of Sociology* by W. F. Ogburn, S. A. Stouffer, and Herbert Blumer.

Twentieth Century Fund.—The Fund has published *Housing for Defense*, a review of the role of housing in relation to America's defense, by Miles L. Colean.

The Fund is currently engaged in an emergency survey of labor policy under the defense program. The research staff is under the direction of Lloyd G. Reynolds, Johns Hopkins University.

Wisconsin Survey of Juvenile Delinquency.—In order to provide adequate data regarding the extent and scope of the delinquency and crime problem in Wisconsin, a study has been inaugurated under the direction of Morris G. Caldwell, Division of Corrections, and Lloyd V. Ballard, Beloit College.

American Orthopsychiatric Association.—The eighteenth annual meeting of the Association will be held at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, February 20–22. For preliminary program write to the Association, 1790 Broadway, New York City.

Boy Scouts of America.—Charles E. Hendry, formerly of George Williams College, Chicago, has been appointed director of research and statistical service.

Children's Bureau.—Katherine M. Bain, fellow of the American Academy of Pediatrics and member of the St. Louis Pediatric Society, has been appointed director of the Division of Research in Child Development. She succeeds Ethel C. Dunham, who, though retaining her association with the Bureau, will give more time to special studies.

Committee on Research in Medical Economics.—The Committee has announced the publication early in 1941 of a new quarterly, *Medical Care: Economic and Social Aspects of Health Service*, a scientific journal devoted to articles on current experience with health insurance and tax-supported plans for medical care and medical-economic studies. Among its editorial advisors are Louis I. Dublin, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University; Robert S. Lynd, Columbia University; and William F. Ogburn and Louis Wirth, both of the University of Chicago. The subscription price is $3.00 per year. Orders may be sent to the Committee at its new address, 1790 Broadway, New York City.

Council for Democracy.—Organized to define and vitalize American democracy and counteract antidemocratic propaganda, the Council has

instituted a research program which will have three major activities: (1) the Committee of Correspondence, directed by Carl Friedrich, Harvard University, will make available to interested persons and groups benefits of research techniques and personnel, a basis for which will be provided by reports and memoranda supplied by a panel of several hundred consultant scholars in related fields; (2) affiliated agencies will conduct research on antidemocratic forces; (3) the Council will sponsor basic research on problems confronting America in the field of national morale. The Council, whose chairman is Raymond Gram Swing, is located at 420 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

District of Columbia Sociological Society.—During the past fall, the District of Columbia Chapter held three dinner meetings. Speakers and subjects of the first two meetings were Ralph Danhof, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and Harold Kube, Bureau of the Census, on "Some Aspects of the Relation of Decentralization of Industry to Defense," and Walter C. Lowdermilk, Soil Conservation Service, on "Soil Erosion and Civilization." The last meeting consisted of a panel discussion led by Arthur Goodwillie, Home Owners' Loan Bank, on "Remedies for Social and Structural Decay of Urban Residential Areas."

Eastern Sociological Society.—The annual conference of the Society will be held at the Biltmore Hotel, Providence, Rhode Island, April 19–20. One session will be devoted to reports on research. Each paper will be assigned a length of time in relation to its value and general interest. J. H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania, is chairman of this section, and all papers should be sent to him.

Other sessions will be devoted to the following topics: personality and culture, sociology and national defense, the motivation of research, and professional practices affecting teachers of sociology. The centennial of the birth of Lester F. Ward will be recognized. For further information write to Paul F. Cressey, Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts.

Exchange Professorships.—The Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State and the United States Office of Education have made known the availability of a number of exchange professorships arranged under the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations. The Convention provides for the exchange of professors or graduate students or teachers among the American Republics which ratify it. As of July 1, the Convention had been ratified by Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama,

Paraguay, Peru, the United States, and Venezuela. Requisites for eligibility for exchange professorships include citizenship of the United States, good health, knowledge of the language of the country to which sent, professorial rank in a college, university, or technical institution, and a record of scholarly work in a field of specialization. The sending government provides the expenses of travel, maintenance, and salary. Further information regarding exchange professorships or exchange fellowships may be obtained from the United States Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

Jewish Institute on Marriage and the Family.—A program of lecture courses and study groups is being arranged, as well as a premarital conference and consultation service for the benefit of young people contemplating marriage. Further information may be obtained by writing Sidney R. Goldstein, 40 West Sixty-eighth Street, New York City.

National Committee for Mental Hygiene.—Addresses by Harry Stack Sullivan, William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, Adolf Meyer, Johns Hopkins University, and Harry A. Steckel, University of Pennsylvania, at the thirty-first annual luncheon held November 14 at New York City, were devoted largely to a study of the psychiatric aspects of the National Defense Program.

National Economic and Social Planning Association.—Harper and Brothers have published *Foundations of American Population Policy* by Frank Lorimer, Ellen Winston, and Louise K. Kiser, a study sponsored by the Association.

National Youth Administration.—T. Arnold Hill, for the last twenty-five years an official of the National Urban League, has been appointed assistant director, Division of Negro Affairs.

Social Science Research Council.—The Council announces the appointment of two research secretaries to its staff—Philip E. Mosely, Cornell University, and Lloyd G. Reynolds, Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Mosely has been granted a year's leave of absence from Cornell to undertake his duties with the Council, and Dr. Reynolds will devote half his time to Council work. Dr. Mosely will be especially concerned with the development of research in the field of international relations and Dr. Reynolds in the field of employment research.

Alabama College.—In co-operation with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the College has published *Alabama Rural Communities: A Study of Chilton County,* by Irwin T. Sanders, Alabama College, and Douglas Ensminger, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Butler University.—Wilbur Brookover, formerly teaching assistant at the University of Wisconsin, is instructor in sociology, teaching principles of sociology, population problems, recent social trends, and rural sociology.

University of California.—Dorothy S. Thomas, Giannini Foundation, has been appointed professor of rural sociology in the University and rural sociologist in the Agricultural Experiment Station.

University of Cambridge.—The Faculty of Law has appointed a committee to consider the promotion of research and teaching in criminal science, consisting of P. H. Winfield, chairman; Leon Radzinowicz, R. M. Jackson, and J. W. C. Turner. As visualized, the program of the committee consists of the prosecution of research, the promotion of a series of publications, the organization of lectures, and the transmission to correspondents in other countries of information concerning achievements and progress of penal reform and the administration of justice in England.

University of Chicago.—The yearly program of lectures by graduate students in the social sciences was inaugurated in the year 1939–40. The lectures during the autumn quarter of 1940 were given by Fellows in the department of sociology as follows: "Personality Characteristics of Engaged Couples," by Robert F. Winch; "An American Japanese Community," by Frank Miyamoto; "Corner Boys: A Study of Gang Behavior," by William F. Whyte; and "Recreation and Delinquency in Chicago," by Ethel Shanas.

Oswald Hall, Brown University, will teach the introductory course in sociology during the summer quarter.

Columbia University.—The Public Service Fellowship, carrying a stipend of $1,300 for a year of graduate study in any approved college or university, is to be awarded this year to a candidate from Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Washington, or Wyoming. The fellowship was established by the former Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform and is adminis-

tered by the faculty of Barnard College. It is awarded to the woman candidate showing the greatest promise in the field of public service. Applications must be received not later than March 1. Application forms will be furnished on request by Professor Willard Waller, Barnard College.

Duke University.—The Macmillan Company has published *Chart for Happiness* by Hornell Hart.

Fisk University.—Preston Valien, who has been engaged in graduate work at the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed instructor in the department of sociology and supervisor of social projects at the social center of the university.

Bingham Dai, social psychiatrist in the department of social sciences, is beginning a study of the *Personality Problems of Negro College Students*, an exploratory study of the kinds of problems of social adjustment at the college or postgraduate level and the ways in which these problems are met, with a view to delineating the possible relationship between personality problems and the educative process. The findings are expected to be informative to students of Negro education, especially to those interested in educating not only the specific capacities of a student but his whole personality in relation to his social environment.

The department of social sciences of Fisk University, Tuskegee Institute, and the Farm Security Administration have developed plans for collaboration on a training program for rural-community workers. The first experimental period will consist of one year of training; students will spend the first semester at Fisk University, the second at Tuskegee Institute, and then will be sent by the Farm Security Administration for internship in various rural areas.

Friends' Central School (Overbrook, Pa.).—Allan W. Eister has been appointed to the position of instructor in social studies for the year 1940–41. Mr. Eister was instructor of quiz and discussion sections in social problems and introductory sociology at the University of Wisconsin last year.

Garrett Biblical Institute.—Rockwell Smith has been appointed assistant professor in sociology. For the last three years Mr. Smith has been carrying on graduate study and serving as research assistant in rural sociology at the college of agriculture of the University of Wisconsin. He will also be associated with Benson Y. Landis in the work of the American Country Life Association.

University of Georgia.—B. O. Williams, recently of Clemenson College, became head of the department of sociology on September 1, 1940.

University of Illinois.—Arthur Vincent Houghton, assistant in the department of sociology, died on October 19, 1940, at the age of forty-three. Mr. Houghton, who received his A.B. and M.S. degrees from the University of Illinois, had been teaching in the department for the last ten years. At the time of his death he was making a study of an old-order Amish community near Urbana.

Columbia University Press has announced the publication of *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge* by Florian Znaniecki.

Chalmers S. Wooley has been appointed research assistant in sociology.

Johns Hopkins University.—Raymond Pearl died of a coronary thrombosis at Hershey, Pennsylvania, November 17, at the age of sixty-one. Although designated as professor of biology in the School of Hygiene, Dr. Pearl was best known to sociologists for his writings in the field of population, which include *Studies in Human Biology, The Biology of Population Growth,* and *The Natural History of Population.* Professor Pearl was editor of the *Quarterly Review of Biology* and *Human Biology* and at various times was an editorial associate of *Biometrika,* the *Journal of Agricultural Research, Genetics, Metron, Biologia generalis,* and *Acta biotheritica.* He was president of the American Statistical Association in 1939.

Charles A. Beard has been appointed professor of American history, this being his first regular academic appointment since he resigned from his professorship at Columbia University in 1917.

Middlesex University (Waltham, Mass.).—George Devereux, Worcester State Hospital, has been appointed to the department of sociology.

Milwaukee-Downer College (Milwaukee, Wis.).—Margaret Pahlman, who has done graduate work at the University of Chicago, has been appointed instructor in sociology.

Milwaukee State Teachers College.—John Teter, who has recently completed his work for the Ph.D. degree at the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed instructor in the department of sociology.

New York University.—Walter Webster Argow, formerly of the New York State Training School for Boys, is teaching courses in criminology and correctional methods.

Leo Srole is in residence as visiting lecturer in anthropology and sociology during the absence of E. Adamson Hoebel, holder of a Social Science Research Council fellowship.

Northwestern University.—Ernest R. Mowrer has been appointed editor of the new sociological series of F. S. Crofts and Company.

Ohio State University.—Perry P. Denune has been appointed chairman of the department of sociology succeeding Frederick E. Lumley, who has asked to be relieved of administrative responsibilities in order that he may devote full time to teaching and writing.

University of Pennsylvania.—Elinor Boll has been appointed research assistant in the William T. Carter Children's Foundation. She is assisting J. H. S. Bossard, director of the Foundation, in a classification of family situations, with reference to child problems.

Professor Bossard edited the November issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* a symposium consisting of some thirty contributions from sociologists and social workers on "Children in a Depression Decade."

Pennsylvania State College.—Howard R. Cottam has been appointed assistant professor of rural sociology. Last year Mr. Cottam was assistant in rural sociology at Ohio State University.

University of Pittsburgh.—The Pittsburgh Printing Company has published *The Dynamics of Higher Education* by Walter A. Lunden.

Queens College.—F. S. Crofts and Company, New York City, have announced the publication of *Personality and Problems of Adjustment* by Kimball Young.

Smith College.—Harvard University Press has published *Not by Arms Alone* by Hans Kohn.

South Dakota State College.—Walter L. Slocum has been appointed assistant professor of sociology and assistant rural sociologist, Experiment Station. Dr. Slocum worked for nearly two years on the South Dakota Planning Board and recently received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconson.

University of Texas.—Prentice-Hall, Inc., has announced the publication of *Social Problems* by Carl M. Rosenquist.

University of Toronto.—Edward C. Devereux, recently of the University of Connecticut and Harvard University, has been appointed to an instructorship.

Washington University.—Dinko Tomašić, recently professor of sociology at the University of Zagreb, Jugoslavia, has been appointed visiting

professor for the second semester. Professor Tomašić will teach social control and rural sociology and will conduct a graduate seminar.

University of Washington.—This fall the department of sociology, along with the departments of history, political science, and geography, moved into its new quarters in the recently completed Social Science Building. Although the present plant of the department of sociology is not as yet fully staffed and equipped, every provision has been made in the building plans for the possible future development of a research institute. Almost all the first floor of the new building is devoted to the research facilities and offices of the department of sociology. These facilities include (1) a demonstration room for classes in statistics and methods of social research; (2) an exhibit hall for the display of maps, graphs, pictures, and models; (3) a drafting-room for drawing, coloring, and finishing maps, charts, and pictures; (4) an atelier for sketching, computing, and working out details of more advanced research studies; (5) a laboratory for classes in social statistics, and (6) a filing-room and shop for punching, sorting, and tabulating data.

When the research institute is fully developed it will serve a fourfold purpose: (1) It will be an impartial fact-finding and fact-interpreting agency, sponsoring and conducting research upon social conditions in the northwest region. (2) It will serve as the largest depository of social data in the northwest region. (3) Through its facilities and staff it will serve as a training center in scientific social research for graduate students, administrators, and professional social scientists. (4) The institute will perform an important educational function by publishing reports, bulletins, and monographs embodying the results of significant investigations, and also by organizing exhibits, lectures, and discussions explaining the bearing of the work upon local and regional problems.

Washington State College.—Paul H. Landis has been appointed dean of the graduate school.

PERSONAL

Victor F. Calverton, author, editor, and lecturer, died November 20, in New York City, at the age of forty. A frequent contributor to the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, and the *Forum* and editor and founder of the *Modern Monthly*, Mr. Calverton is perhaps best known to sociologists as the writer of *The Newer Spirit* and *The Bankruptcy of Marriage* and as editor of *Sex in Civilization* and *Woman's Coming of Age*. A new book, *Where*

Angels Dare To Tread, a study of communist colonies in the United States, is to be published next month.

Paul F. Schilder, clinical director of the psychiatric division of Bellevue Hospital and research professor of psychiatry at New York University, died in New York on December 8, 1940, after being struck by an automobile. Dr. Schilder's writings include *Introduction to a Psychoanalytical Psychiatry*, *Brain and Personality*, and *Psychotherapy*.

Pitirim A. Sorokin, Harvard University, Constantine Panunzio, University of California, and E. A. Steiner, Grinnell College, were recently designated at the New York World's Fair as three of six hundred immigrant Americans who "have made outstanding contributions to American culture."

The publication of the first volume in the "Science of Culture Series," entitled *Freedom: Its Meaning*, planned and edited by Ruth Nanda Anshen, has been announced by Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York City. Included in the list of more than forty contributors to this symposium are Robert M. MacIver, John Dewey, Henry A. Wallace, Franz Boas, and P. W. Bridgman.

The University of Chicago Press has published *Men on the Move* by Nels Anderson.

The University of North Carolina Press has recently published *Sharecroppers All* by Arthur F. Raper and Ira de A. Reid and *The Beggar* by Harlan W. Gilmore, Tulane University. *Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties* by Charles S. Johnson *et al.* is scheduled for publication January 25.

Harper and Brothers has announced a complete revision of *Social Disorganization* by Mabel A. Elliott, University of Kansas, and Francis E. Merrill, Dartmouth College.

Oskar Piest, New York City, has published *Sociology* by Leopold von Wiese.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Economics of War. By HORST MENDERSHAUSEN. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1940. Pp. xiv+314. $2.75.

Mendershausen correctly states that he found no extensive theoretical treatment of war economy in English except *The Political Economy of War* by A. C. Pigou. But Mendershausen's own book is more than such a treatment, for he selects and discusses his problems from the points of view of the sociologist, political scientist, and jurist as well as from that of the economist. He also deals specifically with many problems which Pigou treated only in a general way; to wit, problems of man-power, raw materials, "bottlenecks," and that special problem of the present conflict —the accumulation of stocks of "strategic materials."

On the whole, Mendershausen's book is more up to date than Pigou's; it uses the more recent literature and interprets very recent events.[1] It is not one of those ephemeral books which rides the wave of every great emergency. Such practical proposals as are made have the character of economic theorems or technical recommendations rather than bills to push through Congress. The distribution of emphasis was dictated not primarily by the relative importance of the issues under discussion but by the predilections and perhaps also by the special knowledge of the author upon the various branches of war economics.

It is a strength of Mendershausen's treatment of the "war potential" that he takes into account situations in a number of countries under various given conditions, but this entails the weakness of treating American defense economics only incidentally. This might be excused on the ground that we are not at war. We are moving, however, into a period of intensive armament involving many of the problems of war economy.

[1] The following, however, are important recent works not mentioned by Mendershausen: André Piatier, *L'Economie de guerre* (Paris, 1939); G. Crowther, *The Sinews of War* (Oxford, 1939); G. Crowther, *Paying for the War* (Oxford, 1940); Sumner H. Slichter, "Paying for Armaments," *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1940; and some other pamphlets and articles. Since the book was written a number of new publications came on the market. Among them are: A. G. Hart, *Economic Policy for Rearmament* (Chicago, 1940); H. S. Bloch, F. H. Harbison, O. Lange, H. G. Lewis, *Economic Mobilization* (Washington, D.C., 1940); F. H. Brown, J. D. Gibson, and A. F. W. Plumptre, *War Finance in Canada* (Toronto, 1940); Charles O. Hardy, *Wartime Control of Prices* (Washington, D.C., 1940).

Even in the chapter on "War Economy of Neutral Countries" he deals only incidentally with the American situation. The study of the economic war potential is not limited to a discussion of available material in men and resources, but it includes an analysis of the utilization of the economic war potential. A more explicit distinction between pre-war and war economy would perhaps have been useful.

The gloomy picture which the author paints of mobilization in the major countries during the last war makes it clear why careful government planning is necessary. He advocates strong governmental intervention in the industrial and economic sphere and gives a good description of the tasks of government in time of mobilization. Again and again it is pointed out that the elimination of social inequalities is needed, a point on which the author agrees with Keynes (cf. *How To Pay for the War*).

Observing that the conflict between military and civilian demands can be solved by restriction of civilian demand in certain lines, the author indicates various possible schemes of restricting civilian demand and describes the factors limiting national output. Among the remedies he does not mention is the standardization of certain products for civilian use. For example, a portion of the shortage of draftsmen and skilled mechanics can be alleviated by standardizing automobile models and deferring for a time the creation of new models.

Chapter vii, "War Finance," stands out as a weak spot in a good book. Here also one regrets the dearth of specific reference to the United States. After all, this country has already had in 1940 its first experience in "war-time taxation" and "war-time borrowing." When Mendershausen explains the role of taxation in general he does not even touch upon the question whether and when taxes should be used as a means of rationing specific goods, although he mentions this factor incidentally when giving an account of the German procedures (p. 136). He also discusses taxation as a means of restricting consumers' outlay at large. In the discussion of indirect taxes the reader misses any reference to luxury taxes.

Mendershausen refers to the symposium in the *New Republic* (July 29, 1940). He does not elaborate on the views that Keynes and Groves expressed with regard to the American defense economy. He gives, however, a very useful presentation of Keynes's plan of "deferred pay" for Great Britain. Pointing to the difference between the official German attitude and the Keynesian theory, Mendershausen comments significantly: "While the authoritarian German government emphasizes the 'constriction of the pantry' democratic Professor Keynes prefers the 'constriction of the pocket' " (p. 142).

Chapter viii, "Priorities and Price Control," compares very favorably with anything that has been written in this field, including the excellent new monograph by Hardy—*Wartime Control of Prices*—which was published after the *Economics of War*. The author relates how the German government concentrated the activity of certain industries in a few very efficient plants (*W-Betriebe*), closing up the less efficient ones. But, as Mendershausen reports, this overconcentration was not satisfactory, and the number of *W-Betriebe* was considerably increased toward the end of 1939.

In Part III, "International Economics of War and the Situation of Neutrals," the reader learns about the rules of total warfare on the open sea lanes and international co-operation between allies. Some illustrations are given of the situation of small neutrals.

Unlike Pigou,[2] Mendershausen proceeds boldly to draw a sketch of post-war economics (Part IV). The sociologist will be interested in chapter xi, "The Population after the War," in which he summarizes mainly the results of the research of the Swiss professor, L. Hersch. The problem of epidemics during and after wars and the phenomenon of "hollow classes" (classes born during wars) are also examined. Not only the decline in population but also the impairment of national capital will present serious obstacles on the road to post-war recovery.

It is somewhat disappointing to find that the last chapter, "Post War Finance," of such an excellent book is an anticlimax. Surely the author must realize that during wars tax systems have often been revised, reformed, and centralized. The British income tax and the French income tax originated during wars and became permanent features of the national tax systems. Mendershausen does not mention any possible beneficial results from a financial reform undertaken during a war. He points out only the necessity of terminating war finance and settling the war debts and sketches some rapid remarks about reconstruction finance. This chapter could possibly have been made more interesting by using some of the material presented by Haig in his *The Public Finances of Post War France*. But who would dare to generalize on future post-war experiences from those of the last war?

Post-war economics is dangerous territory. Mendershausen was careful not to state any hypotheses as to who would win the war. Yet it is clear

[2] Mendershausen referred only to the 1921 edition of Pigou's work, which has a section on the aftermath of the war. In the 1940 edition Pigou declared "we are at a start of a journey whose end we cannot foresee," and he chose not to discuss post-war problems.

that post-war economics would take a different course under different winners. The last part is indeed a rather weak finis for a work which began so forcefully and is so excellent on the whole.

It would be petty to put too much emphasis on the minor errors of an author who has done such an outstanding piece of work. There will be hardly a critic who can accuse Mendershausen of any major mistake. There may be some who blame him for his distribution of emphasis and for the things he did not include in his treatise. The book is one of the best popular works on war economics, and it deserves careful consideration by social scientists of all disciplines.

HENRY SIMON BLOCH

University of Chicago

International Security. By EDUARD BENEŠ, ARTHUR FEILER, and RUSHTON COULBORN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xii+153. $2.00.

Delivered in the political climate of impending war, the five public lectures of the Fifteenth Institute of the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation deal with a topic whose primordial timeliness and importance were fully realized. On the Geneva Protocol, the Locarno Pact, and the problem of collective security no one could speak with greater authority than Dr. Beneš, to whom they were a part of his life's blood, but the hour was hardly one for exultation. In consequence, while setting a final seal of historical approval upon the Protocol and Pact, and dexterously showing their influence and interrelationship, Dr. Beneš inevitably strikes a note of harsh realism, without the buoyant optimism so characteristic of his speeches at either Geneva or Prague, or the indomitable courage which, now that he is once more in exile, pervades his utterances in Paris or London. The perspective is clear, the nuances carefully distinguished; sharp illumination is given, here and there, by the establishment of correlations between the diplomacy which flowed outside the League and that which eddied within the Palais des Nations. To Dr. Beneš the impending tragedy was already clear:

> It was simply impossible to settle the most serious European problems by abandoning certain principles or certain nations and through the defense only of the limited national interest of certain states as they conceived them narrowly and selfishly. That is the whole tragedy of Europe. The present failure and tragedy came, and in my opinion a greater tragedy will come inevitably, because of these great and tragic mistakes and failures. The whole moral,

political and economic crisis of Europe is just now at the culmination point. The final clash will come sooner or later. I do not know when and in what form. But its inevitability is quite evident to me [pp. 73–74].

In the light of this he believes the continued coexistence of democracy and dictatorship to be impossible. The final lecture closes with a vision of a restored and peaceful Europe as powerful as that which Komensky left to his nation, and on which Masaryk and Beneš builded.

To Arthur Feiler, who went with the German delegation to Versailles, belongs the somewhat unenviable task of reviewing the same time span as Dr. Beneš from a German, but non-Nazi standpoint, under the caption "Farewell to Security." He does it brilliantly, incisively, reaching conclusions analogous to those of Rauschning but also pointing out unerringly the gradual approximation of the Nazi and Bolshevik revolutions. His final plea is for a "positive alternative" to the totalitarian way of life, by a revitalization of, and a "strengthened belief in, liberty, justice and the inalienable rights of man." Coulborn's lecture covers the period from a British, but non-Chamberlain standpoint, mordantly, and, as he himself affirms, "with brutal frankness." To the reviewer he merely succeeds in conveying the record of British endeavors to effect, at differing moments in the last score of years, a working synthesis between contradictory principles such as the Balance of Power and Collective Security. The failure of the whole effort is patent, but the author does not succeed in ridding himself personally of the dilemma, as he alternately supports the old-fashioned form of deal amounting to nonconsensual partition (p. 123) and chastises Chamberlain for failure to live up to the principles of the collective system (pp. 133–34). In conclusion, he seeks, under a somewhat novel disguise, to effect a *Pax Americana* in the New World and elsewhere by a subtle extension of the Monroe Doctrine (p. 143). It is a solution as naïve as it is disconnected with the ideology and methods of any genuine system of collective security.

MALBONE W. GRAHAM

University of California at Los Angeles

The Races of Central Europe. By G. M. MORANT. London: Allen & Unwin Co.; New York: W. W. Norton (U.S. distributors), 1940. Pp. 163+14 diagrams. $1.50.

This is one of the most sensible treatises on race which has appeared in recent years. Morant has set out "to discover how far the physical evi-

dence relating to the people of central Europe leads to conclusions regarding 'race' that are in accordance with those derived from cultural data and primarily from language." Morant is a biometrician who has specialized in the craniometric characters of European peoples. His observations constitute the perfect answer to the "racial" dogma of *Mein Kampf*.

Central Europe is defined as (*a*) the whole of Czechoslovakia (Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia, Slovaks of the central area, Ruthenians or Carpatho-Ukrainians of the east area); (*b*) provinces of Germany (prior to the Austrian *Anschluss*) coterminous with Czechoslovakia (before Munich), viz., Silesia, Saxony, Bavaria; (*c*) the whole of Austria, except part of Tyrol; (*d*) the whole of Hungary; (*e*) northeastern Rumania; (*f*) southern part of Poland.

The analysis of physical traits diagnostic of race is limited chiefly to the cephalic index and stature. For the C.I. twenty-nine population groups were studied. Of these sixteen have average indices between 84 and 86; these sixteen comprise five German, nine Slavonic, one Magyar, one Rumanian—cutting straight across linguistic classifications. The other thirteen groups have C.I. averages at 80–82 and 86–88, and in both extremes German-speaking peoples are represented. For stature thirty groups were studied. Of these, sixteen have average statures between 166–68 cm., comprising nine German, four Polish, and Slovak, Magyar, Ukrainian. Once more a physical trait cuts across linguistic lines. The shortest were the Sudeten Germans, the three tallest Czech (whom Goering called a "race of pygmies"), Carinthian Austrians, and the Magyar Szeklers of Rumania. Here, too, German-speaking peoples are found at either end of the range of variation.

Morant considers also skin, hair and eye color, hair form, and blood groups, but in less detail. They all point to the same lack of dependence between physical and culturo-linguistic criteria of race. Two observations emerge: (1) the difference in a given physical trait, between the averages of two neighboring populations, is less than the range of variation in either population; (2) the data, especially on blood grouping, "suggest forcefully that Germany is racially far more heterogeneous than any other country in Europe for which adequate records are available."

Anthropologist Adolf please note!

W. M. Krogman

University of Chicago

International Aspects of German Racial Policies. By OSCAR L. JANOWSKY and MELVIN M. FAGEN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. xxi+266. $2.00.

This book was "written and published under the sponsorship of the American Jewish Committee and the Conference on Jewish Relations" (p. xx). The authors' apparent aim is a twofold one. In the first place, they argue that "International Action To Safeguard Human Rights" (chap. i) is not only desirable but almost mandatory according to literary testimony and to "precedents." Second, they make a good case for the learned thesis that such action is justified in terms of international law and League of Nations' practice. All of which leads up to a dignified and strong, but somewhat vague, plea that the League should act to protect the "non-Aryans" against Nazi persecution (chap. iii).

As a technical study in international law and precedents, and the literature thereof, this essay may take its place among learned doctoral dissertations. But it is of no scientific or practical consequence because it evades the real issues at stake. What could the League have done, given its political impotence? And was it at all formed in a fashion to tackle such an immense issue as the protection of minorities within the territory of major powers? What's the use to employ sophisticated legalistic arguments when the Germans could answer that "their" Jews were no "minority" in any legal sense? What moral basis could the League invoke in face of its own failure to safeguard not only minorities under its own protection but even entire countries such as Manchuria and Ethiopia? Were the men in charge of the League at all seriously intent to act on behalf of suppressed minorities, and did they go to the limit even of their limited ability in doing so? And how could they use even moral pressure in face of the fact that the leading powers in the League, namely, England and France, were sold until the war on the political theory of everybody minding his own business? That theory and its consequences would be a worth-while subject for an analysis which is not even approached in the present essay.

Practically one-half of the volume (pp. 131–257) is devoted to the reprinting of documents, such as the well-known resignation letter of the High Commissioner for Refugees (1935), and to an especially useful summary of German racial legislation and administrative as well as court rulings.

MELCHIOR PALYI

Chicago

Revolution in Land. By CHARLES ABRAMS. New York: Harper & Bros., 1939. Pp. xiv+320. $3.00.

The Earth and the State: A Study of Political Geography. By DERWENT WHITTLESEY. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1939. Pp. xvii+618. $3.75.

Possessed of a theme of its own, *Revolution in Land*, it seems, is the book to end Henry George. The revolution is the transition of landownership from the position of "huge octopus taking the lifeblood of the nation, draining off in the form of rent the wealth produced by the combined effects of capital and labor" to the position of "a kind of oyster fed upon by industry—the devoured rather than the devouring." This change of land from asset to liability seems altogether determined in the author's mind by the experience of the depression—a depression from which he sees no upswing. The book treats of land as a whole, integrating the principles underlying the utilization of both urban real estate and agricultural lands. The conclusion seems unavoidable that real property has been left by large-scale business to small investors and that the incidence of real property taxes now approaches that of a capital levy. Overcapacity in agriculture, overconcentration in urban areas are forcing the same deflation of values—a deflation which the government is trying to arrest by offering cheaper credit. The author suggests that government may end by having to nationalize the land supply. The proposals for reform, however, are cautiously and carefully put, and the New Deal program in housing and agriculture are critically examined. This is a provocative, well-based book that should be read by all students of land problems, rural and urban.

While political geography may be the oldest type of geography, it still lacks, as Professor Whittlesey points out, a universally accepted approach and a consensus as to its content. *The Earth and the State* breaks some pioneer ground in this field. After an enumeration of the geographic features of the state, the state and communication are discussed in terms of space, size, maturity, and form. A discussion of political geography in relation to resources, mainly rubber, wheat, and sugar, is followed by an analysis of the oceans as international areas and the coast-line state in relation to world-power. This is preliminary to descriptive and historical studies of the political geography of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, the capitals of East Central Europe, the Mediterranean coasts, colonial Africa, and the Americas. Two theoretical chapters on the differentiation of legal systems from place to place close the book.

The theme of the book is the areal differential of the world's principal states and legal codes, but it remains a moot question whether geography has had overmuch to do with this phenomenon. States have adjusted to their geography as best they could; they have not been made by it. When Whittlesey points out that he leaves to the future the detailed consideration of states and legal systems now in violent flux, he leaves the suggestion that, now as ever, states—not geography—are the dynamic elements and the starting factors in the interrelationships of political geography. This is undoubtedly now the leading textbook in political geography, but the best place to study the state is still found in departments of political science.

RUPERT B. VANCE

University of North Carolina

The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations. By GEORGE T. HUNT. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940. Pp. 209. $3.00.

Ethno-history, a new field in anthropology, utilizes documentary data to bridge the gap between the archeological and ethnographic records of an aboriginal area. Professor Hunt's volume is a pioneer and important, if specialized, contribution in the field. It surveys the evidence of seventeenth-century intertribal relations within the American northeast woodlands—a region rich in the supply of fur-bearing animals which the early French, English, and Dutch quickly tapped.

Astride the trade-routes of the area were a number of tribes of Iroquoian language and culture. There is some evidence that these tribes, prior to European colonization, had been comparatively small in numbers and importance in the region. With the opening of the fur trade, however, they rose to a commanding position as carriers and middlemen between the hunting-trapping groups in the hinterlands and the white traders of the seaboard.

For control of this trade there developed a ruthless competition not only between the Iroquois and their Algonquin neighbors but among the tribes of the Iroquois as well—a competition which embroiled them in a long series of wars over a period of more than half a century.

The author, therefore, interprets these sanguinary wars in the light of his thesis that "when the Iroquois made war on a national scale they did so with somewhat the same [economic] ends in view as have their Christian brothers. . . . ."

LEO SROLE

New York University

War and the Family. By WILLARD WALLER. New York: Dryden Press, 1940. Pp. 51. $0.50.

We have here a vivid picture of what war does to the family, sketched against the background of what war does to society in general. The picture shows extreme disorganization. In wartime millions of families are broken up by conscription, evacuation, or death. A great many persons replace the established moral code with a short-term hedonistic pattern of life; witness the increase in prostitution and in noncommercial sex immorality. The casualties of war unbalance the sex ratio, which means the denial of monogamous marriage to thousands of women. Marriages that do occur during wartime and in the period immediately following a war are relatively unstable.

Waller's social conscience leads him to extreme judgments. When war comes, writes Waller, "the morality of the family crumbles" (p.1); "the mores are shattered" (p. 26); "morality is dissolved" (p. 33). Strong verbs, these. Also there is insufficient recognition that while war dislocates and disorganizes the group in certain respects, in other ways it has an organizing effect. Just as studies of the effect of the depression on family life show that unemployment is often a unifying force, just so the crisis of war may serve to unite families in greater loyalty, self-sacrifice, and devotion. This may be observed without implying that war is essentially good. Moreover, some of the disorganizing effects of war are only temporary and pass with the return of peace. The family and monogamous mores have survived many wars. While it is not intended to suggest that these mores have not changed, certainly there have been no such permanent and prominent changes in family organization as, let us say, in industry and the state.

These limitations notwithstanding, we are indebted to Waller for a pioneering effort to treat sociologically a subject of great practical significance.

M. F. NIMKOFF

Bucknell University

Jurisprudence. By EDGAR BODENHEIMER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Pp. xiv+357. $3.50.

This book is simultaneously a contribution to the present revival of natural-law ideas and a comprehensive text on jurisprudential theories from the Greeks to American realism, neo-Thomism, and racism. Deeply concerned with the present struggle between democracy and despotism,

Bodenheimer attributes a share in having brought about this present situation to the jurists of the positivist school. In defining law simply as a complex of imperative norms of the sovereign, these jurists are said to have emptied the law of all ethical content and to have provided unscrupulous despots with a justification of their systems of tyranny. The author does not stand alone in this belief, which, however, is hardly justified in the opinion of the reviewer. The so-called "positivist" writings are not concerned with moral issues but with descriptive and analytical statements about the function of law in society and the logical structure of its rules. Their authors cannot be made responsible for an abuse of their works by political propagandists. While Bodenheimer and other recent writers are right when they emphasize that mere description is not enough in the present situation and that jurists ought to take an active part in the discussion of the good society, their position in that discussion will be weak if they fail to distinguish between description and analysis of the law that is and rational elaboration of the law that ought to be.

The perennial disputes of jurisprudence and political science can all be viewed as being centered around one central problem, which is presented by an antinomy: Society, in order to keep going, must intrust some of its members with power; power, however, bearing within itself the temptation of abuse endangers society. How can social power be so organized that it efficiently safeguards peace, order, and common enterprise without becoming a tool of abuse within the hands of those to whom it is intrusted? According to Bodenheimer, the means developed to that end is law which he defines as the limitation of power through general norms of conduct. This limitation of power is said to work in two directions: it curbs the power not only of the government but also of private individuals and their combines. Only that system of norms is declared to be law that at least tends toward achieving the mean between anarchy and despotism. "Law in its purest and most perfect form" is said to be "realized in a social order in which the possibility of abuse of power by private individuals as well as by the government is reduced to a minimum." One may object to the method of an author who starts with a definition of the ways and means by which the good society ought to be achieved. When law is defined as equivalent to "good law" phenomena are necessarily excluded which are called law in common parlance, in the terminology of the lawyers and in sociology. The author may perhaps answer that he would not deny the euphonious epitheton law to any system in which some tendency at least can be discovered to curb governmental power, and that he would withhold it only from a system of unbridled anarchy or

despotism. The dynamic way in which the problem is stated by Bodenheimer offers a convenient framework for the critical discussion of juriprudential theories. It is the special merit of his book that the beliefs, hopes, and doctrines of the great thinkers appear not as lifeless abstractions or as dead weight of the past, but as living contributions to a continuing discussion in which even such problems of the day as those of administrative law, business control, wage regulation, etc., appear as peculiar expressions of recurrent issues. In reviewing and criticizing the various types of jurisprudence the author succeeds in presenting a well-rounded picture of the law-shaping forces and especially of the influence of ideas and ideals upon the life of the law.

In a book which covers so wide a field, it is easy to discover oversimplifications and overgeneralizations, but the author, in his lively and succinct presentation, catches the essential points and shows clearly the contribution of each jurist to the great tradition and discussion. The author's own observations present new and fine insights, for instance, in his passages on the correlations between economic structure and law in ancient Rome, in the elegant comparison of the spirit of classical Roman law and Anglo-American common law, in his discussion and critique of the neo-Thomists and French institutionalists, and even in the chapters on such well-known theories as those of the natural-law school of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

MAX RHEINSTEIN

University of Chicago

Race: Science and Politics. By RUTH BENEDICT. New York: Modern Age Books, 1940. Pp. 247. $2.50.

A polemic in the field of race and culture might seem to call for no scholarly attention. But the basic nature of this area of sociological study, aside from the present extensive political and administrative activity, gives even an ephemeral publication a significance that it otherwise might not have.

The book is concerned to distinguish between races as biological realities and the body of doctrine and dogma that operates to define and control interracial contacts and relations and to expose the scientific fallacies and sinister motives of the racialists. The Foreword presents one aspect or interpretation of the doctrine of racial inequality—that which emphasizes the utilization of the doctrine in the conflict of groups. The second part of the volume discusses the independence of race and culture,

racial classifications, the migrations and minglings of peoples, heredity, and questions of racial superiority. The third part of the book is given over to a refutation of the doctrines of racial inequality—including imputations of questionable motives to those who propagate the doctrines—and to a discussion of racial prejudices.

The book is apparently intended to inform and indoctrinate the layman rather than to present material for the student. At any rate it contains little or no theoretical matter that has not been commonplace among social scholars for a full generation. It should be judged, therefore, in terms of its educational effectiveness and in terms of its success in popularizing scientific findings and points of view.

It may appear gratuitiously ungracious to take note of minor deficiencies in a popular volume that is, in many respects, sound and scientifically reputable. But if a book that purports to bring a scholarly position or a body of scientific knowledge to the attention of the lay public is to be genuinely valuable, it must measure up to certain simple but definite standards. The problem must be given an adequate presentation; the factual statements must be accurate in detail; the organization of ideas must be simple and progressive; the basic concepts must be clearly and unequivocally defined and consistently used; the position of opponents must be fairly and adequately stated; and the language of exposition must be clear and direct.

In some of these respects the present volume is only partially successful; it has obvious earmarks of hasty preparation. It is unfortunate to state that the Chinese have slanting eyes, or to say that the Mongoloid eye is "typical" of Asiatics. The statement that "no people of high civilization have been racially pure" is probably quite true, but it definitely is not "the answer" to the assertion that "pure race is the secret of great civilizations." The biological doctrine of acquired characters is commonly attributed to Lamarck rather than to Darwin. One wonders at the statement that racial beliefs cannot be scientifically investigated, that they can be studied only historically. The position that racial antipathies exist may not be true, but it is not disproved by citing the fact of racial intermixture. The variations in the definition of race, taken with the statements about and the use of the concept, are not conducive to clear popular understanding: race is a classification, a fact, a homogeneous population, an inbred group, an abstraction, a biological type, etc. *Paul et Virginie* was written by Jacques Henri Bernardinde de Saint Pierre, not by Chateaubriand, and it is not "a fanciful tale of the

Noble Red Man." The sociological postulate concerning the importance of high visibility in understanding racial prejudice is misunderstood and criticized on the basis of the inadequate statement. The old stock breeders' doctrine of "hybrid vigor" is not in good repute in biological science; to assert or assume that it has the status of an established fact and use it as a major premise for an argument or conclusion falls somewhat short of good scientific procedure. It is unfortunate that such items should appear, and it is particularly unfortunate that they should appear in a publication directed toward a lay audience that is so largely concerned to expose racial fallacies.

A long section of the book is given to "A Natural History of Racism." ("Racism" is used throughout the book as a descriptive epithet designating beliefs, dogmas, doctrines, theories, etc., that advance biological and racial facts in explanation of cultural realities.) Early in the discussion one finds the dogmatic statement that the content of "racism" cannot be scientifically investigated, it can be studied only historically. If so, the title of the section is a gross misnomer. "A natural history" implies the existence of a natural process, a developmental sequence that is invariable and irreversible, a series of stages in which each stage is evolved from that which precedes and in turn evolves into that which follows—something analogous to the growth history of a plant from the germination of the seed to the ripening of its seed and its death. Historical study, on the other hand, takes account of—is largely concerned with—the fortuitous circumstances that determine specific events. The chapter itself is essentially historical. No effort is made to trace a cycle of development or to understand race prejudice and conflict as natural phenomena. They lie outside the orbit of scientific study; they are invented as instruments of exploitation; they are things to be destroyed rather than phenomena to be understood.

This general point of view is the major weakness of the volume. In the absence of developmental process, there is no basis for understanding, hence no basis for rational direction or control. In consequence, the final pages of the volume become evangelical. We must "strongly resolve" to improve social conditions; unsatisfactory things can be done away with; the elimination of race conflict is a task of "social engineering"; the program that will avail is called "making democracy work"; we must prove the faith of the founding fathers. The basic point of view also accounts in large part for the essentially negative position of the author. The book demolishes more or less successfully the popular racial dogmas. But it

has little beyond moral preachments to offer in place of the positive doctrines and programs of the racialists. And moral preachments are no more effective in social than in physical reality; they are magical formulas rather than scientific principles.

E. B. REUTER

University of Iowa

The Social Function of Science. By J. D. BERNAL. New York: Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xvi+482. $3.50.

For some centuries natural scientists have largely ignored the relationships between their science and society. The self-righteousness of the ascetic artisan who had done his immediate job and had done it well proved impervious to any sociological perspective on this work. More recently, a changing social structure, which aroused Frankensteinian guilt-feelings and a correlated sense of social responsibility, has induced a considerable body of scientists to consider the social role of science. The more articulate of these have been largely influenced by Marxist thought. This movement, initiated in the U.S.S.R. and developed in England, has enlisted the services of such men as Sir F. Gowland Hopkins, Hall, Huxley, Soddy, Needham, J. B. S. Haldane, Levy, Hogben, and Blackett. A leading figure in this group, the London physicist Bernal, has written a book of the first importance, a book whose occasional defects only accentuate its basic worth.

The volume is divided into two major parts, the first of which deals with "what science does." An essay on the historical development of science develops the primary theme that science is an institution which stands in complex relationships with other institutions; relationships which vary concretely in different social structures. This is followed by detailed examination of the actual organization of scientific research in the universities, governmental services (war, industry, agriculture, health) and industries of Britain. The direction of this research by budgetary control rather than by the theoretical significance of the problem is clearly demonstrated. The sources of inefficiency in the current organization of British science are found to center about the inadequacy of budgets (the entire budget for research in 1934 was 3 per cent of what was spent on tobacco); the absence of mechanisms for effectively co-ordinating research in different university laboratories; the excessive bureaucratization of government research; the atmosphere of secrecy in industrial research which often precludes interaction with other workers in the field; the

inefficient methods of recruiting industrial scientists; gerontocratic control of research administration; the sentiment of personal integrity of scientists as an obstacle to the adequate organization of research; the haphazard proliferation of scientific publications (partly attested by a world-total of 33,000 different scientific periodicals in 1934). The analysis of the application of science stresses the economic sources of the stifling of research, the suppression of technological innovation and the decided bias toward improving production goods rather than consumers' goods. Throughout, Bernal properly distinguishes between the effects of science in certain social structures and its "inevitable" effects; the two are by no means identical. An all too brief but valuable canvass of the status of science in the various nations of the world rounds out this section of the book.

Against this background of the existing state of affairs, Bernal designs a plan for improving the contributions of science to "human welfare"—"what science could do." It is avowedly an attempt at social engineering. The exacting detail of this plan can scarcely be summarized in this review; it can only be said that Bernal has presented the most complete and apparently well-grounded program that has appeared since the days of the founders of the Royal Society in the seventeenth century.

The book contributes a great body of substantive materials in a field which has long needed cultivation. It would be ungracious to suggest that the physicist-author has failed to interpret these materials sociologically or has done so in an excessively simplified fashion—*ce n'est pas son métier*. This task may rather be conceived as a challenge to the sociologist of science who has all too often divorced theoretical speculation from empirical investigation.

ROBERT K. MERTON

Tulane University

The Philosophy of Physical Science. By SIR ARTHUR EDDINGTON. (Tarner Lectures, 1938.) New York: Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. ix+230. $2.50.

Whether the philosophy of physical science is necessarily different from the philosophy of social science is a question of considerable contemporary interest. This latest pronouncement of Eddington is, therefore, of interest to sociologists. Especially is this true because his previous work, often contextually garbled, is frequently mentioned in treatises on the social sciences. The present work deals not so much with the nature of the

physical world as with the nature of physical knowledge. This is the question that chiefly concerns us in regard to the problems of a unified science.

The principal fault of this, as of the author's other philosophical works, is its failure to define explicitly certain terms which have connotations in general philosophy, or at least in general discourse, which are radically different from the meanings which he attaches to them. Consider, for example, his use of such terms as "subjective," "objective," "*a priori* knowledge," "spiritual," "values," etc. The book is indeed an excellent illustration of the mischief which such terms, with all their prescientific connotations, can do in an otherwise profound and valuable work. The author has gone very far toward ridding himself in his own field of the customary metaphysical implications of those terms, but he clings to the words themselves and implies that in the social field they must be retained with their ancient meanings. One can do no better in this connection than to call the reader's attention to John Dewey's recent and devastating appraisal of the ancient and futile discussions that have centered around these obsolete concepts.[1]

Against some of the more glaring possible misinterpretations, Eddington has himself made explicit though inconspicuous reservation. The extensive references to "*a priori* knowledge" and "selective subjectivism" in physical theory will doubtless seem important to the superficial reader, not to mention those who seek "spiritual" solace in the indeterminancy principle and other recent developments in physics. Yet there is not in actual fact the slightest ground for such cheer in the sense of support for a theory of knowledge transcending sensory experience. Let those who would hopefully find defense for the latter position in the present work reflect upon the following passage:

> To be quite explicit—epistemological or *a priori* knowledge is prior to the carrying out of the observations, but not prior to the development of a plan of observation. As physical knowledge, it is necessarily an assertion of the results of observations imagined to be carried out. *To the question whether it can be regarded as independent of observational experience altogether, we must, I think, answer no. A person without observational experience at all, and without that indirect knowledge of observational experience which he might gain by communication with his fellows, could not possibly attach meaning to the terms in which epistemological knowledge, like other physical knowledge, is expressed;* and it would be impossible to put it into any other form which would have a meaning for him. *We must grant then that the deduction of a law of nature from epistemological considerations implies antecedent observational experience* [pp. 24–25; italics mine].

[1] See P. A. Schilpp (ed.), *The Philosophy of John Dewey* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1939), pp. 524 and 543; also "Theory of Valuation," *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).

The author's lyrical, literary, and liturgical lapses are confined for the most part to closing paragraphs of chapters, such as a lecturer is expected to make to bring a mundane subject to a graceful close (see pp. 26, 27, 69, 222–23). Chapter xii ("The Beginnings of Knowledge") can also be omitted as antiquated psychology which G. H. Mead and others have rendered superfluous.

The rest of the book is a profound and brilliant analysis of the epistemological foundations of modern physical science. These foundations are equally fundamental and valid for the social sciences. We can do no better than quote:

> By defining the physical universe and the physical objects which constitute it as the theme of a specified body of knowledge, and not as things possessing a property of existence elusive of definition, we free the foundations of physics from suspicion of metaphysical contamination. This type of definition is characteristic of the epistemological approach, which takes knowledge as the starting point rather than an existent entity of which we have somehow to obtain knowledge. . . . [p. 3]. *Every item of physical knowledge must therefore be an assertion of what has been or would be the result of carrying out a specified observational procedure. . . .* [p. 10].

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

Bennington College

The Plans of Men. By LEONARD W. DOOB. New Haven: Institute of Human Relations, Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. xiii+411. $3.00.

If "planners" derive little practical benefit from this book, the reason must lie partly in its theoretical inadequacy. Planning is so broadly defined as to include all attempts to achieve an end, so that the essential problem comes to embrace the entire field of purposive human action. The author, however, overlooks some crucial issues and important contributions to this field. Shifting between drives and ends, and setting forth the familiar frustration-aggression analysis, he seemingly derives human ends from the presumably organic needs of the individual in the external environment. But since an obviously large portion of ends are not so derived, he introduces an ethical principle of his own—namely, that ends should be so derived. Ends and values, he believes, can be "found" by science or at least the "true" ones ("really desirable values" which lead to gratification), while the others can be labeled as illusions ("a delusional scheme of values" which leads to frustration). His analytic position, vulnerable in the light of recent work, is thus positivistic, or utilitarian, and serves essentially to rationalize a hedonistic ethic. De-

parting from this ethical position, he devotes more space to settling what ought to be planned for than to analyzing the techniques by which ends are actually attained.

In addition to its dubious theoretical structure, the book is verbose, repetitive, and prone to elaborate the obvious. One may raise a serious question as to why the Institute sponsors this sort of work and the Yale University Press sees fit to publish it. Perhaps it will alleviate the regretted sharpness of these comments to say that the reviewer believes all concerned to be capable of better things.

KINGSLEY DAVIS

Pennsylvania State College

Major Social Institutions. By CONSTANTINE PANUNZIO. New York: Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xxii+609. $3.50.

To the sociologist seeking a text which meets the requirements of a basic course, this book has much to offer. Focusing attention on contemporary American civilization and dealing lightly with problems of origin, it presents a comprehensive study of eight major institutions: marriage, family, education, recreation, religion, government, the economic system, and science (a "nascent institution"). By interpreting nature, race, and culture as the "originating and conditioning factors" and social dynamics as the "modes of operation" of the social institutional order, Professor Panunzio manages to include most of the material usually found in introductory texts.

As a treatise on social institutions, the book leaves much to be desired. Closely following the Sumner-Keller tradition, the analysis of the concept of institutions does not extend very far beyond the definition: "Social institutions [are] those systems of concepts, usages, associations, and instruments which, arising from the experiences of mankind, order and regulate the activities of human beings which are necessary to the satisfaction of basic needs" (p. 27). Searching for a more cogent definition we find that "an institution is a complex in and through which human relationships function toward given ends . . . ." (p. 25). Here, in the opinion of the reviewer, lies one of the main problems of sociology. Are the ends with which institutions are concerned merely "given" or are they defined by the institution? Does not the institution of the family enhance certain ends and rule out others? The chapter on the family implies that ends are limited by the institution. Should the ends be defined by the institution, it follows that they are structured in the institution. Logically this leads to the difficult problem of integration, to the relationship be-

tween institutions and the relationship between the ends they embody. Unfortunately, the whole matter of ends is discussed only in a brief chapter entitled "Teleology or the Pursuit of Goals." All too summarily this chapter deals with Messianism, Progress, Nationalism, and Marxism as the main teleological goals. It is to be doubted that contemporary ends can be fitted into this narrow mold. Given more insight into the structure of ends embodied in institutions, it may be possible to see the order assumed to exist in social institutions.

NEAL B. DENOOD

Smith College

Die Peripheren: Ein Kapitel Soziologie ("Marginal People"). By ERNST GRÜNFELD. Amsterdam: N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers, Mij., 1939. Pp. 102.

"Around the kernel of any social group lies a broad belt of persons who belong neither to one side nor to the other. . . . . Peripheral people are all those who are peripheral with reference to a social structure, so that their adherence to this structure as well as to others is weakened or dissolved" (pp. 1 and 2). In these terms the author introduces his incisive and systematic essay on what American sociologists call the "marginal man."

He gives his concept, *Die Peripheren*, a broader reference than is conventionally given the marginal man, which usually refers only to cultural or racial hybrids. Grünfeld considers the cultural hybrid as but one of many kinds of people half in, half out of some social stratum, some ethnic group, or whatever, whether by choice or force of circumstance. He has made a catalogue of typical peripheral people, including not only people outwardly strange, but those—such as cripples, the declassés, failures, fanatics, and Bohemians—who might, but for individual peculiarities, have been normal and accepted members of some group. Inward disposition, as well as outward and inevitable circumstance, can make a person marginal.

A critic might say that the author introduces no new subject matter, and that he apparently lacked knowledge of American literature on the marginal man. This is of small consequence. For he has done a needful thing in broadening and deepening the reference of the concept of the marginal man. Written in England by an exiled German economist, and published posthumously in Holland, the work is evidently the fruit of long reflection on the part of an intelligent peripheral man.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

The Power of the Charlatan. By GRETE DE FRANCESCO. Translated from the German by MIRIAM BEARD. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939. Pp. viii+288. $3.75.

Drawing upon contemporary documents, the author treats of the alchemists (especially of one Bragadini who was hired by hardheaded Venetian senators to save the city from a financial crisis); the evolution of the medicine show; the courtier charlatans of the eighteenth century, who mixed science and magic in high circles; and the charlatans who, in the period of the enlightenment, used the marvels of technology as their bait. The most is made of engravings and etchings which contemporary cynics made of charlatans and their audiences of the market place.

The book abounds in hypotheses concerning the susceptibility of people to false rather than to true keepers of the mysteries of healing and science. Some of them are doubtless sound hypotheses, but none is proved. The general picture given of the charlatan is interesting and convincing. Always actors, generally champions of the people (in speech at least), sometimes men of science equal to the orthodox physicians of the day (whom they vilify), and invariably wanderers, the charlatans remind one of the splendiferous father of George Meredith's Harry Richmond.

The book should be read by all those who are interested in the relations between the keepers of the mysteries—scientific or otherwise—and the masses whom they serve "and/or" exploit.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Old-Age Security. By MARGARET GRANT. Washington: Social Science Research Council, 1939. Pp. xiii+261. $2.50.

The Administration of Old Age Assistance. By ROBERT T. LANSDALE, ELIZABETH LONG, AGNES LEISY, and BYRON T. HIPPLE. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1939. Pp. xiv+345.

Old-Age Security "was undertaken as a result of the opinion of the Committee on Social Security [of the Social Science Research Council] that an analysis of the methods or devices that have been adopted by selected foreign countries in dealing with the financial problems of contributory old-age insurance and in providing various types of noncontributory old-age assistance or pensions or relief would throw much light upon parallel problems in the United States." The book presents a detailed history of old age security systems in seven countries where such

systems have been established for a considerable period. The problems are discussed not only from the viewpoint of financing but also from that of administration. Two main forms of old age assistance are described, the noncontributory pension and contributory old age insurance. An interesting chapter on the relation between old age needs and population changes is included.

The Administration of Old Age Assistance owes its initiation to the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council. For anyone who wishes to know how all or any part of the federal old age assistance program works, this is the book to read. Every relevant matter is dealt with from the functions of the Social Security Board to the interview between the social worker and the individual applicant for a pension, the experience of twelve widely scattered states being drawn upon as the basis for the study.

CARL M. ROSENQUIST

University of Texas

New Facts on Mental Disorders. By NEIL A. DAYTON. Baltimore: Charles C. Thomas, 1940. Pp. xxxiv+486. $4.50.

The "new facts" come from an examination of 89,190 admissions to Massachusetts mental hospitals during the years 1917–33. Instead of seeking material on a set of problems from every possible source, the author mainly contended himself with exploiting the Massachusetts data. The admissions are analyzed to show the relationship to mental disorders of age, nativity, alcohol, marital status, and other such conventional indices. The findings are for the most part in line with similar studies. No general picture emerges, but some of the analysis bears on such questions as: How did war, prohibition, and depression affect the incidence of mental disorder? To what extent are there trends in diagnosis? Are mental disorders increasing? and the like. Answers to such general questions cannot be satisfactorily found in a sample as limited as is the Massachusetts sample. There is reference to other studies, but documentation is all but lacking, and there is no bibliography. Those who seek to know if mental disorders are increasing would profit more by reading the publications of Ellen Winston than by consulting this work.

A comment is in order on the assertion made in other discussions as well as this study—that since the trends of hospitalization during the war and the depressions showed little response to the catastrophes, "the great mass of the population possesses a mental balance that is truly re-

markable." The author asks what the buffer is between disasters and the development of mental disorder. The question implies the "stress-and-strain" idea of the connection between environment and insanity, which appears in standard psychiatric textbooks. In general, however, the published studies have indicated no very large connection between obvious hardships of life and insanity incidence. Interpretations vary from Dr. Dayton's admiration of the mental balance in the population to a rejection of experience as a significant factor. But there is available now abundant evidence that for several of the most common forms of mental disorder the conspicuous environmental factor is not unusual stress and strain but the opposite—overprotection and isolation—which produces personalities so fragile that the slight strains of normal times are as disorganizing as any others.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

Bryn Mawr College

Financing Economic Security in the United States. By WILLIAM WITHERS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. x+210. $2.75.

The book discusses the development of revenue expenditures for welfare purposes, considers the question of the revenue capacity of the nation and of the states and local governments today for relief and social security, and gives suggestions concerning the future of taxation for public welfare purposes. A careful selection of statistical material and a smart marshaling of facts and figures, intelligibly presented and simply written, adds much to the value of the work. The discussion of the taxable capacity of states is suggestive and represents one of the best collections of sources on this technical question.

The author expresses a preference for progressive taxation as a more flexible means for carrying on an even greater load of public welfare expenditures if that should prove necessary. His opinion, however, that substantially greater expenditures for welfare purposes could readily be carried on with adjustment of present modes and rates of taxation, is a much more controversial question among revenue experts than his analysis indicates.

Professor Withers sees clearly the economic implication of political issues with reference to the current demand for a return of relief administration (including "works progress" expenditures) entirely to the states. He points out that the problem is not merely an administrative or politi-

cal one but an economic and a regional one since the tax systems of the states are more regressive than the federal tax system, and consequently the reallocation of this function to the states would result in the redistributing of the tax burden to groups that are already less progressively taxed than under the federal system.

ALBERT LEPAWSKY

Chicago

Essays in Polynesian Ethnology. By R. W. WILLIAMSON. Edited by RALPH PIDDINGTON. Cambridge, Eng.: University Press, 1939. Pp. xlii+373. $7.00.

This volume is the final posthumous publication of material gathered by Williamson, whose portion of the book is mainly a digest of early accounts of warfare and *kava* drinking in Central Polynesia, of the Arioi society of the Society Islands, and of the customs centering about sex, courtship, and infanticide in those islands and elsewhere in Polynesia. The method of presentation is similar to that followed by Williamson in his earlier works. The chapter on warfare, for example, is divided into a number of topics, under each of which the practices of various societies in Central Polynesia are discussed. Material from each society is thus scattered throughout the chapter; it is a sort of culture-trait list in essay form. This technique was good for Williamson's purpose: to evaluate the reconstructions of Polynesian history offered by various ethnologists on the basis of comparing abstracted "culture traits." But for the "functional" anthropologist, interested in the context and interrelations of social behavior rather than in discrete particles of culture, Williamson's organization of his factual material decreases its usefulness.

In my opinion, the editor's critique of the historical methods of ethnologists is the most important part of the book. He points out that the objections of social anthropologists ("functionalists") to the so-called histories of preliterate peoples generally offered by ethnologists are objections, not to historical study per se, but to the unverifiable and unreliable results attained by standard ethnological procedure.

Piddington confines his criticisms to Polynesian history. But his strictures apply equally to reconstructions of the histories of preliterate peoples elsewhere in the world.

JOE WECKLER

Chicago

Parenthood in a Democracy. By MARGARET LIGHTY and LEROY E. BOWMAN. Published for the Robert E. Simon Memorial Foundation. New York: Parents' Institute, 1939. Pp. x+236. $1.50.

When urban life became so complex that primary contacts between parents and teachers failed, local parents' associations developed which concerned themselves with the problems of an individual school. But further development of metropolitan conditions made local associations, still on the neighborhood level, ineffective. As a result a typically urban institution developed—a union of local parents' associations in which the local associations were represented by delegates. Here was an interest group, on a secondary level, which soon employed a professional staff to carry out its purposes. It dealt with problems and policies for the city as a whole rather than with the problems of an individual school.

Part I gives a factual statement of the development of the United Parents Associations. Part II analyzes the purposes and the sociological process of growth.

The book should be of interest to anyone studying the shift from primary to secondary contacts in urban life or the shift of functions from the family to extra-family institutions.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

Rockford, Illinois

Sexual Pathology: A Study of Derangements of the Sexual Instinct. By MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD. Authorized translation by JEROME GIBBS. Rev. ed. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1940. Pp. 368. $2.95.

Undoubtedly Dr. Hirschfeld, now deceased, should be placed among the great sexologists, in company with Kraaft-Ebing, Forel, and Ellis. In the present translated, revised, and condensed work, three phases of the *psychopathia sexualis* are considered: sexual fetishism, hypereroticism, and impotency.

The work is to be highly commended for its paucity of unwarranted and antiquated contentions. The point of view is acceptably modern. Much situational conditioning is taken into account, although the constitutional, physiological, and pathological conditions appear to be given the major place of explanation.

The study of pathology of sex behavior is based on a wide assortment of reported and reputed observations which have come to the attention of physicians specializing in this field. There is no way to tell, except by word from the specialists, how usual or unusual is a certain form of sex behavior, because there is no consistent, uniform reporting of such cases.

The ecology of sex pathology is consequently not obtainable. Neither are the sex, age, nativity, nationality, race, class, and marital liabilities determinable. And the etiology of sex pathology is built up out of rather superficial examination of private cases.

In the areas of hypereroticism and impotency, the pathological evidently can only be judged by the distance away from the expected or usual. However, in the area of sex fetishism the abnormal is determined by two criteria mentioned by Hirschfeld: exclusive concentration of attention on the fetish and sex relief through the agency of the fetish rather than through intercourse.

WALTER C. RECKLESS

Vanderbilt University

The Psychology of Exceptional Children. By KARL C. GARRISON. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1940. Pp. xiii+351. $3.25.

The Personality Structure of Stuttering. By JAMES F. BENDER. New York: Pitman Publishing Corp., 1939. Pp. xvi+189. $2.00.

The category of exceptional children includes not only the gifted but also the retarded and the physically handicapped. Garrison's work is a textbook in individual differences for students of education, dealing with the problems of these children. Since the literature on these topics cannot be fully cited in the space used, the author selected on the basis of his judgment, and doubtless with reference to the function of the book in education courses. For anything more than an introduction to the subject one must go beyond this work.

Bender brings together a quantity of material on stutterers, but can hardly claim to have a successful statement of the personality structure of stuttering. The material shows that stutterers differ in many respects from the control populations—in physique, biochemistry, vasomotor conditions, mentality, temperament, and personality, and that these form something of a general pattern. The composite stutterer would be lean, introverted, biochemically unbalanced in various respects, atypical in reflexes, breathing, and voluntary movements, is left-handed or ambidextrous, somewhat nervous, relatively unsociable, and occasionally feels just miserable. Why these traits cluster is not made clear. What causes stuttering is not answered because too many answers are given. The author summarizes the claims made by the representatives of the established schools: heredity is given credit by many authorities; endocrine disturbance is blamed by several; more than one suggest that fixation of

the libido at the stage of oral eroticism is responsible; compensation for inferiority is mentioned; and so is "conditioning," and a number of less familiar solutions. It would be nice to know what causes stuttering.

McGill University ROBERT E. L. FARIS

The Catholic Crisis. By GEORGE SELDES. New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1939. Pp. 357. $3.00.

The style of Seldes, in this and other books, might be called polemic reporting. The subject matter in this case is the relation of the Catholic church, mainly in America, to various reactionary and "fascistic" movements. Part I asks whether there is a liaison of the church with Fascists and anti-Semites in general, and whether Father Coughlin speaks for the church or not. Part II exposes Catholic pressure on the press and the movies. Part III takes in the world.

Some of the documentation is undoubtedly sound, but much of it is of a character that could scarcely be verified. In the small section devoted to Quebec utter confusion reigns, fact and rumor appear side by side, and bitter political enemies are made to look like bosom friends. If this be equally true of the other sections, the book is invalid as a source of information on the very interesting question as to how various religious bodies, including the Catholic, will turn with reference to present political and economic issues.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

American Husbandry. Edited by HARRY J. CARMAN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939, Pp. lx+582. $5.00.

This is a republication of the most important compilation and survey of source materials on Colonial American agricultural practices now in existence. It was originally published anonymously in 1775, as a two-volume work, by a bookseller in London. Since it came out on the eve of the Revolution, little or no attention was paid to it at the time; but as the years have passed its importance as a rich source of materials for the agricultural historian, the rural economist, and sociologist has been established.

Whoever compiled the material was certainly familiar with Colonial agricultural practices, farm organization, social customs, and the role of the colonies in world-organization. The author unwittingly reveals how many of our traditional agricultural practices are a blend of Swedish, English, Dutch, and German folkways of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The reviewer can do no more than recommend it to students of rural life, the community, institutions, and ecology.

A. B. HOLLINGSHEAD

Indiana University

The Sixteenth-Century Italian Duel: A Study in Renaissance Social History. By FREDERICK R. BRYSON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. Pp. xxviii+248. $3.00.

Morals, honor, and law are, according to Simmel,[1] the three important forms of maintaining standards of conduct within social groups. Honor, like *Sittlichkeit,* rests upon inward compulsions; but like law, its sanctions are outward and formal. Bryson's book is devoted to the duel, which, in the period and place of which he writes, was the outward means of keeping one's honor or of regaining it.

The points emphasized are precisely those of interest to the student of social control: the people (gentlemen) who were capable of insulting, challenging, and defending; the occasions for the duel, as distinguished from lawsuits and the application of informal sanctions; the social changes—in social stratification, etc.—which brought about the decline of the duel.

University of Chicago EVERETT C. HUGHES

Adventuring in Adoption. By LEE M. BROOKS and EVELYN C. BROOKS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939. Pp. xii+225. $2.00.

This book might well have the subtitle, "Handbook on Adoption." Part I deals with the prospective parents' interests in finding an adoptable child, the type of people who make desirable parents, and the process of adoption. The findings of surveys and investigations are mixed with common-sense advice and comments. This section is clearly for prospective adoptive parents.

Part II deals with folkways of adoption, laws, and the results of studies of adopted children. The adoption laws of all states are completed surveyed. An annotated bibliography is appended. This section is for the social worker.

If any criticism is to be made, it is that the book gives slightly too rosy a view of adoption and stresses too lightly the difficulties involve in incorporating the child into the family life.

Rockford, Illinois RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle. By SHOTARO FRANK MIYAMOTO. ("University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences," Vol. II, No. 2.) Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington, 1939. Pp. 57–130.

This little monograph is the result of an intensive and highly intimate study of the internal organization of the Japanese community in Seattle. Attention is focused upon the subtle means by which the Japanese have retained their cultural integrity. The report, clearly written and convincing, is especially recommended to those sociologists who still believe that culture is contagious and that a world-wide culture is in the making as a consequence of modern means of communication and transportation.

Stanford University RICHARD T. LAPIERE

[1] *Soziologie* (3d ed.), pp. 403 ff.

The Agrarian Revival. By RUSSELL LORD. New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1939. Pp. vii+236. $1.50.

This book relates the history of adult education in the open country of the United States. The author writes from the vantage point of an editorial employee of a state agricultural college in the decade of the twenties, followed by years of work as a roving agricultural reporter. He describes the county agent in terms of the journalist who knows the men, movements, and science of which he writes. He rode the back roads with the county workers before he sat down with the administrators to see what it is all about. Because agriculture had a head start in adult education the author thinks that university administrators can learn from this field of adult learning much that will be useful in the fields of labor, commerce, and even university education.

MERTON OYLER

University of Kentucky

Studies in Infant Behavior. V. By RUTH KLEIN LEDERER and JANET REDFIELD. ("University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare," Vol. XVI, No. 2.) Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1939. Pp. 157.

These two studies are carefully made, and the conclusions are properly very modestly stated, as the advance over previous knowledge is slight. The first study includes a test for handedness which appears to be adequate and material supporting the hypothesis that social influence may account for some handedness. The second supports previous evidence that newborn infants are sensitive to light, and to degrees of light, and that the common effect of light is to inhibit activity.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

McGill University

Brooklyn Village, 1816–1834. By RALPH FOSTER WELD. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. Pp. xx+362. $3.50.

Emphasis is put upon the institutions of the growing village of Brooklyn in the period mentioned. The village charter and political organization; religious institutions, and their relation to reform and sectarian movements; the press, and the role of the editors in local life; the schools, libraries and the lyceum—these are the institutions treated. The work is done with due, but informal, attention to the principle that the function of an institution is its part in maintaining the society of which it is a part.

Incomes from Independent Professional Practice, 1929–1936. By SIMON KUZNETS and MILTON FRIEDMAN. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research Bulletin 72–73, February 5, 1939. Pp. 32. $0.50.

The samples studied are from the following professions: physicians, dentists, lawyers, certified public accountants, and consulting engineers. The net incomes of practitioners of five professions are compared. The trend through the

years concerned is compared with other indices of economic conditions. The inequalities within the given professions are analyzed. Following all this, the authors make an extensive and painstaking attempt to account for the fact that physicians make more money than do dentists. Their conclusion is that this difference continues to exist mainly because of restriction of entry to the profession of medicine.

Locating the Rural Community. By DWIGHT SANDERSON. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell Agricultural Extension Bulletin 413, June, 1939. Pp. 18.

This revision of the 1920 edition retains its definitions of the American rural community and incorporates the findings of recent rural community mapping projects of agencies within the state. "The reorganization of the school districts will create a new pattern for rural society, not only for today but for generations to come. . . . ." Written for rural New York, the bulletin gives little hint of the regional differences in American rural communities, discussed elsewhere by the author.

An Introduction to Philippine Social Science. By MAXIMO M. KALAW. Rev. ed. Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1939. Pp. x+790.

This is a third edition of the work of the same title, originally published in 1933, "bringing facts and figures up-to-date." It is written as a text for general social-science courses in Filipino educational institutions and is primarily devoted to factual and historical details concerning familial, economic, nationalistic, and governmental institutions in the Phillipine Islands. Sociologists may be interested in its treatment, from a Filipino point of view, of the history of Filipino nationalism.

ABSTRACTS OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

The persons who have aided in the preparation of the material for this issue are: Hurbert Bonner, Frederick Elkin, Erich Rosenthal, Joan Schutz, and Samuel M. Strong. The numerals and letters appearing after each abstract correspond to the items in the following scheme of classification:

I. THEORETICAL SOCIOLOGY
- *a*) Sociological Theory
- *b*) History of Sociology
- *c*) Methods of Research
- *d*) The Teaching of Sociology

II. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY
- *a*) Human Nature and Personality
- *b*) Collective Behavior

III. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
- *a*) The Family
- *b*) Ethnic and Racial Groups
- *c*) Social Stratification
- *d*) The Church and Religion
- *e*) The State and Political Process
- *f*) The School and Education
- *g*) Economic Institutions
- *h*) Voluntary Associations

IV. POPULATION AND HUMAN ECOLOGY
- *a*) Demography
- *b*) Ecology
- *c*) The Rural and the Urban Community

V. DISORGANIZATION
- *a*) Personal Disorganization
- *b*) Social Disorganization

354. **Die Juden und Europa [The Jews and Europe].**—Contemporary anti-Semitism can be understood fully only in the light of a clear knowledge of National Socialism. This anti-Semitism is the apostle of the new totalitarian order and had its origin in the destruction of German liberalism. The World War of 1914–18 left in its wake widespread unemployment with which Europe was never able to cope adequately. Out of the failure to provide work for the large masses there arose a fascist bureaucracy of military, political, and industrial dictators who succeeded in solving the problem of unemployment by the use of absolute and unscrupulous authoritarianism. Since the economic position of the Jew rested largely upon his activities in commerce and finance, he found himself in a helpless position when these functions were taken over by the totalitarian state and economic freedom was destroyed. Having been vitally associated with the economic life of the nation, he has been held responsible for all the misfortunes of the state. Anti-Semitism thus serves today as a powerful weapon of propaganda in favor of National Socialism not only in Germany but in other countries as well. It is naïve to suppose that anti-Semitism in Germany will disappear through the operation of inner forces alone, for the recurring crises of economic liberalism, during which important changes could take place, have been largely eliminated by the suppression of economic freedom. Anti-Semitism can be eliminated only through tireless struggle against the authoritarian state.—**Max Horkheimer,** *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung,* VIII (1939), 115–36. (III*b*, *e*.) H. B.

355. **The Society of Prehistoric China.**—During the last decades the scientific world has been stirred by a series of discoveries in the field of Chinese archeology which have considerable sociological significance. Western and Chinese scholars have excavated the remains of *Sinanthropus* or Peking man and of a highly stratified Stone Age. The existence of this primitive man reveals the depth of human history in China and a coherence

in this history from its earliest beginnings. From the standpoint of Chinese history *Sinanthropus* belongs to a very early Paleolithic period which chronologically is older than the Neanderthal man. This places him far back in the dawn of history, between 200,000 and 500,000 years before our time. He is more closely related to the Mongolian race than to the European Neanderthal man, on one side, and to the whites and Negroes, on the other. It seems that his civilization was peasant and democratic and probably characterized by matriarchal elements. With stored crops, with cattle and metal, a new social differentiation occurred. Richer and more powerful groups developed alongside poorer and weaker ones. War intensified the new differentiation and facilitated the establishment of a closed upper group. Border wars between China's late Neolithic and early Aeneolithic rural communities, on one hand, and nomadic cattle breeders, on the other, undoubtedly itensified the growing social differentiation of the sedentary planting communities. From the standpoint of the development of its socioeconomic forces, the character of the basic factors of production and their technical and social interplay assume decisive significance.—**K. A. Wittfogel,** *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung,* VIII (1939), 138–86. (III*a, b, c.*) H. B.

356. **Zur Virginität der Gott-Mutter [The Virginity of the God-Mother].**—The psychological nature of virginity is obscured by the special meaning and value attached to physiological virginity in the conflict between matriarchy and patriarchy. The original meaning was derived from the moon-goddess who symbolized woman as man's opposite, but who was herself not a virgin. Prior to man's knowledge of his own reproductive function the mother of the young god was a virgin and his father a god. With the conflict between male and female arising from the discovery of man's part in reproduction a psychic separation from the mother took place and became the foundation of all religions of myths of rebirth. The young god becomes God through rebirth. The young god is incomplete but attains completion through woman who is mother, wife, and daughter. God is a product of mother and son as a unity: the mother as a virgin and the son as a mystical spirit. The virgin principle becomes in the Christian Trinity the Holy Spirit—the dove, male symbol of spiritual procreation, the attribute of goddesses. —**F. Du Bois-Reymond,** *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie,* XI (1939), 346–59. (III*d.*) H. B.

357. **Die Organisation der amtlichen Statistik in den Hauptkulturstaaten [The Organization of Official Statistics in the Principal Civilized Countries].**—The whole history of official statistics is permeated by the problem whether one should collect the data in one central office or allow the various departments to collect and publish their data in their special fields of governmental activity. Although the departmentalization of the statistical work has many disadvantages (lack of precision in definitions, overlapping with other departments, duplication of work, and increased cost), there has nevertheless taken place a considerable decentralization in recent decades in all countries. In many countries labor, business, and agricultural statistics have been singled out and handled by the respective state departments. Only population, divorce, suicide, and election statistics have been handled by the central bureaus of the countries. International statistics have not achieved centralization. International agricultural statistics are handled by the Institute in Rome; trade and business statistics are collected in Brussels; and medical statistics by the Office International de l'Hygiene in Paris. The unhealthy departmentalization should not be confounded with the very valuable geographical decentralization of the central bureau, which makes for a more concrete and significant collection and tabulation of data through familiarity with local peculiarities.—**F. Zahn,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv,* XXIII (1933), 241–50. (I*c.*) E. R.

358. **Die Entwicklung der deutschen Hochschulstatistik in den letzten Jahren [Recent Developments of Statistics in the Field of Higher Learning in Germany].**—The German statistics dealing with the field of higher learning go back only to 1909. From that year on, a few tables on the number of students and instructors were published. Since 1925 very detailed questionnaires have become the basis of a more intensive quantitative analysis of the student body. Since 1928, and especially since 1932, this procedure has been supplemented by information on the student's age, religion, previous

training and employment, employment during university attendance, length of university attendance, and father's occupation and position. The academic teaching body is classified by rank and number of courses taught for each department. Another tabulation shows the enrolment in required and nonrequired courses. The statistics of examinations, which present the number of students who failed and passed examinations, the grades received, sex, and high-school training, are especially important for predictions on the chances of placement on the professional labor market. A collection of data on size and age distribution of professional groups increases the exactness of the estimates.—**Johannes Mueller,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv,* XXIII (1933), 251–56. (III*f*.) E. R.

359. **Der innerstaatliche Bevölkerungsaustausch [The Internal Balance of the Population].**—International migration and internal migration are caused by unequal distribution of production factors. The freedom to leave one residence and to settle in another place is the legal precondition for internal migration. This right was granted to the European populations in the beginning of the nineteenth century. One form of internal balance of the population is the creation of industries in the agricultural districts themselves, thus enabling the peasants or farmers to gain additional income through "secondary" industrial occupation. The rural-urban migration, which is better described as a movement from agriculture toward industry, is mainly caused by the impossibility of increasing the amount of arable land. Where the balance of population is achieved by migration we distinguish between (1) temporary migrations which are seasonal migrations and daily or weekly commutations between the place of residence and the place of work and (2) permanent migrations which are permanent change of residence. Temporary migrations arise out of the lack of occupational opportunities in the place of residence and from strong motive for living away from the place of work. Permanent migrations are mainly due to the desire to improve one's lot, to make one's fortune.—**Paul Mombert,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv,* XXIII (1933), 373–97. (IV*a*.) E. R.

360. **Soziale Wanderungen [Vertical Mobility].**—The regular census which informs us about the occupational and social structure of the German population gives us insight into the growth or decline of a social group but does not throw light on the vertical mobility of a single person or family. Every member of our society is born into a social stratum. Within one generation social migration can take place either through the acquiring of a (professional) skill or through marriage (especially for women). Vertical mobility which is based on the acquiring of income or wealth is usually slower and is achieved mainly in the later part of one's life-career. The German peasants are the main group which participated in the vertical mobility: not only was labor recruited from it, but lower- and middle-income groups in business, civil service, and white-collar occupations are, to a high degree, of peasant origin. With the beginning of industrialization the trades and craft groups likewise migrated into labor and white-collar occupations. While an earlier investigation found that only one-sixth of the professional people came from middle-income groups, now one-half of the intelligentsia has a middle-class background. The fact that the number of professionals who rise from the proletariat or the peasantry directly is negligible indicates clearly that it takes a few generations to climb to the highest strata of society. At the same time it becomes evident that one is no longer justified in talking of a castelike separation between various strata of the German people. Thus the struggle between different classes loses its meaning.—**J. Nothaas,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv,* XXIII (1933), 472–77. (III*c*.) E. R.

361. **Le Rôle du raisonnement par analogie dans les sciences sociales [The Role of Argument by Analogy in the Social Sciences].**—There is a fundamental difference between physical sciences and sociology. Sociology deals with like or analogous facts, nonrecurrent in the same manner and always presenting an historical aspect. Considering the complexity of social facts it appears difficult to formulate precise rules for the use of analogies. An analogical judgment consists of (1) an analysis of the respective traits studied, (2) the isolation of these traits, and (3) the formulation of an hypothesis of analogy; that is, a supposition that certain facts, though different, are of a similar nature or fulfil the same function. After these preliminary operations come the following

steps: (1) verification of the hypothesis and (2) application of inductive methods similar to those formulated by J. S. Mill. It is then possible to enumerate and establish the indices of presence, absence, difference, and concomitant variations. If after these operations it is feasible to formulate a law or generalization, the law or generalization is really nothing more than an enlargement of a judgment through analogy. Generally analogies in sociology are partial, i.e., those in which the analogy has a bearing on only a few of the constituent elements. A second form of analogy has no bearing on the constituent elements but on the interrelationships of these elements, or on the laws which govern a phenomenon. In this instance the analogy serves to suggest workable hypotheses. Sociology makes use of argument by analogy in two main directions: (1) comparing social facts with facts studied by other sciences (e.g., comparing social equilibrium with physical equilibrium) and (2) comparing analogous facts in different societies fulfilling an analogous function. This constitutes the comparative method which plays the most important role in sociological investigations. The hypothesis of homology plays a significant role in sociology, though frequently latent or self-evident in most generalizations. Hypotheses of the homology of certain fundamental elements in diverse societies are somewhat more legitimate than hypotheses based on analogies between problems of sociology and those of other sciences. The fact to be borne in mind is that through these hypotheses one should compare only facts of the same order, i.e., limited to the social field.—**Gaston Bouthoul,** *Revue internationale de sociologie,* XLVII (1939), 441–52. (*Va, b.*) S. M. S.

362. **Les Sociologies et la sociologie (des querrelles des écoles à l'unité de la science) [Sociologies and Sociology (From the Conflict of Schools to a Unity of Science)].**—Considering the bad straits in which contemporary sociology finds itself, the following points stand out: (1) the organismic school does not seem to have survived; (2) the psychologistic school, and more specifically the school of Tarde, has practically no followers even among the authors who see in the individual a fundamental reality; (3) the school of Durkheim, principally in France, has a significant following of scholars and researchers; (4) the independent sociologists continue with their tasks having as a common interest only opposition to Durkheimian imperialism; and (5) Catholic sociology whose aim toward scientific objectivity is subordinated to religious principles. Sorokin mentions no less than twenty-eight types of sociologies. It would be possible to arrive at a unity in diversity in sociology if the authors would free themselves of exclusiveness and let their facts be demonstrable. Some progress has been made in this direction: Bouglé and Raffault in their *Elements de sociologie* borrowed from numerous authors, sometimes of distinctly opposing points of view. A division of labor among the specialists of the social sciences may be conceived of as an important element in the resolution of the conflict between the various schools. The logical development should be toward a synthesis broader than sociology, a "science of man in his totality," a notion advanced by Marcel Mauss, who indicated that the science to be formed should be based on biology, anthropology, ethnology, psychology, and the particular sociologies (economics, politics, jurisprudence, linguistics, aesthetics, etc.). The trend is toward this type of general science.—**Achille Ouy,** *Revue internationale de sociologie,* XLVII (1939), 463–92. (*Ia, b.*) S. M. S.

363. **La Circoncision [Circumcision]** (*Continued*).—Psychoanalysis formulates an interpretation of circumcision that has a universal character. Allendy indicates that circumcision is linked to the problem of castration on the unconscious level. In analyzing neurotics it is often found that they suffer anxiety or its equivalent, the desire of castration. Certain collective neuroses found among the sterilized of Bayonne or among the Skoptzi in Rumania are but the consequences of this haunting fear. Schiff indicates that in the Far East there exists an epidemic of neuroses of a hypochrondriacal form, which resolves itself into an anxiety of castration. The psychoanalysts point out that this anxiety is the result of conflicts between the sexual instincts and the social or familial exigencies (most often the emotional rivalry with the father or brother). These conflicts give rise to feelings of inferiority, hostility, and guilt, leading to a fear of punishment—castration. Griaule points out that among the people practicing circumcision the masculine principle is predominant: the gods, the totems, the masks, and the effigy of an immense crocodile (phallic symbol) all indicate male ascendancy. Among those

people circumcision figures as a form of castration. The opinions of many authors of different epochs corroborate the observations of the psychoanalysts in their interpretation of circumcision. All consider it a form of sacrifice symbolizing a moderate castration. This mutilation is both an act of submission on the part of the individual to a superior principle and a condition of his admission by a social group. It signifies thus a partial renunciation of one's individuality and personal passions. Griaule points out that among the Somonos the predominant role of women in the ceremony of circumcision indicates an Oedipus complex. The Oedipus guilt, however, is not only masculine; the females share it, for among many people the girls are submitted to rites of puberty equally coercive and as painful as circumcision. Circumcision is to be regarded as a prophylactic against neuroses and as a social training. Abbé Jury points out that in admitting that circumcision constitutes a liquidation of the Oedipus complex, of the anxiety of castration and an adaptation to social life, it should also be borne in mind that these consequences cannot be the same for a young infant or an adolescent. He believes that at the age of five—the age of expansion of the Oedipus complex, the first guilt feelings, the first anxieties of castration—circumcision should assume for the troubled subconscious the symbol of a definitive castration. Among adolescents, however, this operation would symbolize the castrator, causing states of anxiety. Circumcision, then, will permit him to expiate and liquidate his diffuse guilt feelings. After that process the adolescent will enter into the society of other men with the full right of enjoying his virility. Taylor points out that circumcision should be viewed as a symbolic sacrifice, and Grutzhaendler states that this operation, necessitated by the psyche, has a religious impress and seems to correspond to the unconscious scruples. The psychoanalytic interpretation of circumcision, viewing it as a moderate castration interrelated with the great unconscious conflicts, individual and collective, appears to be an explanation that coincides with the aspects described by anthropological and ethnological studies.—*L'Hygiène mentale*, XXXIII (1938), 88–97 (II*a*.) S. M. S.

364. **Prophilaxie de la delinquance juvenile et depistage scolaire [The Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency and Truancy].**—Prevention of crime and delinquency can be considered to have two major aims: (1) for those delinquents with court records the task would be to devise means of preventing recidivism and (2) the ideal goal should be to prevent incipient delinquency. This presupposes the possibility of foreseeing to a certain extent the delinquency. It is very seldom that the delinquency takes place suddenly, like an unexpected accident in the life of a person. In studying the past of delinquents one discovers generally two series of facts. In 20–25 per cent of the cases the environment, education, and general mode of life have played an important role in producing the delinquency. In other instances there are individual factors which should be first considered, such as abnormalities of a constitutional nature. In pursuing a policy of preventing delinquency, it is essential to find these abnormalities. The period of the child's schooling is the most propitious for this task for these reasons: (1) the school environment permits a rapid detection of the mental defects and deficiencies for social adaptation; (2) during the period of schooling it is easy to observe the infractions against the rules and laws which all children have to obey. From the standpoint of prevention of crime and delinquency those infractions are important leads. As soon as the cause for the infraction against the rules of the school have been detected, those children should be submitted to a series of psychiatric examinations. The teachers should be instructed to be alert in determining immediately those cases that cause disorders and those that are retarded. The main problem is to co-ordinate the recommendations resulting from the psychiatric examinations with the respective families that would have to follow the therapeutic measures. The specific abnormalities found as a result of the repeated psychiatric examinations will serve as criteria for limiting the period of schooling in those instances where a trades-school training is more feasible. The school environment thus represents a particularly favorable medium for the prevention of juvenile delinquency.—**M. Badonnel,** *L'Hygiène mentale*, XXXIII (1938), 135–42. (V*a*, *b*.) S. M. S.

365. **Sur quelques faits caracteristiques de differenciation juridique [On Certain Characteristic Facts of Juridical Differentiation].**—Durkheim's view that law is essentially the same as custom but serves as its more strongly organized framework is one-

sided, the difference between law and custom being one of quality, and the difference between their sanctions not clear enough to differentiate them. To discover the essential character, and hence the difference between law and custom, one must go to their origins by the method of comparative history, seeking the objective conditions corresponding to this difference. Among all prescientific mentalities there is no distinction between religious, moral, and legal rules. All examples of law fall in the same evolutionary line, the Roman law being the most perfect. The Chinese were ruled by ritual only, except for a short period of war in which an attempt was made to introduce new rules into the system by appealing to the idea of the king as supporter of the universal order. Indian custom was also ritualistic and familial; but, when law appeared with a king, it was completely separate from religion and justified on utilitarian motives of collective interest. Hebrew law was oral, codified slightly by Moses, and interpreted by the kings and priests who acted as judges. It was very conservative, attempting to restore ancient nomadic customs for use in a complex society. Among the Greeks the family was the original source of morals, and, although restricted in influence by the democratic state, it remained very important, so that the distinction between law and morality was never clear. Roman law alone shows complete development. During the period of the tribes (*gentes*) ruled by chiefs, customary rules were the only ones. When the republic was established and the plebeians gained power, getting their own magistrates and assemblies, their desire for equality with other classes gave rise to the codification of the law in the Twelve Tables, but it remained a secret discipline until the formulas were revealed, when it became secular. This changed the law itself little but made procedure very strict. Thus history shows the tendency of law to divorce itself from and even to oppose morals. The most important condition for this is the agreement between the new rule and public power. Here must be sought the essential character of law as such; all other elements are merely consequences of this agreement.—**René Hubert,** *Archives de philosophie du droit et de sociologie juridique,* VI (1936), 7–28. (I*a.*) J. S.

366. **Sur le mensonge chez les enfants [On Lying in Children].**—Observers of children have almost always considered lying among them to be universal but of little importance. The reason for this is that we view lying as a grave offense—a deliberate deception of others—and we do not like to attribute such motives to children. But we need not conceive of lying in such moral terms; we may see it as a mere conscious altering of the truth. The child lies not for the sake of hypocrisy but to present his acts in a way which will appear agreeable to the adult. The adult's reactions are unforeseeable, and the child lies as a precaution. Also, life itself is in many respects unpredictable by the child, and he lies here, too, to protect himself against what he feels to be life's vagaries. This deception appearing so early in the child serves not only to preserve his sensitivity and tranquility but also to assist in creating and conserving his personality. —**Roger Cousinet,** *Journal de psychologie normale et pathologique,* XXXV (1938), 230–44. (III*a.*) F. E.

367. **Le Sens de la propriété chez les enfants [The Sense of Ownership in Children].**—The sense of private ownership in children is not innate or instinctive. Observations on a pair of girl twins lead to the hypothesis that the spontaneous tendency of very young children is to consider all objects around them as common goods from which each may take according to the desire of the moment. But gradually this tendency comes to be replaced in our society by an altogether different tendency of the permanent possession of objects and their exclusive use. Appearing with this sense of individual ownership is a sense of responsibility and obligation for the objects. This latter tendency is a social acquisition which develops with and through language. It is built up by the definitions of the parents who impose it because it is to their own interest to do so.—**René Maublanc,** *Journal de psychologie normale et pathologique,* XXXV (1938), 245–68. (III*a.*) F. E.

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CORNER BOYS: A STUDY OF CLIQUE BEHAVIOR

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ABSTRACT

Methods for a study of clique behavior and conclusions drawn from such research are discussed. Observation and recording of spatial positions and interactions of corner boys shows that their informal groups are organized on a hierarchical basis. These social structures are built upon mutual obligations. A member's behavior is to be explained in terms of his position in his group. Each group has a leader who functions as its chief representative and director of activities. Study of these functions indicates how the position of the corner gang in the community social organization may be determined.

This paper presents some of the results of a study of leadership in informal groupings or gangs of corner boys in "Cornerville," a slum area of a large eastern city. The aim of the research was to develop methods whereby the position (rank or status) of the individual in his clique might be empirically determined; to study the bases of group cohesion and of the subordination and superordination of its members; and, finally, to work out means for determining the position of corner gangs in the social structure of the community.

While the explanation of behavior in informal social groupings is generally regarded as a basic problem of sociology, empirical studies of human society, comparable to those now available for animal and bird groupings,[1] are still in the early stages of development. Frederic Thrasher[2] has recognized the phenomenon of informal leader-

[1] Thorlief Schjelderup-Ebbe presents an authoritative discussion of research upon bird groupings in his "Social Behavior of Birds," chap. xx, pp. 947–72, in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. Carl Murchison.

[2] *The Gang* (rev. ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936).

ship and has presented some generalizations upon its nature in boys' gangs. F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson,[3] in their Western Electric Company studies, have recognized the importance of informal groups of workers in labor relations and have contributed valuable data upon the nature of informal organization in the factory situation. J. L. Moreno[4] has developed a "sociometric" method of charting "social attraction-patterns" which has been applied by him, George Lundberg,[5] Helen Jennings,[6] and others to open a new and promising line of research. W. Lloyd Warner[7] has applied the techniques of social anthropology to the study of groups in modern American society; and, following this approach, Eliot Chapple and Conrad Arensberg[8] have developed a method of studying social behavior by means of detailed observations of interactions.

My research is a product of this period of experimentation, based in part upon the work of Arensberg and Chapple. It differs from Thrasher's gang studies in several respects. He was dealing with young boys, few of them beyond their early teens. While my subjects called themselves corner boys, they were all grown men, most of them in their twenties, and some in their thirties. He studied the gang from the standpoint of juvenile delinquency and crime. While some of the men I observed were engaged in illegal activities, I was not interested in crime as such; instead, I was interested in studying the nature of clique behavior, regardless of whether or not the clique was connected with criminal activity. While Thrasher gathered extensive material upon 1,313 gangs, I made an intensive and detailed study of 5 gangs on the basis of personal observation, intimate acquaintance, and participation in their activities for an extended pe-

[3] *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939).

[4] *Who Shall Survive? A New Approach to the Problem of Human Interrelations* (Washington, D.C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1934).

[5] Lundberg and Margaret Lawsing, "The Sociography of Some Community Relations," *American Sociological Review*, II (1937), 318–35; Lundberg and Mary Steele, "Social Attraction-Patterns in a Village," *Sociometry*, January–April, 1938, pp. 375–419.

[6] "Structure of Leadership," *Sociometry*, July–October, 1937, pp. 99–143.

[7] Yankee City study, now being published.

[8] *Measuring Human Relations: An Introduction to the Study of the Interaction of Individuals* ("Genetic Psychology Monographs" [Provincetown, Mass.: Journal Press, 1940]).

riod of time. Throughout three and a half years of research, I lived in Cornerville, not in a settlement house, but in tenements such as are inhabited by Cornerville people.

The population of the district is almost entirely of Italian extraction. Most of the corner boys belong to the second generation of immigrants. In general, they are men who have had little education beyond grammar school and who are unemployed, irregularly employed, or working steadily for small wages.

Their name arises from the nature of their social life. For them "the corner" is not necessarily at a street intersection. It is any part of the sidewalk which they take for their social headquarters, and it often includes a poolroom, barroom, funeral parlor, barber-shop, or clubroom. Here they may be found almost any afternoon or evening, talking and joking about sex, sports, personal relations, or politics in season. Other social activities either take place "on the corner" or are planned there.

The existence of a hierarchy of personal relations in these cliques is seldom explicitly recognized by the corner boys. Asked if they have a leader or boss, they invariably reply, "No, we're all equal." It is only through the observation of actions that the group structure becomes apparent. My problem was to apply methods which would produce an objective and reasonably exact picture of such structures.

In any group containing more than two people there are subdivisions to be observed. No member is equally friendly with all other members. In order to understand the behavior of the individual member it is necessary to place him not only in his group but also in his particular position in the subgroup.

My most complete study of groupings was made from observations in the rooms of the Cornerville Social and Athletic Club. This was a club of corner boys, which had a membership of about fifty and was divided primarily into two cliques, which had been relatively independent of each other before the formation of the club. There were, of course, subdivisions in each clique.

I sought to make a record of the groupings in which I found the members whenever I went into the club. While the men were moving around, I would be unable to retain their movements for my record,

but on most occasions they would settle down in certain spatial arrangements. In the accompanying example (Fig. 1) two were at a table playing checkers with one watching, four at another table play-

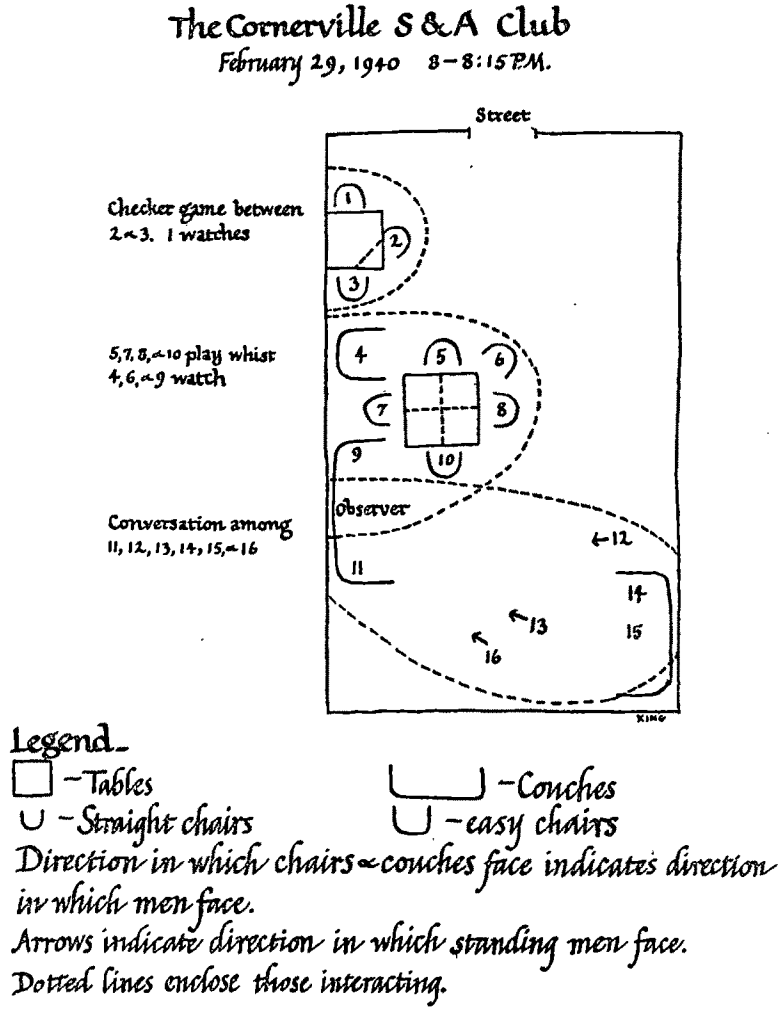


FIG. 1

ing whist and three more watching the game, and six talking together toward the back of the room. As I looked around the room, I would count the number of men present so that I should know later how

many I should have to account for. Then I would say over to myself the names of the men in each grouping and try to fix in my mind their positions in relation to one another. In the course of an evening there might be a general reshuffling of positions. I would not be able to remember every movement, but I would try to observe with which members the movements began; and, when another spatial arrangement had developed, I would go through the same mental process as I had with the first. As soon as I got home from the club, I would draw a map or maps of the spatial positions I had observed and add any movements between positions which I recalled. The map (Fig. 1) indicates the sort of data that came out of these observations.

In this case I have the following notes on movements of the members:

> Eleven walked over to One and pinched his cheek hard, went out of the club rooms, returned and pinched cheek again. One pretended to threaten Eleven with an ash tray. Eleven laughed and returned to seat on couch. I [the observer] asked Eleven about the purpose of the club meeting. He asked Ten and Ten explained. Eleven laughed and shrugged his shoulders. Sixteen, the janitor, served beer for the card players.

On the basis of a number of maps such as this it is not difficult to place most of the men in the clique and grouping within the clique to which they belong. I did not attempt to place all the men, because the club had a fluctuating membership and some of the men were available for observation for only a short time. There were, throughout the ten months of my observation, some thirty-odd members who were active most of the time. Events in the club could be explained largely in terms of the actions of these men; and, therefore, when I had placed them in relation to one another, I did not need to press further in this direction.

Positional map-making is simply an extension of the techniques of observation and recording which have been used in the past by social anthropologists and sociologists. All these techniques require practice before they can be effectively applied. While my first maps left out a number of men, later I was able to record accurately enough so that on most occasions I could account for every man present at a particular time; and on several occasions I was able to work out two

maps giving different positional arrangements during the course of the same period of observation. Beyond two I did not attempt to go, and it was not necessary to do so because there would rarely be more than two positional arrangements in the course of an evening sufficiently different from one another to require additional maps.

While the data from such maps enable one to determine groupings, they do not reveal the position or rank of the men in the groupings. For this purpose other data are needed. In practice they may be gathered at the same time as the positional arrangements are observed.

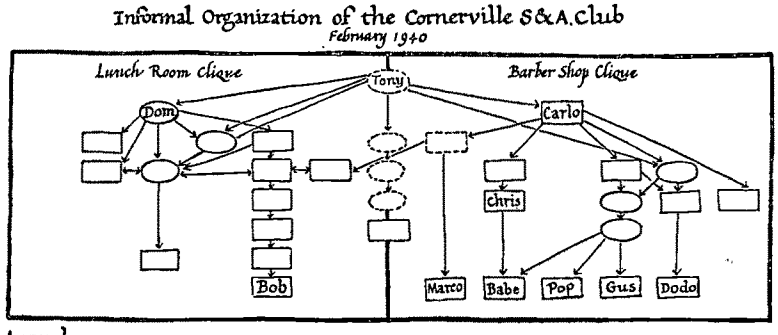
As I conceive it, position in the informal group means power to influence the actions of the group. I concentrated my attention upon the origination of action, to observe who proposed an action, to whom he made the proposal, and the steps that followed up to the completion of the action. I was dealing with "pair events" and "set events," to use the terminology of Arensberg and Chapple.[9] A "pair event" is an event between two people. A "set event" is an event in which one person originates action for two or more others at the same time. In working out the relations between men in an informal group, this is an important distinction to bear in mind. I found that observations of pair events did not provide a safe guide for the ranking of the members of the pair. At times A would originate action for B, at other times B would originate action for A. In some cases there would be a predominance of originations in one direction; but on the whole the data did not support rankings based upon quantitative comparisons of the rates of origination of action in pair events. Qualitatively one could say that when A originated action for B he used a tone of voice and words which indicated that he held a superior position. To take the extreme case, it is not difficult to tell the difference between an order and a request, although both may originate action. It is not safe, however, to rely upon such qualitative differences. The observer may read into the situation his own impression of the relative positions of the men and thus lose the objective basis for his conclusions.

It is observation of set events which reveals the hierarchical basis

[9] *Op. cit.*

of informal group organization. As defined by Arensberg and Chapple,

a *set* is an aggregate of relations such that every individual related in the set is a member either (*a*) of a class of individuals who only originate action, or (*b*) of an intermediate class of indviduals who at some time originate action and at another time terminate action, or (*c*) of a class of individuals who only terminate action.[10]



Legend–
⬭ – Members employed in the policy racket organization.
▭ – Members not employed in the policy racket organization.
---- – Those infrequently present.
Level of boxes indicates relative status.
Arrows indicate chief lines of influence.
For purposes of simplification, names of members not mentioned in text are omitted.

FIG. 2

Study of corner-boy groups reveals that the members may, indeed, be divided and ranked upon this basis. Several examples will illustrate.

At the top of the Cornerville S. and A. Club (see Fig. 2), we have Tony, Carlo, and Dom. They were the only ones who could originate action for the entire club. At the bottom were Dodo, Gus, Pop, Babe, Marco, and Bob, who never originated action in a set event involving anyone above their positions. Most of the members fell into the intermediate class. They terminated action on the part of the top men and originated action for the bottom men. Observations of the actions of the men of the intermediate class when neither top nor bottom men were present revealed that there were subdivisions or

[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 54. To terminate an action is to follow the initiative of another person.

rankings within that class. This does not mean that the intermediate or bottom men never have any ideas as to what the club should do. It means that their ideas must go through the proper channels if they are to go into effect.

In one meeting of the Cornerville S. and A. Club, Dodo proposed that he be allowed to handle the sale of beer in the clubrooms in return for 75 per cent of the profits. Tony spoke in favor of Dodo's suggestion but proposed giving him a somewhat smaller percentage. Dodo agreed. Then Carlo proposed to have Dodo handle the beer in quite a different way, and Tony agreed. Tony made the motion, and it was carried unanimously. In this case Dodo's proposal was carried through, after substantial modifications, upon the actions of Tony and Carlo.

In another meeting Dodo said that he had two motions to make: that the club's funds be deposited in a bank and that no officer be allowed to serve two consecutive terms. Tony was not present at this time. Dom, the president, said that only one motion should be made at a time and that, furthermore, Dodo should not make any motions until there had been opportunity for discussion. Dodo agreed. Dom then commented that it would be foolish to deposit the funds when the club had so little to deposit. Carlo expressed his agreement. The meeting passed on to other things without action upon the first motion and without even a word of discussion on the second one. In the same meeting Chris moved that a member must be in the club for a year before being allowed to hold office. Carlo said that it was a good idea, he seconded the motion, and it carried unanimously.

All my observations indicate that the idea for group action which is carried out must originate with the top man or be accepted by him so that he acts upon the group. A follower may originate action for a leader in a pair event, but he does not originate action for the leader and other followers at the same time—that is, he does not originate action in a set event which includes the leader.

One may also observe that, when the leader originates action for the group, he does not act as if his followers were all of equal rank. Implicitly he takes the structure of the group into account. An example taken from the corner gang known as the "Millers" will illustrate this point. The Millers were a group of twenty corner boys,

who were divided into two subgroups. Members of both subgroups frequently acted together; but, when two activities occupied the men at the same time, the division generally fell between the subgroups. Sam was the leader of the Millers. Joe was directly below him in one subgroup. Chichi led the other subgroup. Joe as well as Sam was in a position to originate action for Chichi and his subgroup.

It was customary for the Millers to go bowling every Saturday night. On this particular Saturday night Sam had no money, so he set out to persuade the boys to do something else. They followed his suggestion. Later Sam explained to me how he had been able to change the established social routine of the group. He said:

> I had to show the boys that it would be in their own interests to come with me—that each one of them would benefit. But I knew I only had to convince two of the fellows. If they start to do something, the other boys will say to themselves, "If Joe does it—or if Chichi does it—it must be a good thing for us too." I told Joe and Chichi what the idea was, and I got them to come with me. I didn't pay no attention to the others. When Joe and Chichi came, all the other boys came along too.

Another example from the Millers indicates what happens when the leader and the man next to him in rank disagree upon group policy. This is Sam talking again:

> One time we had a raffle to raise money to build a camp on Lake —— [on property lent them by a local business man]. We had collected $54, and Joe and I were holding the money. . . . . That week I knew Joe was playing pool, and he lost three or four dollars gambling. When Saturday came, I says to the boys, "Come on, we go out to Lake ——. We're gonna build that camp on the hill. . . . ." Right away Joe said, "If yuz are gonna build the camp on the hill, I don't come. I want it on the other side. . . . ." All the time I knew he had lost the money, and he was only making up excuses so he wouldn't have to let anybody know. . . . . Now the hill was really the place to build that camp. On the other side, the ground was swampy. That would have been a stupid place. . . . . But I knew that if I tried to make them go through with it now, the group would split up into two cliques. Some would come with me, and some would go with Joe. . . . . So I let the whole thing drop for a while. . . . . After, I got Joe alone, and I says to him, "Joe, I know you lost some of that money, but that's all right. You can pay up when you have it and nobody will say nothin'. But Joe, you know we shouldn't have the camp on the other side of the hill because the land is no good there. We should build it on the hill. . . . ." So he said, "All right," and we got all the boys together, and we went out to build the camp.

Under ordinary circumstances the leader implicitly recognizes and helps to maintain the position of the man or men immediately below him, and the group functions smoothly. In this respect the informal organization is similar to the formal organization. If the executive in a factory attempts to pass over his immediate subordinates and give orders directly to the men on the assembly line, he creates confusion. The customary channels must be used.

The social structures vary from group to group, but each one may be represented in some form of hierarchy. The members have clearly defined relations of subordination and superordination, and each group has a leader. Since we are concerned with informal organization, the Cornerville S. and A. members must be considered as two groups, with Carlo leading the barber-shop boys, and Dom leading the lunchroom boys. Since Tony's position requires special consideration, he will be discussed later.

Observation not only serves to provide a description of the group structure. It also reveals information upon the bases of structure and the factors differentiating between the positions of members. The clique structure arises out of the habitual association of the members over a long period of time. The nuclei of most gangs can be traced back to early boyhood years when living close together provided the first opportunities for social contacts. School years modified the original pattern somewhat, but I know of no corner gangs which arose through classroom or school-playground association. The gangs grew up "on the corner" and have remained there with remarkable persistence. In the course of years some groups have been broken up by the movement of families away from Cornerville, and the remaining members have merged with gangs on near-by corners; but frequently movement out of the district does not take the corner boy away from his corner. On any evening in Cornerville on almost any corner one finds corner boys who have come in from other parts of the city or from suburbs to be with their old friends. The residence of the corner boy may also change within the district, but nearly always he retains his allegiance to his original corner.

The leader of one group spoke to me in this way about corner boys:

> Fellows around here don't know what to do except within a radius of about 300 yards. That's the truth, Bill. . . . . They come home from work, hang on the corner, go up to eat, back on the corner, up (to) a show, and they come back to hang on the corner. If they're not on the corner, it's likely the boys there will know where you can find them. . . . . Most of them stick to one corner. It's only rarely that a fellow will change his corner.

The stable composition of the group over a long period and the lack of social assurance felt by most of the members contribute toward producing a very high rate of social interaction within the group. The structure to be observed is a product of past interactions.

Out of these interactions there arises a system of mutual obligations which is fundamental to group cohesion. If the men are to carry on their activities as a unit, there are many occasions when they must do favors for one another. Frequently, one member must spend money to help another who does not have the money to participate in some of the group activities. This creates an obligation. If the situation is later reversed, the recipient is expected to help the man who gave him aid. The code of the corner boy requires him to help his friends when he can and to refrain from doing anything to harm them. When life in the group runs smoothly, the mutual obligations binding members to one another are not explicitly recognized. A corner boy, asked if he helped a fellow-member because of a sense of obligation, will reply, "No, I didn't have to do it. He's my friend. That's all." It is only when the relationship breaks down that the underlying obligations are brought to light. When two members of the group have a falling-out, their actions form a familiar pattern. One tells a story something like this: "What a heel Blank turned out to be. After all I've done for him, the first time I ask him to do something for me, he won't do it." The other may say: "What does he want from me? I've done plenty for him, but he wants you to do everything." In other words, the actions which were performed explicitly for the sake of friendship are now revealed as being part of a system of mutual obligations.

Not all the corner boys live up to their obligations equally well, and this factor partly accounts for the differentiation in status among the men. The man with a low status may violate his obligations without much change in his position. His fellows know that he has

failed to discharge certain obligations in the past, and his position reflects his past performances. On the other hand, the leader is depended upon by all the members to meet his personal obligations. He cannot often fail to do so without causing confusion and losing his position. The relationship of status to the system of mutual obligations is most clearly revealed when we consider the use of money. While all the men are expected to be generous, the flow of money between members can be explained only in terms of the group structure.

The Millers provide an illustration of this point. During the time that I knew them, Sam, the leader, was out of work except for an occasional odd job; yet, whenever he had a little money, he spent it on Joe and Chichi, his closest friends, who were next to him in the structure of the group. When Joe or Chichi had money, which was less frequent, they reciprocated. Sam frequently paid for two members who stood close to the bottom of the structure and occasionally for others. The two men who held positions immediately below Joe and Chichi in the subgroups were considered very well off according to Cornerville standards. Sam said that he occasionally borrowed money from them, but never more than fifty cents at a time. Such loans he tried to repay at the earliest possible moment. There were four other members, with positions ranging from intermediate to the bottom, who nearly always had more money than Sam. He did not recall ever having borrowed from them. He said that the only time he had obtained a substantial sum from anyone around his corner was when he borrowed eleven dollars from a friend who was the *leader* of another corner-boy group.

The system is substantially the same for all the groups on which I have information. The leader spends more money on his followers than they on him. The farther down in the structure one looks, the fewer are the financial relations which tend to obligate the leader to a follower. This does not mean that the leader has more money than others or even that he necessarily spends more—though he must always be a free spender. It means that the financial relations must be explained in social terms. Unconsciously, and in some cases consciously, the leader refrains from putting himself under obligations to those with low status in the group.

Relations of rivalry or outright hostility with other groups are an important factor in promoting in-group solidarity, as has been well recognized in the literature. Present-day corner gangs grew up in an atmosphere of street fighting against gangs of Irish or of fellow-Italians. While actual fights are now infrequent, the spirit of gang loyalty is maintained in part through athletic contests and political rivalries.

As the structures indicate, members have higher rates of interaction with men close to their own positions in their subgroups than with men who rank much higher or much lower or belong to a different subgroup. That is a significant fact for the explanation of group cohesion.

In the case of the Millers, Sam's best friends were Joe and Chichi. As his remarks have indicated, Sam realized that the solidarity of the Millers depended in the first instance upon the existence of friendly and co-operative relations between himself, Joe, and Chichi. A Cornerville friend, who was aware of the nature of my observations, commented in this manner:

> On any corner, you would find not only a leader but probably a couple of lieutenants. They could be leaders themselves, but they let the man lead them. You would say, They let him lead because they like the way he does things. Sure, but he leans upon them for his authority. . . . . Many times you find fellows on a corner that stay in the background until some situation comes up, and then they will take over and call the shots. Things like that can change fast sometimes.

Such changes are the result not of an uprising of the bottom men but of a shift in the relations between men at the top of the structure. When a gang breaks into two parts, the explanation is to be found in a conflict between the leader and one who ranked close to him in the structure of the original gang.

The distinctive functions of the top men in promoting social cohesion are readily observable in the field. Frequently, in the absence of their leader the members of a gang are divided into a number of small groups. There is no common activity or general conversation. When the leader appears, the situation changes strikingly. The small units form into one large group. The conversation becomes general, and unified action frequently follows. The leader becomes the focal

point in discussion. One observes a follower start to say something, pause when he notices that the leader is not listening, and begin again when he has the leader's attention. When the leader leaves the group, unity gives way to the divisions that existed before his appearance. To a certain extent the lieutenants can perform this unifying function; but their scope is more limited because they are more closely identified with one particular subgroup than is the leader.

The same Cornerville friend summed up the point in this way:

> If we leave the followers, they'll go find some other leader. They won't know what they're doing, but that's what they'll do, because by themselves they won't know what to do. They gather around the leader, and it is the leader that keeps them together.

The leader is the man who knows what to do. He is more resourceful than his followers. Past events have shown that his ideas were right. In this sense "right" simply means satisfactory to the members. He is the most independent in judgment. While his followers are undecided as to a course of action or upon the character of a newcomer, the leader makes up his mind. When he gives his word to one of "his boys," he keeps it. The followers look to him for advice and encouragement, and he receives more of the confidences of the members than any other man. Consequently, he knows more about what is going on in the group than anyone else. Whenever there is a quarrel among the boys, he will hear of it almost as soon as it happens. Each party to the quarrel may appeal to him to work out a solution; and, even when the men do not want to compose their differences, each one will take his side of the story to the leader at the first opportunity. A man's standing depends partly upon the leader's belief that he has been conducting himself as he should.

The leader is respected for his fair-mindedness. Whereas there may be hard feelings among some of the followers, the leader cannot bear a grudge against any man in the group. He has close friends (men who stand next to him in position), and he is indifferent to some of the members; but if he is to retain his reputation for impartiality, he cannot allow personal animus to override his judgment.

The leader need not be the best baseball player, bowler, or fighter, but he must have some skill in whatever pursuits are of particular interest to the group. It is natural for him to promote activities in

which he excels and to discourage those in which he is not skilful; and, in so far as he is thus able to influence the group, his competent performance is a natural consequence of his position. At the same time his performance supports his position.

It is significant to note that the leader is better known and more respected outside of his group than is any of his followers. His social mobility is greater. One of the most important functions he performs is that of relating his group to other groups in the district. His reputation outside the group tends to support his standing within the group, and his position in the group supports his reputation among outsiders.

It should not be assumed from this discussion that the corner boys compete with one another for the purpose of gaining leadership. Leadership is a product of social interaction. The men who reach the top in informal groups are those who can perform skilfully the actions required by the situation. Most such skills are performed without long premeditation.

What the leader is has been discussed in terms of what he does. I doubt whether an analysis in terms of personality traits will add anything to such an explanation of behavior. One can find a great variety of personality traits among corner-boy leaders, just as one can among business or political leaders. Some are aggressive in social contacts, and others appear almost retiring. Some are talkative, and others have little to say. Few uniformities of this nature are to be found. On the other hand, there are marked uniformities to be observed in the functions performed by men who hold similar positions in society, and the study of them promises to provide the best clues for the understanding of social behavior.

For a community study, data upon five corner gangs are hardly more than a beginning. Two problems were involved in extending the research. First, I had to discover whether I could safely generalize my conclusions to apply them to all corner gangs in Cornerville. Second, I had to fit the corner gangs into the fabric of Cornerville society.

To accomplish the first end I solicited the aid of a number of corner-boy leaders, who made for me more or less systematic observations of their own groups and of groups about them. The generaliza-

tions, presented earlier, upon the functions of leaders, indicate why I found them the best sources of information upon their groups. This procedure could not be relied upon as a substitute for observation, for it is only through observation that the student can discover what his informants are talking about and understand their remarks in terms of group structure. Observation suggests a framework of significant behavior patterns and indicates subjects that are relevant for discussion with informants.

The student should realize that this procedure changes the attitude of the corner boy toward himself and his group. The quotations from Cornerville men presented here all show the effects of prior discussion with me. However, the effort of informants to make explicit statements upon unreflective behavior does not distort the factual picture as long as they are required to tell their stories in terms of observed interactions.

The most thorough study of this kind was made for me by Sam of the Millers upon his own group. The structure of the Millers was worked out by Sam over a period of months on the basis of such material as I have quoted. My function was to discuss Sam's observations with him, to point out gaps in his data, and to check them with some independent observations.

All the generalizations presented here have been checked against the experience and observations of four such informants. In this way I have been able to expand my study far beyond what I should have been able to cover alone.

Accomplishment of the second purpose—fitting corner gangs into the fabric of society—required study of the relations which linked group to group and the group to persons who held superior positions in Cornerville—politicians and racketeers, for example.

The observation that the leader is the person to relate his group to other people provides the most important lead for such a study. We see that the social behavior of groups pivots around the actions of certain men who hold strategic positions in them. This does not mean that the leader can make his followers do anything he desires. It does mean that he customarily leads the group activity and that outsiders, in order to influence the members, must deal with the

group through him. This is to be observed particularly at the time of a political campaign when politicians seek to mobilize group support. Similar observations may be made in order to explain the position and influence of the racketeer in relation to corner-boy groups.

Brief reference to the Cornerville S. and A. study will indicate the nature of the results that may be obtained. Tony, the top man in the chart, was a prominent policy racketeer. The chart indicates that certain members were agents who turned their policy slips in to him. While Tony belonged to the club, his interests were so widespread that he had little time to spend with the members. It was recognized that he held a higher status, that he was not a corner boy.

At the time of the formation of the club, Tony knew Dom, his agent, and recognized Dom's position among the lunchroom boys. He knew Carlo only casually and was not aware of his position as leader of the barber-shop clique. In the course of a political campaign (November, 1939) a conflict arose over the indorsement of a candidate for alderman. By playing off one clique against the other, Tony was able to secure the adoption of his policy, but Carlo opposed him vigorously and lost out in a close vote. Carlo's position was strengthened when his candidate defeated the man supported by Tony. Following the election, there was a marked change in Tony's actions. He began to attend every meeting and to spend more time with the members. For his purposes Carlo was the most important man in the club, and he made every effort to cement his social relations with Carlo and to place Carlo under obligations to him. During this period a basis for co-operation between the two men was established. When Tony turned his attention to other activities, he was able to deal with the club through Carlo as well as through Dom.

This story illustrates a method of study, not a set of conclusions. Through observing the interactions between Tony and Dom, Tony and Carlo, Dom and the members of his clique, and Carlo and the members of his clique, one can establish the position and influence of the racketeer in relation to this particular organization of corner boys. Other observations establish Tony's position in the racket organization, which extends throughout the district and far beyond it. They also point out Tony's relations with certain politicians. Only

in the study of such specific situations can one arrive at reliable generalizations upon the positions and influence of men in the community.

The methods I have used call for precise and detailed observation of spatial positions and of the origination of action in pair and set events between members of informal groups. Such observations provide data by means of which one may chart structures of social relations and determine the basis of the structures—a system of mutual obligations growing out of the interactions of the members over a long period of time. Observations also point out the distinctive functions of the leader, who serves as chief representative of his group and director and co-ordinator of group activity. A knowledge of the structure and of the social processes carried on through it serves to explain the behavior of individual members in a manner which could not be accomplished if one considered the men as an unstructured aggregation.

Such an understanding of clique behavior seems a necessary first step in the development of knowledge of the nature of the larger social organization into which the cliques fit. Instead of seeking to place each clique member in relation to the total social organization, the investigator may concentrate his attention upon the actions of the leader, who relates his corner boys to other groups and to persons holding superior positions. By discovering these strategic points for social integration and by extending the network of social relations through them, the investigator can place a large number of the inhabitants of his community in their social positions.

This is a painstaking and time-consuming method. While it does not produce statistics which count all the inhabitants in terms of certain characteristics, it does provide the investigator with a close-up view of the social organization in action.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DIFFERENTIAL DIVORCE RATES BY RELIGIOUS GROUPS[1]

STEPHEN SOMOGYI

ABSTRACT

The curve describing Hungarian divorce rates shows a steady increase from the beginning of the period studied (1897) until the beginning of the World War (1914), another and higher maximum point in the immediate post-war years (1921–25), and a peak at the end of the period studied (1936). The rates for Roman and Greek Catholics are consistently lower than those of other religious groups. Urban-rural and occupational differences in divorce rates, however, throw into question the differential influence of religion, and, in view of the evidence, the influence of religion is regarded as insufficient to nullify the effect of educational and occupational factors.

Among the problems dealing with demographic life, the phenomenon of divorce forms a sector on which religion can exert its coercive action in a most direct and efficient way. The low percentage of divorce among Catholics is clear evidence of the efficiency of the principles of the Catholic church which, in the course of its development, elevated marriage to the dignity of a sacrament. It is a well-known fact, on the other hand, that among Protestants and Jews marriage is not thought of as a "sacred tie" that joins husband and wife in an indissoluble way but has the character of a contract. In the Israelitic religion this conception is even more accentuated than in Protestantism, so that generally no attempt is made to prevent the dissolution of a marriage, if this is requested in common accord. This fact is all the more noteworthy, since Jewish family life is based, much more than that of any other religious group, upon the unity and cohesion of the family members.

For a close study of the behavior of social groups of different religions it will be helpful for two reasons to examine such statistical data as can be obtained from official Hungarian publications. In the first place, Hungary is a country whose population presents (even after its partition, though in a more limited measure) a great variety of religious groups. There were six large groups before the World War, and four offer a basis for statistical consideration. According to

[1] A short synopsis of this study was presented to the International Congress of Population at Berlin, August, 1935.

the census of population taken in Hungary in 1910 of the 18,264,533 inhabitants of this country (excluding Croatia-Slavonia), 49.3 per cent were Roman Catholics, 14.2 Calvinists, 12.8 Greek Orientals, 11.0 Greek Catholics, 7.2 Lutherans, 5.0 Jews, 0.4 Unitarians, and 0.1 other or unknown religions. In 1930 of 8,688,319 inhabitants of Hungary 64.8 per cent belonged to the Roman Catholic religion, 20.9 to the Calvinist, 6.2 to the Lutheran, 5.9 to the Jewish, 2.3 to the Greek Catholic, 0.5 to the Greek Oriental, 0.1 to the Unitarian, and 0.1 to other or unknown religions. Second, statistical data on divorce were begun in 1897, that is, with the introduction of the law of divorce in Hungary, giving a considerable body of material, more extensive than is contained in the statistical publications of any other country.

To calculate specific divorce rates, the average yearly number of divorces in a given period was divided by the average yearly number of marriages contracted during the same period. This was done separately for each sex. The rates obtained in this manner have, of course, only an approximative character and do not convey a true picture of divorce, for the evident reason that they are calculated without any regard to the fact that the divorces granted in a given year derive only in a very small proportion from the marriages contracted during the same year. It appears that in order to calculate a more exact index of divorce, it would be desirable to refer the number of divorces in a given year to the total number of marriages contracted during the preceding decennium or from the second to the tenth year preceding.

To show the relative values derived from these procedures Table 1 gives divorce rates for the period 1911–13, computed on the base period 1901–10 (row *A*) and on the same period as the divorce data (row *B*). The ratios are expressed for each hundred marriages contracted. The two series of rates show no large relative differential values between the groups. Indeed, the percentages calculated for each of the two rates differ only to a very slight degree. The slight differences may depend upon the choice of the period (1901–10).

It appears that these formulas give similar results, so that no preference is possible between these rates. In view of the fact, however, that by the second method (divorces and marriages of the same

period) the data are much easier to compute, the latter procedure is used in the present research.

The rates of divorce per 100 marriages contracted are very low at the beginning of the observed period, especially for the two Catholic groups (Roman and Greek) and for the Greek Orientals (see Table 2); and if the values calculated for Protestants and Jews are considerably higher in comparison with the first three groups, they also indicate a level that represents a minimum for the observed period (for absolute values see Table 3).

TABLE 1

DIVORCE RATES PER 100 MARRIAGES IN HUNGARY

Rates	Religion of Husbands							Total
	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Greek Oriental	Calvinist	Lutheran	Unitarian	Jewish	
Divorces in 1911–13 per 100 marriages in 1901–10 (*A*)	9.9	7.6	25.0	24.9	17.7	38.0	21.6	15.1
Divorces in 1911–13 per 100 marriages in 1911–13 (*B*)	3.1	2.1	7.1	7.8	5.7	11.0	7.1	4.6
$\frac{(B)\times 100}{(A)}$	31.3	27.6	28.4	31.3	32.2	28.9	32.9	30.5

In the course of time divorces grew more frequent for every group and for both sexes and reached a maximum immediately before the World War of 1914. During the war the frequency of divorce in general decreased, with the exception of the values for the Jewish group in which, on the contrary, the values for females reveal a further, though very slight, increase (from 7.5 to 7.6 per cent).

Comparing the percentages calculated for post-war Hungary with those of pre-war Hungary, we find remarkable differences for every group. In all of them the frequency of divorce in the post-war period is much more accentuated and is particularly intense among the Catholics.

There is no doubt that this marked trend results in part from the

different demographic configuration of the same religious groups caused by territorial changes. In the high values of the five-year period, 1921–25, however, we can see a manifestation of the disorganizing effects which in marriage, as well as in other fields of social and economic life, constitute a heritage of the World War.

TABLE 2*

AVERAGE YEARLY NUMBER OF DIVORCES PER 100 MARRIAGES BY RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN HUNGARY FROM 1897 TO 1936

Year	Religious Groups						Total
	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Greek Oriental	Calvinist	Lutheran	Jewish	
Husbands:							
1897–1900	0.7	0.3	0.5	2.7	1.5	1.9	1.1
1901–5	1.3	0.8	1.7	4.3	3.1	4.3	2.1
1906–10	2.3	1.8	5.2	7.0	5.1	5.9	3.7
1911–13	3.1	2.1	7.1	7.8	5.7	7.1	4.6
1914	3.6	2.6	7.3	7.8	6.5	7.3	5.1
1915–17	3.3	1.4	3.9	5.6	5.3	7.3	3.9
1921–25	6.6	5.2	11.1	10.4	7.8	12.9	7.9
1926–30	6.1	4.9	12.0	8.5	7.1	14.9	7.1
1931	4.9	3.7	8.6	6.7	5.6	13.0	5.7
1931–35	5.7	4.2	9.6	7.5	6.8	15.2	6.6
1936	6.3	4.0	11.8	8.7	7.6	16.6	7.4
Wives:							
1897–1900	0.7	0.3	0.5	2.7	1.5	1.9	1.1
1901–5	1.3	0.8	2.0	4.5	2.6	4.4	2.1
1906–10	2.3	1.7	5.3	7.2	5.0	5.8	3.7
1911–13	3.1	2.1	7.1	8.1	5.6	7.0	4.6
1914	3.7	2.5	7.4	7.9	6.3	7.5	5.1
1915–17	3.3	1.3	3.9	5.6	5.4	7.6	3.9
1921–25	6.7	5.3	11.8	10.4	7.9	12.4	7.9
1926–30	6.2	4.7	10.1	8.6	6.8	14.7	7.1
1931	4.9	4.0	9.4	6.7	5.6	13.4	5.7
1931–35	5.7	4.0	10.0	7.4	6.6	15.6	6.6
1936	6.4	4.2	12.2	8.2	7.9	17.4	7.4

* Annulled and broken marriages with sentence pronounced by royal courts of justice of Hungary.
In all the tables regarding Hungary the data through 1917 are those of pre-war Hungary which do not include Croatia-Slavonia; after 1920 the tables cover post-war Hungary.

After the return of normal conditions, the successive periods showed a diminished frequency of divorces (7.9 per cent in 1921–25; 5.7 in 1931). It is true that in the last years there have been many signs of recrudescence of this phenomenon, to which the adverse conditions created by the economic depression are certainly relevant.

The variations, of course, are not of such a nature as to allow an exact determination of the factors from which they have derived.

A characteristic aspect of the frequency of divorce is the low percentage among both Catholic groups, compared with those of other

TABLE 3*

AVERAGE YEARLY NUMBER OF DIVORCES BY RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN HUNGARY FROM 1897 TO 1936

Year	Religious Groups						Total‡
	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Greek Oriental	Calvinist	Lutheran	Jewish	
Husbands:							
1897–1900	480	40	98	539	179	133	1,500
1901–5	929	128	356	924	345	290	3,028
1906–10	1,083	327	1,150	1,690	594	432	6,082
1911–13	2,476	407	1,780	1,882	666	510	7,819
1914	2,422	356	1,445	1,567	579	462	6,906
1915–17	1,083	99	356	565	191	246	2,570
1921–25	3,386	100	70	1,842	421	594	6,479
1926–30	3,044	87	56	1,393	352	597	5,558
1931–35	2,763	75	38	1,163	313	584	4,962
1936	3,194	77	45	1,363	346	671	5,729
Wives:							
1897–1900	495	34	98	527	181	134	1,500
1901–5	943	121	349†	926	340†	297	3,028
1906–10	1,843	312	1,154	1,686	570	426	6,082
1911–13	2,534	408	1,749	1,879	648	514	7,819
1914	2,499	350	1,426	1,530	564	462	6,906
1915–17	1,122	95	346	547	191	241	2,570
1921–25	3,477	101	58	1,787	418	568	6,479
1926–30	3,136	84	40	1,356	330	585	5,558
1931–35	2,832	71	34	1,113	302	587	4,962
1936	3,296	79	40	1,247	356	677	5,729

* The sources of the absolute data are always the official statistical publications of Hungary.

† The figures indicated for the Greek Orientals (349) and for the Lutherans (340) are partly corrected. It was necessary to make a correction because the figures published in the *Annuaire statistique hongrois, 1905* were affected by errors.

‡ Including all groups not listed.

religious groups, which during the whole observed period of forty years presents no exception. It has already been indicated that a decisive influence is exerted by the inflexible attitude toward marriage of the Catholic church which acknowledges no possibility of separation, except the device of "nullification." Other circumstances

may co-operate in determining such a remarkable differentiation of divorce rates between Catholic and other religious groups.

In this connection it might be worth while to consider another index of divorce: the proportion of divorced people within each religious group as revealed by a census of population. It is easy to understand that the proportion of divorced persons in a population depends in large part on the proportion of divorced persons who have remarried. This relationship reveals why the number of divorced females is higher than that of divorced males. This fact and

TABLE 4*

PERCENTAGE OF DIVORCED IN EACH RELIGIOUS GROUP BY MALES AND FEMALES IN PRE-WAR HUNGARY (1900 AND 1910) AND POST-WAR HUNGARY (1920 AND 1930)

Religious Groups	Divorced Males				Divorced Females			
	1900	1910	1920	1930	1900	1910	1920	1930
Roman Catholic	0.04	0.09	0.19	0.37	0.08	0.18	0.38	0.72
Greek Catholic	.03	.06	.13	.28	.05	.11	.26	0.54
Greek Oriental	.05	.17	.35	.57	.10	.27	.66	1.17
Calvinist	.14	.27	.34	.56	.28	.49	.49	1.08
Lutheran	.11	.19	.26	.46	.19	.34	.59	0.85
Jewish	0.11	0.22	0.44	0.98	0.31	0.53	0.94	1.86

* For the data of census years 1900, 1910, and 1920 see Stefano Somogyi, *Aspetti demografici dei gruppi confessionali in Ungheria, con particolare riguardo agli Ebrei* (Roma: Istituto per l'Europa orientale, 1936), pp. 51, 54; and for 1930, *Census of Population of Hungary, 1930*, IV (Budapest, 1936), 296–99.

the higher mortality of males affect the rates derived from the present data, and consequently these indexes cannot be considered as refined measures of divorce. In spite of these factors, the indexes can contribute to a better understanding of the pattern of divorce in religious groups. Without treating the absolute values and their variations through time (Table 4), it is evident that there is a much higher frequency of divorce in the Protestant and Jewish groups, as compared with the Catholic and Greek Oriental.

The same inference may be made by means of another specific rate: the ratio of divorced persons to married persons of the same sex. Table 5 represents the ratios between divorced persons for the years 1929–32 and married persons as established by the 1930 census of population.

These rates, which are more trustworthy than those preceding, show similar differences among the various groups: highest among the Jews, lowest among the Catholics, but the distance between the maximum and minimum is less than those registered with the two other types of rates.

A problem of broad interest is the influence of economic depression on the frequency of divorce. From studies made by American authors it appears that in the United States economic depression affects the number of divorces. The researches of Ogburn and

TABLE 5

AVERAGE NUMBER OF DIVORCED (1929–32) PERSONS PER 10,000 MARRIED (1930) FOR EACH SEX IN HUNGARY BY RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Sex	Religious Groups				Total Including Others
	Roman Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Jewish	
Males.....	22.7	29.5	25.4	56.0	26.1
Females....	22.8	28.7	25.0	55.2	26.1

Thomas,[2] Stouffer and Spencer,[3] and Stouffer and Lazarsfeld[4] show a sharp decrease in the divorce rate during periods of depression.

Can the same be said for divorces in Hungary? It may be noted from Table 6 that during the years 1931 and 1932 divorces for all the four great religious groups dropped to the lowest level in Hungary in post-war years. It should be emphasized that these indexes are comparable only through time and that no comparison can be made between the indexes of the religious groups in the same year.

[2] W. F. Ogburn and Dorothy Thomas, "The Influence of the Business Cycle on Social Factors," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, September, 1922, pp. 334–35.

[3] Samuel A. Stouffer and Lyle M. Spencer, "Marriage and Divorce in Recent Years," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1936, pp. 66–69.

[4] Samuel A. Stouffer and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Research Memorandum on the Family in the Depression," *Social Science Research Council Bull. 29* (1937), pp. 69–72.

Two especially interesting circumstances arise from these data: (1) the very high level of indexes in 1922 and in 1923 and (2) the very low level in 1931 and in 1932. The political and social crisis that accompanied the re-establishment of normal conditions after the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1919 was connected with a sharp

TABLE 6

INDEX NUMBERS OF DIVORCED MALES AND FEMALES BY RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN HUNGARY, 1921–36

(1921 = 100)

Year	Index Numbers of Divorced								Index of Divorces
	Males				Females				
	Roman Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Jewish	Roman Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Jewish	
(1921)	(3,172)*	(1,885)	(391)	(527)	(3,218)	(1,875)	(373)	(515)	(6,188)
1922	*118.4*†	*118.9*	*121.2*	*124.7*	*120.5*	*116.7*	*123.3*	*119.4*	*119.9*
1923	*113.8*	*104.1*	*115.3*	*121.3*	*116.1*	*99.8*	*118.0*	*116.7*	*112.0*
1924	102.1	88.6	103.8	112.0	104.7	84.0	112.3	108.9	98.7
1925	99.5	77.0	97.4	105.7	99.0	76.1	106.4	106.0	92.9
1926	101.5	78.9	93.4	116.7	102.0	78.5	92.0	117.3	94.6
1927	98.5	76.6	89.5	102.5	99.4	76.7	83.9	105.0	91.6
1928	95.7	74.6	90.5	118.6	97.5	74.7	88.2	116.3	90.7
1929	88.7	68.9	82.4	112.1	91.5	64.5	82.6	111.5	83.4
1930	95.4	70.3	94.1	116.3	96.9	67.1	96.2	117.5	88.8
1931	*75.7*	*57.1*	*67.3*	*92.0*	*76.1*	*54.8*	*68.9*	*95.7*	*70.4*
1932	*77.8*	*55.3*	*70.3*	108.2	*79.5*	*52.8*	*70.5*	109.5	*72.3*
1933	86.2	57.2	81.1	107.8	84.4	58.6	82.8	115.1	78.1
1934	96.2	69.6	89.3	119.7	98.4	66.2	86.3	122.9	89.0
1935	69.6	69.3	92.1	126.4	101.7	64.4	96.0	126.4	91.2
1936	100.7	72.3	88.5	127.3	102.4	66.5	95.4	131.5	92.6

* Figures in parentheses represent absolute number of cases.

† For emphasis the values in 1922 and 1923 (period of high divorce rates) and in 1931 and 1932 (period of low divorce rates) are all italicized with the exception of the Jewish rates for 1932, which do not conform with this trend.

depression, and it is, therefore, not surprising to find during the recovery years, 1922–23, an increase in the number of divorces as a concomitant of economic improvement. It is certainly true, on the other hand, that the high level of divorce, which was greater than any other recorded, derives also from the great number of marriages contracted in the early post-war years.

The latest depression provoked in Hungary (as well as in other countries) a remarkable diminution in the divorce rate so that the level of divorce of 1930 was not reached again until 1934.

It would be very interesting to know the reasons why economic depression is associated with a diminution of the rate of divorce, since one might logically expect an increase in the altercations, conflicts, and discords in marital life as a consequence of increased economic difficulties. Available statistical information does not throw light on the nature of the relation between economic forces and the examined phenomenon. The statistical data do, however, render probable the conclusion that an inverse relation exists between unfavorable economic conditions and frequency of divorce.

In any case, if we try some interpretation regarding these problems, we may assert that the declining divorce rate during the last depression was not due to changes in divorce laws or to the expense of procuring divorce. The expenses attached to legal procedures cannot act as a deterrent factor against divorce, because the Hungarian law grants facilitation or exemption of costs and fees to poor people, and for wealthier people expense would not constitute an obstacle. On the other hand, it can be affirmed even in the absence of reliable data that the decline in marriage has exerted a diminishing effect upon the rate of divorce nearly equal to the proportion of divorces of a given year arising from the marriages of the one or two (or three) immediately preceding years.

For a better understanding of the peculiarities of divorce it is desirable to show some effects of fertility on divorce, as well as the characteristics of the divorce rate in the economic classes most greatly affected by the depression; but up to this date we have no data that enable us to examine these phenomena. From the figures of Table 7, which concerns the divorce rates in Budapest and in the rest of Hungary for the years 1922–32, the influence of urbanism is apparent, for the rates for the population of the capital are twice as high as or more than those calculated for the rest of Hungary. Here, indeed, the divorce rate of Catholics has approached very near that of the other groups and in certain cases is even higher for women. In the rest of the country the proportion of divorces among Catholics is in all cases smaller than the one registered for each of the other three

examined groups. The Jews in Budapest show a much higher frequency of divorce than in the other communities. The fact that in Hungary, outside of Budapest, the divorce rates of Jews are higher

TABLE 7

DIVORCES PER 100 MARRIAGES IN THE DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS GROUPS OF BUDAPEST AND OF HUNGARY EXCLUDING BUDAPEST, 1922–32

Year*	Religion of Husbands				Religion of Wives				Total
	Roman Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Jewish	Roman Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Jewish	
Budapest:									
1922–25	16.0	15.1	14.7	17.7	15.4	15.5	20.8	17.7	16.3
1926–30	15.4	15.4	15.3	20.0	15.4	16.7	14.8	19.7	16.4
1931	11.9	13.3	14.6	16.5	12.0	10.7	17.0	17.6	13.3
1932	12.2	12.6	13.2	20.6	12.7	11.4	10.9	20.7	13.9
Hungary excluding Budapest:									
1922–25	5.5	10.2	7.3	9.3	5.7	10.1	7.0	8.3	7.7
1926–30	4.8	7.8	6.0	9.5	4.8	7.8	5.8	9.5	5.6
1931	3.8	6.0	4.4	8.8	3.8	6.3	4.2	8.8	4.5
1932	4.2	6.4	5.3	11.1	4.3	5.7	5.3	10.3	4.9

* Excluding 1923.

TABLE 8*

NUMBER OF DIVORCES PER 1,000 EXISTING MARRIAGES IN SWITZERLAND

Territory	1881–90	1891–1900	1901–10	1911–20	1920
Cities	3.53	3.74	4.63	5.88	5.90
Rural districts	1.63	1.47	1.52	1.25	1.89

*"Ehe, Geburt und Tod in der schweizerischen Bevölkerung während der Jahre 1901-20." *Schweizerische statistische Mitteilungen*, X, Heft 4 (1928), 68. Herausgegeben vom Eidgenössichen Statistichen Bureau. Bern: Buchdruckerei Rösch Vogt & Co. Imprimerei-Berne Kommissionsverlag A. Franke A.-G.

than those registered for the Christian communities must not be considered as deriving from their special attitude toward marriage but as reflecting the influence of cities, where Jews are particularly numerous. The higher rate of divorce in cities is without any doubt a general phenomenon. The data for Switzerland (Table 8) show a

marked difference between divorce rates in urban and in rural districts. Similarly the data for Denmark (Table 9) show a higher frequency of divorce in province towns than in rural districts and still higher values in the capital.

For a more analytical examination of the differential divorce rates for each religious group we have calculated rates of divorce in combination with the religion of husbands and wives, i.e., establishing the number of divorces among married people of different religions in each 100 marriages (Tables 10 and 11). In the period 1910–12

TABLE 9*

AVERAGE YEARLY NUMBER OF DIVORCES IN DENMARK PER 10,000 POPULATION

Year	Existing Marriages in the				New Marriages in the			
	Capital	Cities	Rural Districts	Whole Country	Capital	Cities	Rural Districts	Whole Country
1911–15	45	17	5	16	923	436	143	404
1916–20	57	21	6	20	1,029	439	163	474
1921–25	70	26	8	26	1,350	609	222	618
1926–30	81	33	11	32	1,824	813	292	803

*"Danmarks Statistik," *Aegteskaber, fødte og døde i aarene* (1921–25), p. 27; and for 1926–30, p. 25.

homogeneous couples of the Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Jewish groups divorced less frequently than in the case of mixed marriages in these groups, but this does not hold for the other aggregates. In the period 1930–32, on the contrary, divorces are most frequent with all the groups when the spouses belong to different religious groups.

The relatively high cohesion of Roman Catholic marriages—homogamous or mixed—is apparently a function of religious influences and of differential urban-rural composition. Another related factor to be taken into account is the occupational structure of each group. Unfortunately, there are gaps in the statistical data on this aspect of divorce. It often happens that the classification of occupations concerning the entire population of a country does not coincide with the classification employed to distinguish a particular demographic phenomenon, and hence it is difficult or impossible to

obtain comparable data for consideration of the phenomenon by means of specific demographic indexes. Two procedures have been used to estimate the occupation factor: by relating divorces (1) to marriages contracted in the same occupational class or, a less valid procedure, (2) to the number of the whole population (or active male

TABLE 10

RATE OF DIVORCE BY RELIGION OF SPOUSE PER 100 MARRIAGES CONTRACTED IN PRE-WAR HUNGARY (1910–12) AND IN POST-WAR HUNGARY (1930–32)

Religion of Wives	Religion of Husbands						Average
	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Greek Oriental	Calvinist	Lutheran	Jewish	
1910–12:							
Roman Catholic	2.8	2.7	5.9	5.2	5.2	7.3	3.0
Greek Catholic	2.4	1.8	4.2	3.9	6.0	.....	2.1
Greek Oriental	5.2	4.1	7.5	5.7	47.0*	10.0	7.3
Calvinist	6.1	3.9	6.0	8.4	7.2	9.3	7.9
Lutheran	5.0	6.8	4.6	5.9	5.9	47.1†	5.7
Jewish	6.9	3.7	4.5	11.7	9.4	6.6	6.7
Average	3.0	2.1	7.2	7.6	5.8	6.8	4.6
1930–32:							
Roman Catholic	5.1	4.9	9.5	7.2	7.6	14.6	5.4
Greek Catholic	4.4	2.6	.....	5.1	9.3	10.7	4.0
Greek Oriental	16.5	18.8	8.2	12.0	18.2	18.2	11.4
Calvinist	8.1	5.5	8.7	7.0	8.2	16.7	7.4
Lutheran	7.7	8.7	9.7	7.9	5.4	20.5	6.5
Jewish	16.8	38.1	11.1	19.3	17.6	14.5	14.9
Average	5.5	4.3	8.6	7.2	6.5	14.7	6.4

* From the data of 1910 it appears that this very high value is fallacious, the true value probably being below 10.

† The rate for Jewish-Lutheran divorces is probably erroneous, and the true value would appear to be about 10 or less.

population) of the same occupational groups. In spite of all the indicated deficiencies of a technical and methodological character, it may not be a vain effort to proceed to a short analysis of the problem on the basis of the available data.

Schmied has followed a so-called "territorial" method, classifying the districts of Switzerland according to the proportion of people occupied in agriculture, and considering as industrial zones the terri-

tories where less than 40 per cent are occupied in agriculture, as mixed zones where 40–60 per cent are so engaged, and as agricultural, the districts that have more than 60 per cent. Computing the average yearly number of divorces per 10,000 existing marriages, he has found (see Table 12) that the highest value has been attained in the

TABLE 11

TOTAL NUMBER OF DIVORCES IN PRE-WAR HUNGARY (1910–12) AND IN POST-WAR HUNGARY (1930–32) BY RELIGION OF DIVORCED SPOUSES

Religion of Wives	Religion of Husbands							Total
	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Greek Oriental	Calvinist	Lutheran	Unitarian	Jewish	
1910–12:								
Roman Catholic	5,904	113	119	672	281	25	62	7,177
Greek Catholic	95	827	160	68	12	6	.....	1,169
Greek Oriental	49	161	4,716	26	54	1	2	5,010
Calvinist	659	62	39	4,523	130	49	15	5,480
Lutheran	243	12	10	111	1,498	8	40	1,922
Unitarian	23	2	6	59	3	156	.....	249
Jewish	50	1	2	24	10	.....	1,380	1,470
Total	7,025	1,178	5,052	5,483	1,989	245	1,499	22,527
1930–32:								
Roman Catholic	6,421	100	39	957	318	.....	172	8,032
Greek Catholic	87	57	.....	53	10	.....	3	212
Greek Oriental	44	3	46	23	4	.....	2	123
Calvinist	946	54	17	2,154	122	.....	43	3,344
Lutheran	300	10	6	126	421	.....	23	888
Jewish	178	8	1	54	19	.....	1,409	1,670
Total	7,989	232	109	3,378	897	.....	1,660	14,328

industrial districts (27.4 per 10,000), the lowest in the agricultural districts (10.0), while in the mixed zones an intermediate value can be found (15.8).

In his statistical treatise on divorce Augusto Bosco[5] has also given some data on the differential divorce rates in occupational classes. The rates included in Table 13, though not strictly comparable be-

[5] "Divorzi e separazioni personali di coniugi," *Annali di statistica*, Ser. IV (Rome, 1908).

TABLE 12*

DIVORCE RATES IN SWITZERLAND BY OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE DISTRICTS DURING THE PERIOD 1876–1900

	Percentage of Farmers in the Districts											
	Industrial Districts					Mixed Districts			Agricultural Districts			
	0–9	10–19	20–29	30–39	Average	40–49	50–59	Average	60–69	70–79	80–89	Average
Average number of divorces per 10,000 existing marriages	42.4	26.1	26.6	14.7	27.4	17.5	13.3	15.8	11.7	8.6	1.0	10.0

* Xavier Schmied, *Die Einwirkung wirthschaftlicher und konfessioneller Zustände auf Eheschliessung und Ehelösung* (Luzern, 1905).

TABLE 13*

DIVORCE RATES AND SEPARATIONS IN THE DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS

Occupations	Divorces per 10,000 Inhabitants in the Same Occupations		Divorces per 10,000 Spouses in the Same Occupations	Separations per 10,000 Spouses in the Same Occupations
	France 1886–90	Sweden 1895–99	Switzerland 1881–85	Italy 1896–89
Farmers, proprietors, tenants	0.8	0.8	3.8	0.7
Countrymen	3.0			
Workers, artisans, servants	7.6	4.9	5.9	4.5
Managerial class in industry	3.1	4.7		
Tradesmen, merchants; Occupied in transport	7.4	7.5	8.6; 4.9	9.4
Clerks in commerce and industry	12.2	.....	.....	17.5
Civil servants	7.5	4.5	4.6	.....
Officers in the army and navy	.....	.....	.....	17.2
Liberal professions, artists	7.4	7.6	.....	14.7
Proprietors, capitalists, pensioners	5.8	.....	.....	11.6

* Augusto Bosco, "Divorzi e separazioni personali di coniugi," *Annali di statistica*, Ser. IV (Rome, 1908), pp. 277–86.

cause of the differences in composition of the four countries by religious groups, do nevertheless reveal the outlines of the most salient peculiarities of this phenomenon: highest rates by people occupied in trade, in public and private administration, and in liberal professions, and lowest by people occupied in agriculture.

In the statistical data for Saxony, Lommatzsch was able to distinguish for each large occupational group three subcategories or

TABLE 14*

PROPORTION OF DIVORCED MALES DURING THE YEARS 1906–10 PER 10,000 MARRIED MALES REGISTERED IN 1907 BY OCCUPATION

(Census of the Kingdom of Saxony)

Occupations	Grade of Occupation			
	Self-employed†	Clerks	Laborers	Total
Agriculture	4.4	28.6	18.2	8.3
Industry	9.4	10.7	21.5	17.8
Commerce and transport	14.8	97.0	19.6	29.4
Public administration	.....	7.1‡	36.8§	24.0
Liberal professions	.....	.....	.....	45.8

* Georg Lommatzsch, "Die Scheidungen und Nichtigkeitserklärungen von Ehen in den Jahren 1906 bis 1910," *Zeitschrift des k. sächsischen Landesamtes*, LIX, Heft 2 (1913), 274.

† Including employers and those having no employees.

‡ Independents and clerks of superior degree.

§ Clerks of medium and inferior degree.

ranks: self-employed, clerks, and laborers. However generic, these terms may be sufficient to identify an index of divorce for each category. With respect to the large occupational groups (in Table 14) it seems that in the five-year period, 1906–10, the highest divorce rate is that of liberal professions (45.8 divorces per 10,000 married males). This is followed by trade and transport (29.4), public administration (24.0), industry (17.8), and agriculture (8.3).

In each group the rates calculated for the self-employed show clearly how rarely the members of the upper classes are disposed to resolve their matrimonial discords by divorce. On the other hand, clerks in all the occupational groups except industry show the highest frequency of divorce.

It can be seen from the data for Bavaria and Denmark that conditions have not changed, in spite of the many decades that have elapsed since the periods considered by the authors cited above. The highest occupational rates for Bavaria during the three observed years (Table 15) are found for commerce and transport, and the

TABLE 15*

PROPORTION OF DIVORCED MALES PER 1,000 BRIDEGROOMS BY OCCUPATION IN BAVARIA

Occupations and Grade of Occupations	Number of Divorces per 1,000 Bridegrooms		
	1924	1926	1928
Agriculture	14.2	10.8	13.2
Self-employed†	12.6	8.4	10.8
Clerks	23.8	46.8	34.2
Laborers	25.1	19.1	24.0
Industry	64.5	50.5	44.6
Self-employed†	57.8	46.9	44.0
Clerks	52.0	43.1	43.8
Laborers	68.1	52.4	44.9
Commerce and transport	107.3	120.5	105.4
Self-employed†	115.8	123.8	106.9
Clerks	131.5	124.4	158.2
Laborers	84.2	117.3	46.0
Public administration and liberal professions	73.3	58.3	54.5

* Calculated on base of the crude figures of the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für den Freistaat Bayern* (1926, 1928, 1930).

† Including employers and those having no employees.

lowest for agriculture. Although the classification of occupations differs somewhat from that of the pre-war data of Saxony, the phenomenon remains substantially equal between nearly identical limits. The rates for Denmark (Table 16), although they include classification of professional groups which are comparable only generically to those just considered, lead to conclusions that do not differ substantially from those already given. The general conclusion to be drawn is: Divorce constitutes a rare expedient with rural classes; but commercial and professional classes, as well as clerks, show a definite inclination to choose this way of resolving conjugal difficulties.

The analysis of probable causes of the marked differences in the divorce rates of various professional classes is not within the scope of this study. It may, however, be stated that these differences cannot be attributed exclusively to the influence of the religious factor. It is obvious, indeed, that if a given occupation is practiced predominantly by a group belonging to the same religious denomination,

TABLE 16*

DIVORCE RATES IN DENMARK BY PROFESSIONS

Occupational Groups	Number of Divorces per 1,000 New Marriages 1921–25	Occupational Groups	Number of Divorces per 1,000 New Marriages 1926–30
Rural proprietors	9.4	Large proprietors	37.2
Milkmen, gardeners, forest guards, etc.	17.4	Rural proprietors	13.2
Small rural proprietors, fishermen, etc.	11.9	Small proprietors	13.3
Agricultural laborers	42.9	Agricultural laborers	18.1
Independent artisans, etc.	60.4	Independent artisans, etc.	95.6
Industrial and commerce workers (including sailors)	86.1	Workers	98.0
Tradesmen, directors, etc.	233.5	Tradesmen	120.7
Merchants and other independent dealers	91.3		
Industrial and commerce clerks (including merchant officers)	52.9	Clerks	125.0
Lawyers, physicians	98.8	Free professions	110.0
Public functionaries	69.1		
Servants	15.1	Servants	63.1
All	61.8	All	80.3

*The different occupational classification in the second period was introduced by Danish official statistics. Rates are calculated on base of crude figures of *Aegteskaber, fødte og døde i aarene* (1921–25 and 1926–30).

similar divorce rates would be registered for that given occupation as for the given religious group. This might have been the case of the Jews, for example, in the commercial class. The high proportion of Jews among the proprietors and employees in commerce, trade, transport, and banking, influenced by the liberality of the Israelitic religion, might have resulted in a higher frequency of divorce for that occupational class. Precisely for the purpose of eliminating such an indirect religious factor, we have utilized the statistics of those coun-

tries (Saxony, Bavaria, Denmark, and Switzerland) where the homogeneity of religion or the negligible share of Jewish population permits a clear separation of the occupational factor from the religious one.

The study of Schmied shows the relative importance of occupational and religious factors. Schmied grouped districts in Switzerland according to the proportion of the total employed who were engaged in agriculture. When he related the divorce rate to the percentage of Catholic inhabitants and to the occupational character of

TABLE 17*

AVERAGE YEARLY NUMBER OF DIVORCES PER 10,000 EXISTING MARRIAGES IN SWITZERLAND DURING THE PERIOD 1876–1900

Percentage of Catholics	Industrial Districts (0–39 Per Cent Agricultural)	Mixed Districts (40–59 Per Cent Agricultural)	Agricultural Districts (60 Per Cent or More Agricultural)
0–9	26.9	21.7	19.5
10–19	30.1	22.5	22.5
20–29	34.9	13.5	17.6
30–39	21.1	19.7	10.7
40–49	39.1	17.2	.....
50–59	18.8	15.4	12.2
60–69	26.5	.....	.....
70–79	17.6	13.0	5.8
80–89	9.5	12.5	4.1
90–100	6.2	4.9	2.9

* See Schmied, *Die Einwirkung wirthschaftlicher und konfessioneller Zustände auf Eheschliessung und Ehelösung*, Table 12.

each district, he found (see Table 17) an association between high percentages of Catholics and low divorce rates. He also found a positive relationship between frequency of divorce and degree of industrialization, despite the fact that both industrial and rural districts are largely Catholic.

It cannot be doubted that in social classes where women can more easily depend on their own resources, such as commercial, liberal, professional, clerical classes, etc., there is a greater potentiality of divorce than in those classes where the activity of women is based chiefly on familial life, as in agricultural classes. Also it must not be forgotten that the fertility of wives exerts a solid influence upon

divorce. It is understood that childless spouses more readily resort to divorce than those having many children, because beyond the problems which directly interest the lives of the spouses there are also the problems regarding the education and care of the children. It is well known that the religious and occupational groups are characterized by considerable variation in degree of fertility. Merely to illustrate this, we give some data concerning fertility indexes for the various religious groups of Hungary (Table 18).

TABLE 18*

FERTILITY OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN HUNGARY

Indexes	Religious Groups						Average
	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Greek Oriental	Calvinist	Lutheran	Jewish	
Average number of live births per 1,000 females fifteen to forty-nine years of age, 1910–11.....	149	161	143	138	130	106	144
Average number of live births per 1,000 females fifteen to forty-nine years of age, 1921.....	120	169	128	120	110	55	116
Average number of children born per married woman as of 1920..	3.72	4.10	3.62	3.46	3.54	2.97	3.62

* See Somogyi, *Aspetti demografici dei gruppi confessionali in Ungheria, con particolare riguardo agli Ebrei*, pp. 101, 108.

It must be observed finally that the territorial distribution of occupations can also explain influence upon the frequency of divorce. The fact that people living in villages or rural towns must go to cities to institute divorce proceedings tends to deter them from taking such action. On the other hand, it must not be overlooked that there is a psychological difference between instituting divorce procedures in urban and rural communities. The latter try to take the law of marital life in their own hands and in only a few cases will resort to humiliating, mortifying publicity of their matrimonial difficulties. The countrywoman, for instance, will accept with more stoic resignation even severe ill-treatment on the part of her husband—whom she regards as her master—than the woman living in town.

With regard to the very low frequency of divorce among the self-

employed of the various professional classes it is relevant to note that these people have generally accumulated some property. It seems obvious that in such cases a division of goods may lead to an undesirable financial condition, resulting in damage to their professional interests, so that in this social class an attempt will be made to avoid divorce, even if the discord between the spouses has arrived at

TABLE 19*

DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS BY OCCUPATIONS IN HUNGARY

Occupations	Per 100 Active Persons in 1910							Per 100 Active Persons in 1930			
	Roman Catholics	Greek Catholics	Greek Orientals	Calvinists	Lutherans	Unitarians	Jews	Roman Catholics	Calvinists	Lutherans	Jews
Agriculture	43.5	14.7	17.7	15.5	7.5	0.5	0.5	63.8	25.4	6.9	0.3
Industry:											
Self-employed	53.6	4.5	7.3	13.8	7.9	.4	12.4	62.4	18.4	5.8	11.0
Clerks	39.9	0.6	1.0	5.6	8.4	.2	43.9	50.7	8.6	6.3	33.3
Laborers	64.3	4.2	5.2	11.8	7.7	.3	6.4	70.9	15.8	5.7	5.6
Commerce and banking:											
Self-employed	28.3	1.5	5.3	6.2	4.3	.1	54.1	41.1	11.1	3.6	42.3
Clerks	30.4	0.9	2.6	6.3	6.1	.2	53.3	45.3	11.2	5.5	36.7
Laborers	41.7	2.1	6.0	9.3	5.8	.2	34.8	59.4	17.3	5.5	15.7
Transport:											
Self-employed	43.0	6.8	11.3	14.6	4.9	.1	18.8	(Included in "Commerce and Banking")			
Clerks	61.0	1.8	1.7	13.8	8.2	.5	12.9				
Laborers	63.7	4.3	3.6	19.6	5.8	.5	2.4				
Liberal professions and civil servants	52.7	4.9	5.8	16.6	8.1	.7	11.0	62.8	19.2	6.6	8.9
Domestic servants	61.5	8.4	4.8	16.4	6.5	0.7	1.7	69.2	20.9	6.1	1.0
Average (including others)	49.0	10.9	13.3	14.5	7.3	0.4	4.5	64.2	21.2	6.3	5.3

* Data from Somogyi, *Aspetti demografici*, pp. 180–81 for 1910; for 1930, calculated on base of the crude figures of the census of population.

such a point that for persons of other social classes it would constitute a sufficient reason to put an end to conjugal life.

It is legitimate to ask now whether the different rates of divorce by religious groups in Hungary must be attributed to the effects of a different conception of morality from group to group (morality influenced by factors of a strictly religious nature) or if those differences are due in reality to other sociological causes. If these communities had been characterized by a proportionate occupational distribution or by the same degree of urbanism, there would have

been no difficulty in showing that religious factors were dominant in the regulation of divorce frequency. But the facts give no evidence for this.

In Hungary there is disparity in the part that each religious group takes in the economic life of the country and in the distribution of these groups in urban and rural territories, as can be observed from

TABLE 20*

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION OF HUNGARY IN 1910 AND IN 1930 BY RELIGION

Census Year and Regions	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Greek Oriental	Calvinist	Lutheran	Unitarian	Jewish
1910 (pre-war Hungary):							
Urban	56.0	3.4	4.9	17.0	5.9	0.3	12.4
Rural	47.6	13.0	14.8	13.5	7.5	.4	3.1
Whole country	49.3	11.0	12.8	14.3	7.1	0.4	5.0
1930 (post-war Hungary):							
Urban	61.3	1.3	0.4	19.9	5.6	.....	11.2
Rural	66.7	2.8	0.5	21.3	6.4	.....	2.1
Whole country	64.9	2.3	0.5	20.9	6.1	.....	5.1

* Data from the *Recensement général de la population des pays de la sainte couronne hongroise en 1910: résumé des résultats* (Budapest, 1924), p. 111; and from the *Recensement général de la population de 1930*, Part I (Budapest, 1933), p. 27.

Table 19 regarding occupational data and Table 20 concerning territorial distribution of the population.

The differential divorce rates in the various religious groups may be regarded as deriving from differences in attitudes and sensibilities, which in turn are considered to be functions of divergent conditions of life in urban and rural areas, particularly with respect to the educational and occupational spheres. The influence of religion in shaping these attitudes and sensibilities, while not regarded as inconsiderable, is viewed as insufficient to nullify the influence of the educational and occupational factors.

ROME, ITALY

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGAGED AND MARRIED COUPLES

ROBERT F. WINCH

ABSTRACT

Although associations have previously been established between scores on personality tests and scores on marital happiness and marital adjustment indexes, the nature of the association and the direction of causation have not been systematically explored. By showing that a similar association obtains between the scores of engaged persons on personality tests and on an adjustment in engagement index, this paper indicates that the previously demonstrated relationship is not a result of the *marital* "halo" effect. The data are interpreted as providing partial evidence to support the view held by Terman that personality factors determine "aptitude for marriage."

In 1938 Professor Terman and his associates, of Stanford University, published a report of their research on marriage,[1] which showed a highly significant association between responses of a "neurotic" order to various personality tests and low rating on their index of "marital happiness."[2] The personality tests used were the Bern-

[1] Lewis M. Terman *et al.*, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1938).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 360. Correlations of marital happiness with personality scales were as follows:

Variables	Husbands ($N=200$)	Wives ($N=200$)
Bernreuter (Bn.)	.38	.42
Strong items (St.)	.36	.35
Opinion items (O.)	.22	.22
Personality total (multiple of Bn. + St. + O.)	.47	.46

"The Bernreuter inventory yields scores for neurotic tendency, self-sufficiency, introversion, and dominance. These four measures really reduce to three, since it has been found that the traits designated as neurotic tendency and introversion are practically identical. The Strong Interest Test can be scored so as to differentiate the interest patterns characteristic of people in some thirty-five different occupations. Many of these patterns, however, are very similar; and in this study we scored the test for only seven occupations, each selected as best representing a particular constellation of interests. In addition, the Strong test yields a measure of interest maturity and another of masculinity-femininity of interests" (Terman *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 17).

Thirty-four items "call for expressions of opinion about the ideal marriage. Each of these deals with a separate aspect of marriage and requires the respondent to give a rated judgment as to the desirability or undesirability of the factor indicated" (*ibid.*, p. 36).

reuter Personality Inventory, the Strong Interest Test, and a test of opinions regarding the ideal marriage. Terman's scale of marital happiness[3] was practically the same as that used by Professors Burgess and Cottrell; and, although Terman did not use any other criterion of validity than internal consistency, Burgess and Cottrell validated their procedures in samples of their total number of cases by obtaining ratings on the happiness of marriages from outsiders acquainted with the subjects and by having judges rate the happiness of marriages after reading the case materials.[4]

The Terman study did not include two or more temporally separated observations on the same subjects which would have provided some evidence regarding the relative temporal sequence of personality factors and marital adjustment. Despite the absence of this type of evidence Terman proceeded on the basis of his findings to impute primary causal significance to the personality factors and to interpret marital happiness as resultant.[5] Terman and his associates have been severely criticized for this rashness by H. L. Hollingworth,[6] who asserts that, because of the tendency for well-adjusted spouses to respond favorably on personality and other tests and for poorly adjusted to do the opposite (the "halo" effect of marriage), it is impossible to infer the direction of causation on the basis of Terman's evidence.

At this point in the development of marriage research it was of considerable interest to undertake a study which would supply some evidence to affirm or negate the opinion that personality factors are, roughly speaking, causes rather than effects of the type or degree of marital adjustment. Following the Burgess-Cottrell study, Professor Burgess and Paul Wallin undertook a study having a body of

[3] This scale was based on questions relating to congeniality of tastes and interests; the spouses' ability to agree, their expressions of satisfaction with mate and marriage, general estimates of their marital happiness, and the enumeration of complaints and frictions. These items which were regarded by Terman on the basis of his judgment and experience as indicators of marital happiness were scored by him in a manner somewhat different from the procedure followed by Burgess and Cottrell. Cf. E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, Jr., *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939).

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 40–44, 71.

[5] Terman *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

[6] "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," *Psychological Bulletin*, XXXVI (1939), 191–97.

evidence on engaged couples to be followed up by further observations on the same couples after a period of three years of marital experience. The items in the marital-adjustment scale of the Burgess-Cottrell study were adapted so as to serve as an index of adjustment in engagement.[7] Included in this study was an abridged personality test of the forty-two items from the Thurstone Schedule which were found by the Thurstones to differentiate most reliably neurotic from nonneurotic subjects.[8] It was possible then to relate the "neurotic" scores of engaged individuals to their scores on the adjustment-in-engagement index.

This paper presents the results of the writer's attempt to relate the scores of engaged couples on personality questions to the men's scores on the adjustment-in-engagement index in the Burgess-Wallin study. The purpose of the study was to introduce one of the missing links in the chain of evidence needed to ascertain whether or not we may impute causal significance to personality factors in relation to marital adjustment or "happiness." If approximately the same association should be found to exist between personality-test responses and adjustment in *engagement* as was found in Terman's study, between personality items and *marital* adjustment, then it follows that marriage per se (the "halo" effect) is not responsible for the results of the personality tests. Obviously, however, this procedure would not rule out of consideration the possible influence of a "halo" effect of engagement upon the responses of the engaged couple.

Using the engagement data of the Burgess-Wallin research, the writer undertook an investigation to determine the relation between the adjustment-in-engagement scores of the men and the combined man-woman responses to the forty-two Thurstone items. The various permutations obviously are: man neurotic, woman nonneurot-

[7] The adjustment-in-engagement scale was based upon a list of agreements, common interests, expressions regarding frequency of and satisfaction with demonstrations of affection, degree of confiding, and dissatisfaction with the engagement and with the engaged partner. The adaptation of this scale from the marital-adjustment scale is based upon the assumption that some of the factors which were found to be associated with marital adjustment would also be operative in the engagement situation.

[8] L. L. and T. G. Thurstone, "A Neurotic Inventory," *Journal of Social Psychology*, I (1930), 3–30. These Thurstone questions are very similar in content and phraseology to the Bernreuter questions used by Terman.

ic; man nonneurotic, woman neurotic; both neurotic; and both nonneurotic. It should be borne in mind in discussing this study that the term "neurotic" is used to refer to one of two possible responses to a particular stimulus—in this case, a questionnaire item.

The procedure used may be briefly described as follows: The possible range of scores on the index of adjustment in engagement was from 0 to 194. After all schedules had been scored, the results of the various man-woman combinations on each neurotic question were compared with the resulting distributions of the men's mean adjustment scores. It was possible then to determine the significance of the difference between the mean adjustment scores within the various questions. The procedure used for obtaining a measure of the statistical significance of a difference between the mean adjustment scores was the familiar one of dividing the difference by the standard error of the difference.[9] The limit of significance was arbitrarily selected as a critical ratio equal to or greater than 3.0. If any one of the six differences between the four means of any given question yielded a critical ratio of this magnitude, the question was regarded as "significant."

Using this criterion of significance it was found that twenty-eight of the forty-two questions yielded significant differences on the basis of the men's scores.[10] The personality items found to be associated with poor adjustment were as follows. The poorly adjusted:

1. Did not take responsibility for introducing people at parties
2. Were troubled with shyness
3. Did not make friends easily or quickly
4. Did not feel that they were usually well dressed and made a good appearance
5. Worried too long over humiliating experiences

[9] The quotient, known as a critical ratio, was defined by the following formula:

$$C.R. = \frac{\overline{X}_1 - \overline{X}_2}{\sqrt{\left(\frac{n_1S_1^2 + n_2S_2^2 + n_3S_3^2 + n_4S_4^2}{n_1 + n_2 + n_3 + n_4 - 4}\right)^{(1/n_1+1/n_2)}}},$$

where $\overline{X}_1$ and $\overline{X}_2$ were mean men's adjustment scores in the permutations being compared; S_1^2, S_2^2, S_3^2, and S_4^2 were the mean square deviations of adjustment scores of each permutation of responses within any given question; n_1, n_2, n_3, and n_4 were the numbers of cases in each permutation, where each case represents one couple; and n_1 and n_2 were the numbers of cases in the permutations whose difference in mean adjustment scores was being compared.

[10] Mean adjustment scores on all forty-two items and critical ratios of differences between mean adjustment scores are shown in Table 1.

6. Worried over possible misfortunes
7. Often felt lonesome even when with other people
8. Often experienced periods of loneliness
9. Lacked self-confidence
10. Were troubled by feelings of inferiority
11. Were troubled with ideas running through their heads so that they had difficulty sleeping
12. Daydreamed frequently
13. Their interests changed quickly
14. Their minds often wandered badly so that they lost track of what they were doing
15. Were bothered by a recurrence of useless thoughts
16. Were hampered by an inability to arrive at decisions
17. Considered themselves to be nervous
18. Had spells of dizziness
19. Were discouraged easily
20. Were frequently burdened by a sense of remorse
21. Were not usually in good spirits
22. Had ups and downs in mood without apparent cause
23. Their feelings were easily hurt
24. Were not usually even tempered and happy in their outlook on life
25. Could not stand criticism without feeling hurt
26. Were touchy on various subjects
27. Frequently felt grouchy
28. Were not easily moved to tears

With respect to the last item above, the data indicate that a high man's adjustment score is associated with that combination of responses in which the woman reports that she is *not* easily moved to tears but the man reports that he *is* easily moved to tears—or, in terms of our definition, the man-neurotic–woman-nonneurotic permutation. Despite the fact that this question yielded a high critical ratio (5.45),[11] further study on the Burgess-Wallin investigation suggests that this may have been a chance finding.

Another point of particular interest is that while the group in this study showed a tendency for high adjustment in *engagement* to be associated with a negative response to a question of worrying over possible misfortunes, Professor Terman found in his study of *married*

[11] This is the critical ratio of the difference between the men's mean adjustment scores of the man-neurotic–woman-nonneurotic and man-neurotic–woman-neurotic computations.

couples that the affirmative response to approximately the same question was associated with high marital adjustment. One possible interpretation of this difference is that the difference in the wordings of the question of the two studies might account for the variation in results. Terman's question was phrased "Are you the carefree sort of person who doesn't worry over possible misfortunes before they come?" while in this study it was "Do you worry over possible misfortunes?" Professor Terman's interpretation of this seemingly anomalous association was that the husbands who scored higher in marital happiness were the husbands who were more concerned over family fortunes, the husbands who assumed greater responsibility for the economic welfare of the family—those men, in short, who more closely approximated the cultural definition of the middle-class husband. Terman's finding may be reconciled with the evidence in this study as follows. Among the engaged men it was the better adjusted who stated that they did not worry over possible misfortunes. It may be inferred that the latter (engaged) group of men had not been subjected to situations in which they were forced to assume responsibilities, for obviously engagement does not involve responsibilities of the same type or magnitude that marriage does. A very small proportion of this group had been married previously, and consequently most of them had had only their own welfares to look out for as of the time they filled in the schedules.

More recently an analysis was made by Miss Frieda Brim, recently a research assistant to Professor Burgess, of approximately the same set of data. Miss Brim's data and procedure differed from those in my study in the following respects:

1. There was a small change in the total sample.
2. There was a change in the procedure for scoring neurotic and nonneurotic responses.
3. A modification was introduced in the basis of computation of the adjustment scores.
4. She used as the limit of significance a critical ratio of 2.5 rather than 3.0. (This more liberal criterion of significance increases the theoretical probability of chance variation from less than 3 out of 1,000 to a little more than 1 out of 100.)
5. Analysis was made of the responses to personality items with respect to the women's as well as to the men's adjustment scores.

Except for the last difference in procedure, which extends the scope of the study, these changes were of a very minor order; and in general her findings, with respect both to the men's and to the women's adjustment scores, were very similar to those in my study. That is, save for some exceptions to be noted below, the same personality items as reported above were found by her to be significantly associated with adjustment in engagement of both men and women subjects.

The following differences were revealed:

1. As noted before, the question "Is it difficult to move you to tears?" did not prove significant in her analysis either with respect to the men's or with respect to the women's adjustment scores.
2. Additional significant items found by her different procedure and lower limit of significance were as follows:
   a) The more poorly adjusted men gave a significantly greater proportion of affirmative responses to the following items:
      (1) Being bothered by having people watch them at work
      (2) Being depressed over low marks in school
      (3) Frequently feeling states of excitement
      (4) Frequently feeling miserable
      (5) Feeling self-conscious in the presence of superiors
   b) The more poorly adjusted women gave a significantly greater proportion of affirmative responses to the following items:
      (1) Frequently experiencing stage fright
      (2) Being troubled if watched at work
      (3) Frequently feeling miserable
      (4) Being self-conscious in the presence of superiors
      (5) Feeling a compulsion to do things over
      (6) Lacking self-confidence about their abilities

It must be noted that at this point we have still not actually demonstrated the causal function of personality factors in determining adjustment in engagement. Although it is still possible that the engagement itself may determine the response on personality items, common-sense judgment and evidence from case materials lend plausibility to the opinion that the personality factors are the preexisting, and in that sense causal, factors.

We have shown, to be sure, that some personality responses of the type found by Terman to be associated with marital happiness are similarly associated with adjustment in engagement and hence are

not the result of the marital situation. Upon the basis of this evidence it appears that Professor Terman was correct, if not logically justified, in imputing causal significance to the personality correlates of marital happiness. Before it can be shown rigorously that the responses of this type of personality test are associated with a personality organization which determines the degree of happiness and adjustment in engagement and in marriage, it will be necessary to institute a study composed of subjects before they have established with their future spouses deep attachments or the kind of relationships which are the equivalent of engagement. If, however, the interest is in predicting marital adjustment from personality factors as revealed in the engagement period, the question of causal analysis is immaterial, in view of the fact that the establishing of correlations is sufficient.

The general pattern revealed by the significant personality questions in these studies and in Terman's is one of association with marital unhappiness of a personality characterized by a sort of overreactive touchiness and a sense of inferiority. From Professor Burgess' case materials it seems evident that through the medium of these crude personality tests it is possible to touch upon, or get a clue to, a much deeper psychological constitution.[12] The manner of the genesis of this psychological constitution is still an open question. Professor Terman calls it "temperament," which he apparently regards as a personality organization which is fixed at birth.[13] An equally plausible hypothesis is that this psychological constitution is a product, in part at least, of the early childhood situation and that the childhood situation, therefore, plays a very important part in the achievement of compatibility and happiness in engagement and in marriage.

A crucial problem for further research is that of obtaining a considerable number of intimate case histories. The need for this type

[12] An interesting effort to reduce the crudeness of the forty-two Thurstone items was made by Charles Mosier. On the basis of data collected from five hundred male college students he performed a factor analysis of the items which yielded eight factors. These he has tentatively labeled cycloid tendency, depression, hypersensitivity, inferiority, social introversion, public self-consciousness, cognitive defect, and autistic tendency (*Psychometrika*, II [1937], 263–86).

[13] Terman, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

TABLE 1

Mean Scores of Adjustment in Engagement Associated with Permutations of Responses to 42 Items of Thurstone Neurotic Inventory and Critical Ratios of Differences between Mean Adjustment Scores

Thurstone Personality Items	Permutation	Winch Study: Based on Men's Adjustment Scores					Brim Study: Based on Men's Adjustment Scores					Brim Study: Based on Women's Adjustment Scores				
		N	$\bar{X}$	C.R. $d-x$*	C.R. $c-x$	C.R. $b-x$	N	$\bar{X}$	C.R. $d-x$	C.R. $c-x$	C.R. $b-x$	N	$\bar{X}$	C.R. $d-x$	C.R. $c-x$	C.R $b-x$
Do you get stage fright?	a†	185	159.5	0.2	−1.0	−1.2	186	151.7	1.5	−0.2	−0.9	186	151.7	2.1	−2.0	0.4
	b	150	157.3	1.5	0.6	.....	156	149.9	2.4	0.8	.....	156	152.4	1.6	−2.3	.....
	c	295	158.3	1.2	.....	.....	296	151.4	1.9	.....	.....	296	148.1	4.9	.....	.....
	d	370	159.9	.....	.....	.....	359	154.2	.....	.....	.....	359	155.3	.....	.....	.....
Do you take responsibility for introducing people at parties?	a	151	157.2	2.7	1.3	−0.4	146	151.1	1.7	1.1	−1.0	146	152.4	0.7	−0.8	−0.8
	b	259	156.5	3.8	1.9	.....	262	149.3	3.3	2.3	.....	262	150.9	1.8	−0.1	.....
	c	181	159.3	1.2	.....	.....	176	153.5	0.4	.....	.....	176	150.7	1.7	.....	.....
	d	409	160.8	.....	.....	.....	408	154.2	.....	.....	.....	408	153.6	.....	.....	.....
Do you worry too long over humiliating experiences?	a	122	154.5	3.4	2.3	−0.0	128	146.7	4.7	2.9	0.4	128	148.3	3.7	0.8	1.0
	b	162	154.5	3.9	2.5	.....	160	147.6	4.5	2.6	.....	160	150.4	2.8	−0.3	.....
	c	281	158.6	1.2	.....	.....	277	152.4	2.1	.....	.....	277	149.8	3.8	.....	.....
	d	435	160.1	.....	.....	.....	432	155.4	.....	.....	.....	432	155.3	.....	.....	.....
Do you often feel lonesome, even when you are with other people?	a	131	157.3	2.6	0.3	−1.5	130	150.1	2.7	0.7	−1.1	130	149.5	2.9	−0.2	0.8
	b	178	154.5	4.8	1.9	.....	174	147.8	4.4	1.9	.....	174	151.3	2.1	−1.1	.....
	c	219	157.8	2.8	.....	.....	226	151.4	2.5	.....	.....	226	149.2	3.7	.....	.....
	d	472	161.6	.....	.....	.....	462	155.1	.....	.....	.....	462	154.8	.....	.....	.....
Do you consider yourself a rather nervous person?	a	99	155.6	3.1	1.0	0.2	104	149.7	2.6	0.7	−0.9	104	148.9	2.9	0.2	0.9
	b	166	156.0	3.8	0.9	.....	162	147.5	4.4	2.0	.....	162	151.1	2.1	−1.0	.....
	c	264	157.5	3.2	.....	.....	264	151.3	2.6	.....	.....	264	149.3	3.8	.....	.....
	d	471	161.5	.....	.....	.....	468	155.0	.....	.....	.....	468	154.7	.....	.....	.....
Do ideas often run through your head so that you cannot sleep?	a	160	153.8	5.5	3.8	1.5	162	146.7	5.2	2.5	1.7	162	147.4	4.2	1.6	2.4
	b	213	156.4	4.0	2.0	.....	215	150.0	3.6	0.9	.....	215	152.1	1.6	−0.9	.....
	c	206	159.7	1.6	.....	.....	206	151.6	2.6	.....	.....	206	150.5	2.6	.....	.....
	d	421	161.9	.....	.....	.....	411	155.7	.....	.....	.....	411	154.7	.....	.....	.....
Are your feelings easily hurt?	a	250	154.5	5.4	2.8	0.9	252	147.9	4.8	3.4	1.9	252	148.6	3.9	1.9	2.6
	b	152	156.0	3.6	2.9	.....	146	151.6	2.1	0.9	.....	146	153.6	0.7	−1.0	.....
	c	300	160.8	0.8	.....	.....	309	153.2	1.5	.....	.....	309	151.7	2.1	.....	.....
	d	298	161.8	.....	.....	.....	290	155.5	.....	.....	.....	290	155.0	.....	.....	.....
Are you sometimes the leader at social affairs?	a	135	158.3	−0.2	1.2	−0.1	135	152.4	−0.2	0.9	−0.6	135	151.4	0.4	0.8	0.1
	b	216	158.2	−0.2	1.3	.....	215	151.3	0.5	1.5	.....	215	151.5	0.4	0.8	.....
	c	187	160.4	−1.8	.....	.....	179	154.2	−1.3	.....	.....	179	153.1	−0.6	.....	.....
	d	462	157.9	.....	.....	.....	465	152.1	.....	.....	.....	465	152.2	.....	.....	.....
Are you frequently burdened by a sense of remorse?	a	96	157.3	2.0	0.1	−0.7	91	150.7	1.9	0.3	−2.2	91	149.4	2.3	−0.5	0.5
	b	150	155.8	3.3	0.9	.....	156	145.4	5.6	2.9	.....	156	150.5	2.2	−1.2	.....
	c	167	157.5	2.4	.....	.....	161	151.4	2.0	.....	.....	161	148.1	3.7	.....	.....
	d	587	161.0	.....	.....	.....	584	154.6	.....	.....	.....	584	154.3	.....	.....	.....
Do you worry over possible misfortunes?	a	127	157.7	2.5	−0.3	−1.2	138	150.9	2.3	0.4	−1.2	138	150.7	2.5	−0.9	0.0
	b	221	155.3	4.7	1.2	.....	221	148.5	4.3	1.8	.....	221	150.7	2.9	−1.0	.....
	c	240	157.1	3.7	.....	.....	239	151.6	2.3	.....	.....	239	148.9	4.1	.....	.....
	d	412	161.8	.....	.....	.....	398	155.1	.....	.....	.....	398	155.3	.....	.....	.....
Are you usually even tempered and happy in your outlook on life?	a	27	140.4	3.3	2.2	0.3	28	143.9	3.0	1.8	−0.2	28	142.5	3.2	1.0	1.8
	b	127	151.6	6.0	3.3	.....	130	143.2	6.4	3.3	.....	130	149.4	2.6	−1.2	.....
	c	135	157.9	2.0	.....	.....	129	150.7	2.1	.....	.....	129	146.6	4.2	.....	.....
	d	711	160.8	.....	.....	.....	712	154.5	.....	.....	.....	712	154.0	.....	.....	.....

* The expressions $d-x$, $c-x$, and $b-x$ refer to differences between mean adjustment scores. The first terms in these expressions (d, c, and b) designate the mean from which the others (x) are subtracted. The second term (x) is a general notation referring to the mean of any other permutation. Its referent in any given case is determined by the letter on the same line in the "Permutation" column. The entries in the "C.R." columns are, then, critical ratios of the designated differences between mean adjustment scores.

† The permutations designated by the letters are as follows: (a) both neurotic; (b) man neurotic, woman non-neurotic; (c) man non-neurotic, woman neurotic; (d) both non-neurotic.

TABLE 1—*Continued*

Thurstone Personality Items	Permutation	Winch Study: Based on Men's Adjustment Scores					Brim Study: Based on Men's Adjustment Scores					Brim Study: Based on Women's Adjustment Scores				
		N	$\bar{X}$	C.R. $d-x$*	C.R. $c-x$	C.R. $b-x$	N	$\bar{X}$	C.R. $d-x$	C.R. $c-x$	C.R. $b-x$	N	$\bar{X}$	C.R. $d-x$	C.R. $c-x$	C.R. $b-x$
Are you troubled with shyness?	a	69	152.8	3.6	3.4	0.7	67	145.8	3.5	2.9	0.6	67	145.8	3.2	1.7	2.4
	b	153	154.5	3.7	3.2	.....	157	147.2	4.1	3.0	.....	157	152.3	0.7	−1.0	.....
	c	196	160.3	0.1	.....	.....	197	153.2	0.5	.....	.....	197	150.2	2.1	.....	.....
	d	582	160.3	.....	.....	.....	577	154.0	.....	.....	.....	577	153.5	.....	.....	.....
Do you daydream frequently?	a	374	157.5	2.2	3.4	−1.4	368	151.5	1.4	1.9	−1.5	368	151.5	1.9	0.7	−1.0
	b	186	155.5	3.2	3.7	.....	184	149.0	2.5	3.0	.....	184	149.8	2.5	1.5	.....
	c	214	161.6	−0.6	.....	.....	222	154.6	−0.4	.....	.....	222	152.6	1.1	.....	.....
	d	226	160.6	.....	.....	.....	219	153.8	.....	.....	.....	219	154.5	.....	.....	.....
Have you ever had spells of dizziness?	a	55	152.1	3.5	3.1	1.0	59	143.6	4.2	3.2	1.0	59	146.2	3.0	1.3	1.4
	b	129	154.7	3.4	2.7	.....	125	146.5	4.3	2.7	.....	125	150.3	2.0	−0.2	.....
	c	226	159.5	0.6	.....	.....	226	152.1	1.5	.....	.....	226	149.9	2.8	.....	.....
	d	590	160.3	.....	.....	.....	584	154.3	.....	.....	.....	584	153.9	.....	.....	.....
Do you get discouraged easily?	a	84	150.6	5.6	3.7	1.8	85	142.8	5.6	3.6	2.5	85	144.9	4.8	1.3	1.9
	b	126	154.8	4.0	1.9	.....	133	149.1	3.2	1.1	.....	133	149.7	3.1	−0.9	.....
	c	212	158.3	2.3	.....	.....	213	151.3	2.3	.....	.....	213	148.0	5.0	.....	.....
	d	578	161.3	.....	.....	.....	565	154.8	.....	.....	.....	565	155.4	.....	.....	.....
Do your interests change quickly?	a	81	153.6	3.6	2.4	0.9	83	146.5	3.6	2.2	0.9	83	146.1	3.6	2.0	1.8
	b	145	155.7	3.1	1.7	.....	147	148.7	3.2	1.5	.....	147	150.6	1.9	0.2	.....
	c	192	158.7	1.3	.....	.....	194	151.9	1.5	.....	.....	194	151.0	1.9	.....	.....
	d	582	160.6	.....	.....	.....	572	154.2	.....	.....	.....	572	153.9	.....	.....	.....
Is it difficult to move you to tears?	a	259	158.4	1.1	−1.2	−3.9	265	151.1	1.4	0.9	0.4	265	150.7	1.4	1.1	1.5
	b	161	164.6	−2.4	−5.5	.....	108	151.9	0.8	0.3	.....	108	153.9	−0.2	−0.8	.....
	c	424	156.6	2.5	.....	.....	474	152.4	0.8	.....	.....	474	152.2	0.7	.....	.....
	d	156	160.3	.....	.....	.....	150	153.8	.....	.....	.....	150	153.3	.....	.....	.....
Does it bother you to have people watch you at work even when you do it well?	a	129	156.0	2.1	2.1	0.3	135	149.2	2.8	1.8	−0.4	135	150.3	1.9	−0.0	1.3
	b	157	156.5	2.0	2.0	.....	150	148.3	3.4	2.3	.....	150	153.3	0.3	−1.6	.....
	c	306	159.4	0.2	.....	.....	317	152.7	1.3	.....	.....	317	150.2	2.6	.....	.....
	d	408	159.3	.....	.....	.....	395	154.4	.....	.....	.....	395	153.9	.....	.....	.....
Can you stand criticism without feeling hurt?	a	98	154.7	3.7	2.1	0.3	96	145.7	4.7	2.9	0.7	96	145.9	4.5	1.6	2.3
	b	158	155.4	4.0	2.0	.....	156	147.3	4.8	2.5	.....	156	151.5	2.2	−1.2	.....
	c	281	158.7	2.1	.....	.....	286	151.9	2.5	.....	.....	286	149.3	4.3	.....	.....
	d	463	161.2	.....	.....	.....	460	155.5	.....	.....	.....	460	155.4	.....	.....	.....
Do you make friends easily and quickly?	a	83	158.8	0.7	3.4	−1.9	89	153.1	0.3	−0.1	−2.3	89	153.1	−0.2	−0.9	−0.8
	b	194	155.5	4.0	0.3	.....	192	147.7	3.8	2.7	.....	192	151.1	1.1	−0.1	.....
	c	181	159.5	0.4	.....	.....	172	152.9	0.5	.....	.....	172	150.9	1.1	.....	.....
	d	542	160.0	.....	.....	.....	544	153.6	.....	.....	.....	544	152.8	.....	.....	.....
Are you troubled with the idea that people are watching you on the street?	a	18	150.6	2.3	1.4	−1.5	18	143.3	2.2	1.5	1.2	18	143.9	2.0	1.1	1.4
	b	62	157.2	1.1	−0.1	.....	66	149.1	1.6	0.5	.....	66	150.9	0.8	−0.6	.....
	c	119	156.5	2.0	.....	.....	122	150.5	1.4	.....	.....	122	149.1	2.1	.....	.....
	d	801	159.6	.....	.....	.....	793	153.0	.....	.....	.....	793	152.9	.....	.....	.....
Have you ever been depressed because of low marks in school?	a	146	155.5	2.7	2.2	1.8	149	148.0	3.0	2.4	2.4	149	150.6	1.9	−0.0	0.3
	b	215	158.7	0.8	0.5	.....	212	152.8	0.3	−0.1	.....	212	151.3	1.8	−0.4	.....
	c	212	159.6	0.2	.....	.....	213	152.7	0.4	.....	.....	213	150.5	2.2	.....	.....
	d	427	159.8	.....	.....	.....	425	153.3	.....	.....	.....	425	154.0	.....	.....	.....
Does your mind often wander badly so that you lose track of what you are doing?	a	48	152.8	3.3	1.7	0.3	46	146.7	2.6	1.2	−0.2	46	146.8	2.5	0.4	0.8
	b	125	153.6	4.7	1.9	.....	127	146.2	4.5	1.8	.....	127	149.3	2.6	−0.6	.....
	c	137	157.4	2.3	.....	.....	133	150.4	2.2	.....	.....	133	147.9	3.4	.....	.....
	d	690	160.7	.....	.....	.....	688	154.2	.....	.....	.....	688	154.0	.....	.....	.....
Are you touchy on various subjects?	a	212	155.2	4.7	3.0	0.8	230	149.6	4.1	1.5	−0.7	230	147.5	5.2	1.9	2.8
	b	196	156.4	3.8	2.2	.....	189	148.4	4.6	2.0	.....	189	152.6	1.8	−1.0	.....
	c	235	159.9	1.6	.....	.....	233	152.1	2.5	.....	.....	233	150.8	3.1	.....	.....
	d	357	162.0	.....	.....	.....	343	156.1	.....	.....	.....	343	155.6	.....	.....	.....

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TABLE 1—*Continued*

Thurstone Personality Items	Permutation	Winch Study: Based on Men's Adjustment Scores					Brim Study: Based on Men's Adjustment Scores					Brim Study: Based on Women's Adjustment Scores				
		N	$\bar{X}$	C.R. $d-x$*	C.R. $c-x$	C.R. $b-x$	N	$\bar{X}$	C.R. $d-x$	C.R. $c-x$	C.R. $b-x$	N	$\bar{X}$	C.R. $d-x$	C.R. $c-x$	C.R. $b-x$
Are you often in a state of excitement?	a	115	156.3	2.4	1.3	0.4	114	148.8	2.6	1.7	0.6	114	148.0	2.9	2.0	1.3
	b	137	157.2	2.1	0.8	.....	138	150.1	2.1	1.2	.....	138	151.1	1.4	0.5	.....
	c	325	158.6	1.6	.....	.....	330	152.3	1.2	.....	.....	330	152.0	1.3	.....	.....
	d	423	160.5	.....	.....	.....	415	153.9	.....	.....	.....	415	153.7	.....	.....	.....
Do you frequently feel grouchy?	a	107	149.4	7.5	4.7	3.6	108	140.6	7.8	5.5	4.2	108	140.2	8.0	3.8	5.4
	b	214	156.3	4.2	1.4	.....	215	149.7	4.0	1.8	.....	215	151.9	2.6	−1.6	.....
	c	159	158.7	2.3	.....	.....	161	153.0	1.6	.....	.....	161	148.9	4.1	.....	.....
	d	520	162.1	.....	.....	.....	513	155.6	.....	.....	.....	513	155.7	.....	.....	.....
When you were in school, did you feel at ease and self-confident when you recited in class?	a	209	159.2	0.0	0.0	0.9	199	151.3	0.8	0.9	0.1	199	151.8	1.4	−0.6	−0.5
	b	191	157.8	1.0	1.0	.....	197	151.6	0.6	0.8	.....	197	150.9	1.9	−0.1	.....
	c	278	159.3	0.0	.....	.....	280	152.9	−0.2	.....	.....	280	150.9	2.1	.....	.....
	d	322	159.3	.....	.....	.....	316	152.6	.....	.....	.....	316	154.2	.....	.....	.....
Do you often feel just miserable?	a	70	154.8	2.7	2.4	0.7	72	146.1	3.6	2.5	−0.4	72	145.3	4.3	1.1	0.6
	b	133	156.5	2.4	2.0	.....	136	145.0	5.4	3.5	.....	136	146.8	4.8	0.7	.....
	c	170	160.3	0.1	.....	.....	172	152.5	1.2	.....	.....	172	148.1	4.4	.....	.....
	d	627	160.5	.....	.....	.....	620	154.5	.....	.....	.....	620	155.2	.....	.....	.....
Does some particular useless thought keep coming into your mind to bother you?	a	45	154.5	2.4	−1.1	−0.8	50	147.0	2.7	1.2	−0.7	50	146.6	2.7	0.6	0.4
	b	120	152.2	5.5	2.7	.....	128	144.8	5.3	2.5	.....	128	148.0	3.4	0.3	.....
	c	128	157.7	1.9	.....	.....	121	150.8	1.9	.....	.....	121	148.6	3.0	.....	.....
	d	707	160.6	.....	.....	.....	695	154.3	.....	.....	.....	695	154.0	.....	.....	.....
When you were in school, did you hesitate to volunteer in class recitation?	a	162	160.1	−1.1	−0.3	−1.1	166	153.4	−1.0	−0.2	−1.0	166	152.1	0.5	−0.6	0.3
	b	181	158.2	0.2	0.3	.....	187	151.3	0.2	1.0	.....	187	152.7	0.2	−1.0	.....
	c	283	159.6	−0.9	.....	.....	273	153.0	−0.9	.....	.....	273	150.9	1.4	.....	.....
	d	374	158.4	.....	.....	.....	368	151.7	.....	.....	.....	368	153.0	.....	.....	.....
Are you usually in good spirits?	a	8	147.0	2.2	1.3	0.6	5	143.0	1.2	0.7	0.2	5	141.0	1.4	0.4	0.8
	b	59	150.6	4.2	1.4	.....	62	144.4	3.6	1.3	.....	62	147.9	2.0	−1.0	.....
	c	51	154.9	2.1	.....	.....	50	149.0	1.5	.....	.....	50	144.2	3.2	.....	.....
	d	822	159.8	.....	.....	.....	882	153.1	.....	.....	.....	882	152.9	.....	.....	.....
Do you often experience periods of loneliness?	a	125	159.0	1.1	1.1	−1.5	140	150.4	2.5	0.4	−1.0	140	150.6	2.5	−1.1	−0.2
	b	172	156.1	3.3	0.6	.....	175	148.2	4.0	1.5	.....	175	150.1	2.9	−1.0	.....
	c	210	157.1	2.8	.....	.....	204	151.1	2.4	.....	.....	204	148.2	4.3	.....	.....
	d	493	160.7	.....	.....	.....	475	154.8	.....	.....	.....	475	155.0	.....	.....	.....
Do you often feel self-conscious in the presence of others?	a	176	156.7	2.4	1.5	0.8	184	150.5	2.4	0.7	−0.1	184	150.0	2.5	0.0	1.8
	b	189	158.1	1.6	0.7	.....	188	150.3	2.6	0.8	.....	188	153.4	0.5	−1.9	
	c	276	159.1	1.0	.....	.....	278	151.7	1.9	.....	.....	278	150.0	2.8	.....	.....
	d	359	160.4	.....	.....	.....	344	154.6	.....	.....	.....	344	154.2	.....	.....	.....
Do you lack self-confidence?	a	94	155.2	2.8	2.3	−0.7	97	148.2	2.9	2.2	−0.4	97	147.4	3.2	1.3	2.1
	b	130	153.6	4.2	3.5	.....	135	147.2	3.8	3.0	.....	135	152.6	0.8	−1.2	.....
	c	284	159.9	0.6	.....	.....	289	152.9	0.9	.....	.....	289	150.2	2.7	.....	.....
	d	492	160.6	.....	.....	.....	477	154.1	.....	.....	.....	477	154.1	.....	.....	.....
Do you find it easy to speak in public?	a	289	158.9	0.2	0.3	−0.5	294	152.0	0.7	0.5	−0.8	294	151.5	0.3	−0.8	1.9
	b	168	158.1	0.6	0.8	.....	160	150.6	1.3	1.2	.....	160	154.9	−1.5	−2.6	.....
	c	289	159.3	−0.1	.....	.....	304	152.8	0.2	.....	.....	304	150.3	1.1	.....	.....
	d	254	159.2	.....	.....	.....	240	153.0	.....	.....	.....	240	152.0	.....	.....	.....
Do you usually feel that you are well dressed and make a good appearance?	a	40	156.5	1.4	0.0	−1.2	40	150.5	1.2	−0.4	−1.3	40	149.5	1.4	−1.8	0.1
	b	114	153.0	4.4	1.5	.....	121	146.2	4.5	1.1	.....	121	149.9	2.1	−2.7	.....
	c	97	156.5	2.2	.....	.....	89	149.1	2.5	.....	.....	89	143.0	5.1	.....	.....
	d	749	160.3	.....	.....	.....	746	154.1	.....	.....	.....	746	153.7	.....	.....	.....
Do you feel that you must do a thing over several times before you leave it?	a	113	156.7	1.9	0.2	1.0	112	149.1	2.2	0.9	1.0	112	151.7	0.7	−1.2	0.3
	b	182	158.8	0.9	0.7	.....	178	151.5	1.2	0.1	.....	178	152.5	0.4	−1.8	.....
	c	168	157.1	2.0	.....	.....	173	151.2	1.4	.....	.....	173	148.9	2.5	.....	.....
	d	537	160.1	.....	.....	.....	530	153.5	.....	.....	.....	530	153.1	.....	.....	.....

TABLE 1—*Continued*

Thurstone Personality Items	Permutation	Winch Study: Based on Men's Adjustment Scores					Brim Study: Based on Men's Adjustment Scores					Brim Study: Based on Women's Adjustment Scores				
		N	$\bar{X}$	C.R. $d-x$*	C.R. $c-x$	C.R. $b-x$	N	$\bar{X}$	C.R. $d-x$	C.R. $c-x$	C.R. $b-x$	N	$\bar{X}$	C.R. $d-x$	C.R. $c-x$	C.R. $b-x$
If you see an accident, are you quick to take an active part in giving help?	a	174	158.4	1.3	0.9	−0.6	164	151.5	1.5	0.1	−0.5	164	151.0	1.3	0.2	0.4
	b	128	157.2	1.9	0.8	.....	127	150.4	1.9	0.7	.....	127	151.9	0.7	−0.3	.....
	c	355	158.5	1.5	.....	.....	351	151.6	1.7	.....	.....	351	151.3	1.4	.....	.....
	d	343	160.4	.....	.....	.....	345	154.1	.....	.....	.....	345	153.4	.....	.....	.....
Are you troubled with feelings of inferiority?	a	96	157.1	2.1	0.7	−1.3	99	150.2	2.1	0.6	−1.4	99	149.6	2.3	−0.4	1.0
	b	149	154.4	4.1	2.4	.....	142	146.8	4.4	2.4	.....	142	152.0	1.3	−1.7	.....
	c	247	158.5	1.8	.....	.....	256	151.4	2.2	.....	.....	256	148.8	3.4	.....	.....
	d	508	160.9	.....	.....	.....	494	154.5	.....	.....	.....	494	154.4	.....	.....	.....
Is it easy for you to make up your mind and act upon your decision?	a	157	154.5	4.8	2.5	1.9	156	146.4	5.0	2.9	2.4	156	148.0	4.1	0.1	3.8
	b	155	157.9	2.6	0.3	.....	153	151.5	2.9	0.1	.....	153	156.1	−0.4	−4.3	.....
	c	307	158.3	2.9	.....	.....	308	151.8	2.4	.....	.....	308	148.2	5.0	.....	.....
	d	381	161.8	.....	.....	.....	376	155.2	.....	.....	.....	376	155.4	.....	.....	.....
Do you have ups and downs in mood without apparent cause?	a	201	154.0	6.3	4.5	0.2	201	147.2	5.8	3.5	0.4	201	147.9	5.4	1.0	2.3
	b	170	154.2	5.9	4.0	.....	173	148.1	5.0	2.9	.....	173	152.4	2.5	−1.5	.....
	c	290	160.4	2.1	.....	.....	286	153.2	2.4	.....	.....	286	149.7	4.8	.....	.....
	d	339	163.1	.....	.....	.....	334	156.7	.....	.....	.....	334	156.8	.....	.....	.....
Are you in general self-confident about your abilities?	a	49	156.5	1.4	0.6	0.4	48	145.6	2.8	1.9	1.6	48	147.7	2.0	0.5	1.7
	b	93	157.7	1.1	0.2	.....	91	151.0	1.1	0.1	.....	91	153.2	0.0	−1.7	.....
	c	205	158.2	1.3	.....	.....	202	151.4	1.3	.....	.....	202	149.3	2.6	.....	.....
	d	653	159.9	.....	.....	.....	653	153.3	.....	.....	.....	653	153.3	.....	.....	.....

of material is exceedingly apparent in these studies, for we see the association between questionnaire responses and the happiness and adjustment indexes, and it is quite obvious that these responses cannot be made the ultimate basis of a very definitive analysis. Equally obvious, however, is their great value for the purpose of suggesting more basic personality relationships. We frequently speak of case materials as serving, in one of their most important functions, to provide hypotheses which may be tested in schedule or questionnaire form. Here we observe the reciprocal relationship: routine questionnaire items providing clues for intensive case study. In other words, the diagnosis cannot be stated satisfactorily in terms of the present findings; rather, the diagnosis should be stated in terms of less superficial findings of which the findings already revealed are symptomatic.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

GEORGE FREDERICK HOLMES AND THE GENESIS OF AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY

HARVEY WISH

ABSTRACT

G. F. Holmes, a Virginian, was the most original theorist among those ante-bellum proslavery writers who attempted to create a "sociology" sanctioning a paternalistic slave system along Aristotelian lines and directly opposed to nineteenth-century liberalism. An early, if hostile, critic of both Comte's positivism and Spencer's individualism, he later summarized his position in a pioneer textbook, *The Science of Society*, which appeared in 1883, simultaneously with Ward's *Dynamic Sociology*.

Within the past decade there has been an increasing awareness of the significance of the southern proslavery propagandists in the history of American sociology and of the fact that this science did not receive its professional debut in the United States with Lester F. Ward's *Dynamic Sociology*. Henry Hughes's *Treatise on Sociology* and George Fitzhugh's *Sociology for the South* both appeared in 1854.[1] The latter volume, unlike the work of Hughes, received the greatest contemporaneous recognition given any proslavery work, and southern reviewers were almost uniformly favorable.[2] These two books obviously belong to the literature of slavery apologetics, for the "sociology" is but incidental, being largely an attempt to erect an intellectual façade for the ante-bellum planter's regime.

[1] L. L. Bernard, "Henry Hughes, First American Sociologist," *Social Forces*, XV (1936–37), 154–74. Henry Hughes's *Treatise on Sociology, Theoretical and Practical* (Philadelphia, 1854) was published by the author and received little contemporary recognition even in the friendly *De Bow's Review*, which prized every accession to proslavery literature. Among the dissertations on Henry Hughes are Malcolm Guess, "Henry Hughes, Sociologist" (M.A. thesis, University of Mississippi), and Arthur H. Woodworth, "Two Early American Sociologies" (A.M. thesis, University of Chicago, 1935). Cf. H. G. and Winnie Leach Duncan, "Henry Hughes, Sociologist of the Old South," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXI (1936), 244–58. On Fitzhugh see H. G. and W. L. Duncan, "The Development of Sociology in the Old South," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX (1933–34), 649–56; and William L. Chenery, "A Forgotten Sociologist," *Nation*, LXXXIX (1909), 457.

[2] Harvey Wish, *George Fitzhugh, Conservative of the Old South* (Charlottesville, Va.: Green Bookman, 1938). George Fitzhugh to George Frederick Holmes, April 11, 1855, in Holmes Letter-Book (manuscripts in the Manuscript Division of Duke University).

More clearly in the modern sociological tradition must be reckoned the work of George Frederick Holmes, of Virginia (1820–97). Once considered the foremost scholar of the South and a leading proslavery writer, his name had been all but forgotten when Professor Richmond L. Hawkins of Harvard rediscovered him a few years ago in the process of his researches upon Auguste Comte and positivism in America.[3] Yet Holmes had received continual adulation from his contemporaries; and William E. Gladstone, British prime minister, had even declared that the Virginian possessed "one of the most remarkable minds" he had ever known.[4] His college textbook *The Science of Society*, published in 1883, appeared at the same time as Lester F. Ward's *Dynamic Sociology*.

Born on August 21, 1820, at Straebrock, Demerara, amid the rice and cotton plantations of British Guiana, Holmes came to the United States as a youth of seventeen, after a brief term at the University of Durham, to teach in various preparatory schools. During 1846–50, after an abortive legal career, he taught history, political economy, and literature at Richmond College, the College of William and Mary, and the University of Mississippi; after 1857 he was appointed to a new chair in "historical science" and literature at the University of Virginia, a post he held until his death on November 5, 1897. He contributed erudite historical, literary, and philosophical articles regularly to the southern periodical press, indicating a strong sociological approach in his researches. In 1882 he inaugurated courses in sociology at the University of Virginia and published these lectures privately the following year in a textbook, *The Science of Society*.[5]

Holmes's preoccupation with sociology began in 1842, shortly after his arrival in South Carolina. In an article published that year, "Whewell on the Inductive Sciences," he gave expression in a comprehensive form to the Baconian idea of a *magna instauratio* or cultural renaissance which he believed was impending as a result of

[3] *Auguste Comte and the United States, 1816–1853* (Cambridge, 1936); see also Hawkins' second volume, *Positivism in the United States, 1853–1861* (Cambridge, 1938).

[4] *Richmond Dispatch*, November 5, 1897.

[5] This biography is based largely on the George Frederick Holmes Collections at Duke University and the Library of Congress and upon other contemporary sources.

what appeared to be a contemporary intellectual revolution, and this, he wrote, would produce shortly a new science of society.[6] He found his inspiration in the writings of Francis Bacon, whose scientific methods and classification of the sciences suggested the basic framework of the Comtian system. Prior to the existence of any adequate social science, he asserted, there must be an all-embracing philosophical history of the intellectual, moral, social, and political progress of mankind from earliest times. The then popular books on the philosophy of history, such as Schlegel's, he regarded as useless for his purpose, being conjectural in nature and superficial. He saw the process of distinegration in the contemporary tendency to question established principles in the government of church and state, in the new challenge to accepted postulates of science, and in the social implications of radical abolitionism. On the eve of the great European upheaval of 1848 he wrote prophetically of the impending political anarchy. "In Europe," he warned, "Agrarianism threatens revolution and the struggle with which that continent will burst from its trammels will necessarily give a jar to all other nations."[7] The solution to these ills could not be sought in natural philosophy, he added, because it had become allied to a sterile modern metaphysics. Men had been imbibing but one of the elements that "constitute the atmosphere of knowledge—the other is ready to ignite and explode." That missing element was sociological science. He prescribed the cure: "By a more profound study of the laws and mechanisms of communities, we must probe the wounds of society and discover medicaments."[8] He saw grounds for optimism that the prospects of such a science were improving in the unusual revival of interest in historical literature.

Nor did modern individualism and liberalism in the field of politics and social life escape the attack of Holmes—for he was at war with most cultural forms characteristic of the Age of Enlightenment. He took issue with the major tenet of the *philosophes*, the doctrine of

[6] *Southern Quarterly Review*, II (1842), 193–231.

[7] "On the Importance of the Social Sciences in the Present Day," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XV (1849), 77. This manuscript was prepared prior to the February Revolution of 1848.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

human perfectibility, espoused by Condorcet, and now by Herbert Spencer. "The doctrine of perfectibility," he insisted in 1856, "was a dream of the last century; it is a folly in this."[9] Man's nature did not change, but circumstances, directing his energies into unlike channels, did. His criticism, however, did not go so far as to invalidate the concept of progress; for he saw a sphere of "slow and gradual amelioration" of human conditions which remained open:

> Governments may be simplified and liberalized, laws may be generalized and equalized, factitious restraints may be removed, and customs unfavorable to the free and spontaneous action of men may be annulled, until all are allowed an equal chance, so far as their abilities and opportunities may permit of acquiring everything that can minister to the propriety, comfort, prosperity, and happiness of life.[10]

He charged that Spencer was endeavoring to formulate social laws from premises suitable to isolated man rather than basing them upon the governing principles of human association. Spencer's *Social Statics* was to him but another offshoot of an anarchistic age.

The crucial problem of liberty versus authority required an adjustment avoiding the pitfalls of anarchy and despotism. Dealing particularly with the question of liberty, he pointed out that the individual certainly could not be the judge as to the limitations upon his freedom of action; that would lead to license. "No community has ever been able to exist, even for a brief period, without the recognition of some controlling authority extrinsic to the individual conscience of its members."[11] The lesson of history was that political individualism eventuates in the abrogation of government. Among the ill-conceived products of this philosophy he enumerated women's rights, "a license practiced and illustrated in the worst days of the Roman Empire"; to this he added free love, Fourierism, Proudhonism, and abolitionism.

Especially fruitful in the history of American sociology is the relationship between Holmes and Auguste Comte. Although Comte had

[9] "Spencer's Social Statics," *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church South*, X (1856), 197. Holmes's anti-individualist premises are elaborated in his articles "Population and Capital," *De Bow's Review*, XXI (1856), 221; "Capital and Labor," *ibid.*, XXII (1857), 249; and "Aspects of the Hour," *ibid.*, XXXIV (1867), 336–41.

[10] "Spencer's Social Statics," *op. cit.*, p. 197.

[11] "Theory of Political Individualism," *De Bow's Review*, XXII (1857), 141.

already revealed the groundwork of his epoch-making work on positivism by 1824 and had published his famous six-volume *Cours de philosophie positive* during 1830–42, he was known to few Americans. Holmes, an adept in French, had begun to study Comte during the forties, hoping to find here the "second Bacon" who was to inaugurate the *instauratio magna;* and, although he was disappointed in this regard, he came to appreciate the basic significance of the Frenchman's work, commenting frequently in his early articles upon the positivist position.

The opportunity to enlarge upon his critical notices of Comte came through Rev. John M'Clintock, editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*. M'Clintock regarded positivism as "a fearful portent, the last and strongest expression of the atheistic thought of the world." The denial of a place for theology and metaphysics in the realm of knowledge, as expressed in Comte's system, was a challenge to the church.[12] Determined to turn his heaviest battery upon positivism, the editor chose for this purpose George Frederick Holmes. The latter had in 1851 attacked Comte as having been misled by hasty and "purely conjectural reconstruction."[13] The positivist appeared to him as having excluded everything from his system that was intangible and undemonstrable, retaining only that which was based on experience, thus furnishing an incomplete hypothesis without guiding principle.

In his articles published by the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, beginning in 1852 and continuing to 1854, Holmes was conscious of performing a pioneer service in the presentation of Comte to American readers. From his search for commentaries on positivism, he concluded that the work of Comte had been reviewed but twice in European periodicals: by Sir David Brewster in the *Edinburgh Review* of July, 1838, and later by Professor Emile Saisset in the *Revue des deux mondes;* he could find no American reviewer on the subject, although several obscure reviews did exist.

The positivist classification of the sciences seemed to him at various points as arbitrary and ill conceived, a distortion of Baconian

[12] George R. Crooks, *Life and Letters of the Reverend John M'Clintock* (New York, 1876), p. 207.

[13] "Greeley on Reforms," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVII (1851), 261.

methods. Comte's neglect of the field of logic, arising from a belief that its principles could not be manifested otherwise than in connection with the reasoning of the separate sciences, was open to criticism. Bacon had rejected a priori attempts to acquire scientific knowledge from assumed premises, teaching that such premises must be sought from induction based on observation and experiment; but he had explicitly "avowed the value and importance of deductive Logic, in its proper sphere, and in the development of the various branches of Ethical science."[14] Yet, Holmes was ready to admit, Comte's inductive philosophy as such was "the only considerable enlargement of Logic which has been effected since the writings of Aristotle." Another evidence of the Frenchman's preoccupation with oversimplified concrete treatment was his enthusiasm upon the subject of a mathematical technique as applicable to all questions. Holmes denied that it was possible to use an exclusively mathematical approach in the case of social phenomena.[15]

Comte was not then the messiah of the "coming Instauration" as Holmes would have desired. However, he did meet the first condition of a Baconian reform: positivism came as an attempt to alleviate the contemporary disorganization of society and followed a period "in which former intellectual systems manifested their impotency and decline."[16] But it failed to essay the task of a "revivification of moral sentiments and moral responsibilities"; it did not attempt a revision and purification of metaphysical theories by starting from more accurate principles of reasoning; nor was it governed by an earnest spirit of religious belief. Its tendencies were in the direction of the negation of Christianity *in toto*. Still, if Comte was not a second Bacon, he stood to him as Abélard did to Aristotle.

The publication of Holmes's articles stimulated further examination of Comte's position by other scholars. Comte, himself, despite the largely adverse nature of this criticism, was deeply gratified to

[14] "Faith and Science—Comte's Positive Philosophy," *Methodist Quarterly Review*, XXXIV (1852), 18.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

[16] "The Bacon of the Nineteenth Century," *ibid.*, XXXV (1853), 496; "Instauratio nova—Auguste Comte," *ibid.*, XXXIV (1852), 329–60; "Philosophy and Faith," *ibid.*, XXXIII (1851), 209.

secure an American audience and tended to exaggerate the influence of positivism in the United States. He wrote enthusiastically to a disciple, Dr. Audriffrent of Marseilles, on February 19, 1852, after Holmes's first article on positivism had appeared in the January issue: "Eight days after your farewell visit, a valuable communication revealed to me the enormous growth of positivism in the United States. There is an important article in a quarterly review of New York upon my fundamental work, worthily appreciated by a noble Methodist adversary."[17] Writing to Editor M'Clintock, the Frenchman expressed his appreciation of the conscientious attempt made to evaluate his work, "despite its unintentional inaccuracies, which are fortunately of a secondary character."[18]

In the interesting correspondence which ensued between Comte and Holmes both agreed that there was broad ground for a community of thought, despite their quarrel upon first principles. Holmes defined the nature of their mutual attraction for each other as a "common endeavor to discover the true laws of social organization, with the design of thence descending to the amelioration of the social distemper of the times."[19] Much of the discussion dealt with the sources of positivism, especially the alleged indebtedness to Saint-Simon—a relationship that Comte vigorously denied, although he was willing to acknowledge the inspiration of Condorcet. When Holmes, in a second article on positivism, assigned Comte to a distinguished place in company with Bacon and Aristotle, the Frenchman was flattered. "This estimate," he frankly admitted, "forms indeed a decisive contrast with the cool reserve of almost all my public adherents of whom none, save Mr. Lewes, has dared to classify me so high."[20]

Comte had at first supposed that Holmes was a Methodist minister and, after being corrected, expressed the hope of converting him

[17] Translated from the correspondence in Hawkins, *Auguste Comte and the United States, 1816–1853*, p. 86.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 81. The reference here is to George Henry Lewes, author of *Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences* (London, 1853).

to positivism, away from what he later termed Holmes's "Christian prejudices." To this the Virginian replied:

> Throw out altogether the consideration of matters supernatural, segregate from the range of contemplation, as well as discussion, the whole circle of religious topics, not as untrue, but as being beyond the prescribed horizon, and I am even now a sincere positivist, in spirit, aim, and even mode of procedure, and have long been so.[21]

The differences, however, between Comte and Holmes proved insurmountable, and in the succeeding decades the Virginian continued to assail the foundations of positivism. By 1866 he was writing that there was little in the Comtian system which had not already been anticipated "in a juster spirit" by Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, Francis Bacon, and others. He professed to see the origin of Comte's sociology in the fifteenth-century works of Jerome Cardan, "an eccentric and crazy philosopher who resembled M. Comte in so many respects."[22] The positivist exposition of the relations between theory and practice and the necessity of controlling speculation by observation he found in Joannes Philopenus' *Annotations on the Categories of Aristotle.* What Kant had pointed out as "tempting fallacies to be avoided" Comte had erected as the cardinal tenets of his system.

Although Holmes contributed frequent historical studies on topics usually included within modern college courses of sociology, he waited for other scholars to develop the proper systematic treatment of the science. However, in his course in historical science of 1882–83 given at the University of Virginia, he attempted to organize a basic text for an adequate sociology founded upon experimental science and within the framework of a Christian metaphysics. His seventeen lectures on "The Science of Society" were drawn from the rich historical materials he had collected in a lifetime and arranged within a schematic pattern.[23]

He began with a discussion of the need for a social science as arising from the social, economic, and political instability of the day

[21] Hawkins, *Auguste Comte*, p. 121.

[22] "Modern Philosophical Systems," *De Bow's Review*, XXXII (1866), 231.

[23] George F. Holmes, *The Science of Society* (Miller School Print, 1883).

and quoted Comte's statement approvingly that the latter had reconstructed social science so that order might be reconciled with progress. The term "sociology" appeared to him objectionable because it was abused by its association with the doctrines of positivism and evolution; besides, the word was premature, carrying with it a presumption of scientific achievement beyond what was warranted by the facts; hence he preferred the term "social science." Such a science should include the results of research which afforded a knowledge of the processes and forms of social existence; the position of man in the universe; the constitution of families, tribes, and nations; language as a form of personal communication; the various convictions of man regarding the supernatural; the origin and influence of customs; the formation and growth of laws; and many other aspects of social forces.[24]

Taking issue with the individualism of Spencer, he emphasized the Aristotelian concept of the social nature of man and that social life differed from individual life in kind as well as in degree. Spencer's sociology, he felt, was not "an honest or earnest investigation of truth" but a structure erected according to a predetermined pattern, offering little that could be accepted in the form presented. He objected to the idea of social evolution as unscientific and barren in application. "Evolution is neither a philosophic nor a scientific term," he remarked; "it is not even descriptive. It can afford no explanation of the mode or direction of social movements. Any explanation must come *aliunde*." As such it only served the purpose of agnosticism, for the "Know-Nothing complexion of the general philosophy is maintained in the Say-Nothing character of Evolution."

Holmes's social science retained its strong ethical basis. Man, he taught, was a free agent possessing a moral nature. This conceded, he was willing to consider those forms of social interaction and environmental determinism which operated to modify man's behavior and his mode of living. Elaborating upon the climatic, geographic, and topographic influences upon civilization, his analysis contained more than a suggestion of Montesquieu. Thus he generalized that rich lands free of difficult mountainous terrain tended to gather a

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

dense population under despotic rulers; examples were Egypt, Babylon, Nineveh, China, India, and Russia. In another illustration he declared that "advancement in commercial activity always favors the growth and increase of free institutions." These were tendencies rather than certain consequences, he added, and operated most effectively during the early stages of a society. With the increasing growth of a community there developed habits and social impulses which would counteract or modify the results arising from environmental factors. Holmes modified this position still further by asserting that single causes rarely, if ever, determine the character of societies.[25]

The content material of his lectures on sociology was sufficiently comprehensive for a twentieth-century course on the subject, including sessions on progress, archeology, prehistoric man, language, the arts of life, marriage and the family, primitive cultures and the growth of law, property, communal organizations, inheritance, and slavery. His researches as a social and economic historian, his extensive background as an economist and lawyer, and his amazing assimilation of diversified reading gave him a deep sociological insight. Notwithstanding the inevitable misconceptions which clustered about the infant science, some of which he shared, he made many scientific observations which transcended the existing limitations of the social sciences.

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[25] *Ibid.*, Lecture III.

THE CONFERENCE PROCESS

HOBART YOUNG

ABSTRACT

Many participants in conferences and discussions can gain sufficient detachment to see that adjustment of human difficulties takes place between two extremes: through something like conference or through more patent conflict. The question arises whether or not verbal conflict must be accepted as inevitable and the habit of such conflict positively encouraged. Ignorance of fruitful discussion method rather than factual ignorance seems to offer most opportunity for strife. Individuals can be trained in and through group discussion, giving the experience of co-operative thinking, cultivating taste and capacity for group membership, encouraging participation in common intellectual tasks. It is possible to distinguish between conferences that are more nearly democratic, those that are merely propagandistic, and those that are clearly dictatorial. The conditions under which a conference is held can be displayed and viewed as a series of interrelated variables and to some extent manipulated toward ends and processes that may be thought desirable.

The significance and the methodology of the "conferences," which are so frequent an occurrence in contemporary life, can be ascertained by having a conference or discussion group discuss its own processes. The following material is excerpted from the records of discussions among college and university students.[1]

It can be supposed that adjustment of human difficulties takes place between the two extremes: through something like conference, or through more patent conflict. The very interest in conference evidences the common dissatisfaction with overt conflicts in forms ranging from mere argument to outright and unashamed warfare. Resolution of conflict can be carried on at a peculiarly fruitful level in man, if the technique therefor

[1] Stimulated by the example of the Institute of Pacific Relations proper, students from colleges and universities in the vicinity of San Francisco banded together in 1926 and utilized the Thanksgiving holiday week-end for an informal conference. Succeeding student generations have sponsored this autonomous Student Institute of Pacific Relations and its annual conference consisting of as many as one hundred persons. Under the broad interpretation that has prevailed, matters that are of interest to students living on this portion of the Pacific rim are matters sufficiently "Pacific" in character to be included on the program. During 1931–38, one of the six or more discussion groups of each year's conference was scheduled to discuss conferences and conferencing as such, attempting to detect the broad *process* that can be said to be involved in conference situations.

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comes to be as prominent in his culture as more combative techniques now are.

It should prove possible to detect the behavior that is repeating itself in argument after argument, wherever discussion batters at topics from different "sides," wherever facts are made to prove anything. It is difficult not to suspect that a certain amount of argument is largely for argument's sake. The implication here is not that very many arguments, or verbalizations generally, are carried on in bad faith. Indeed, an evidence of good faith is the obliviousness of combatants to their mutual interests.

On the more "social" side of conferences, the picture is rather clear; there is emphatic commingling and little evidence of conflict. What differences of opinion there are do not prevent or interrupt a general mutuality. But when social features are not uppermost, do differences of opinion mingle together as neatly at a round table as do the pleasingly different individuals themselves at a dinner table?

Shall verbal conflict be accepted as inevitable and the habit encouraged in competitive round tables and wherever human beings gather together—just as more openly physical conflict has from time to time been considered an inevitable consequence of contact individually and internationally? When a conferee in a strictly unofficial, student-discussion gathering allies himself with some world-issue at the round table, is his conviction as artificial as was the code of honor which permitted and cited men to duel with swords rather than with words? Perhaps such an advocate's remarks cannot be taken literally.

Attitude and dialectic method seem more significant than any body of facts that would be made available to students by a conference; ignorance of fruitful discussion method rather than ignorance of trade statistics seems to offer most opportunity for strife. Of the features for the sake of which a conference can be planned or attended—entertainment, education, social tolerance, new contacts, mental hygiene, indoctrination, vacation, etc.—discussion looms as being the more characteristic and significant. The function and effect of student discussion, then, might seem to be largely the training of individuals in and through group discussion, giving the experience of co-operative thinking, cultivating taste and capacity for group membership—in short, encouraging participation in common intellectual tasks.

In effect, the question is raised whether discussion groups can be successfully formed where factual preparation is no greater or more uniform than among average students; whether discussions cannot somehow be managed so as to make them satisfying and profitable even for those indi-

viduals who are above the average in a group where factual and intellectual equipment is unevenly distributed. In short, is discussion always unattractive and fruitless except when occurring among "equals"? Perhaps there is one sort of group discussion in which each participant's peaceful contribution, however humble, is welcome and useful—a type and task of discussion which corresponds to general student conditions, rather than something exclusive and exalted in which only a select few would be qualified to participate.

The persons who participated in the original discussion were confronted with a rather ambiguous and unfamiliar phrase as a title and topic—"Conference Process." After a little inquiry it appeared that the members of the discussion group possessed, or began to develop, notions about the proper content of the topic and the proper conduct of discussion of that topic. Certain members of the group seemed to feel quite definite about the meaning of the topic and expressed themselves in great detail. In the face of such definite and detailed convictions as were voiced by individuals of this extreme type, there is some question whether individuals of the contrasting extreme, feeling less definite and confident, would as readily voice ideas that they too might possess. If mild ideas mildly held are at this disadvantage, an effort can be made in the conduct of the discussion group to encourage expression by the less voluble and less positive members. Indeed, in clarifying the meaning of this discussion group's topic, very little inquiry and encouragement seemed sufficient to show that each member of the group, the less self-assertive as well as the more self-assertive, had some expectation or interpretation of his own.

It may happen that the member of a discussion group who claims to possess the most definite and complete notion as to the meaning of the group's topic is also, more than any other member, certain of the validity of his own particular notion and positive of the inferiority of any differing notion. Not many people who feel thus strongly will display themselves so blatantly or thoroughly. Yet perhaps a great many more people than realize it or admit it nevertheless feel so inclined.

If taken literally and at face value, the views of different members of a discussion group not uncommonly appear mutually exclusive; to hear some members, it is often implicit or explicit that the final word is being uttered, and any further words from any other member would be uncalled for, redundant, or erroneous. For the very self-confident speaker, this is evidently the kind of world in which matters can be settled; he is settling

this particular matter, and the group has no possible choice but to proceed on the basis of that settlement.

Often there are questions of fact on which all except one member of a group may be mildly ignorant or viciously wrong. Perhaps in these cases particularly it is easy to ignore what becomes of the views, if any, held by other, erroneous members of the group. But under more nearly average conditions of group discussion, where there is normal distribution of wisdom, ignorance, and venality throughout the group, the fate of the average member and his views may appear in a somewhat different light. Sometimes, for instance, a confident and apparently infallible member stumbles over his own feet of clay and proves not to possess the gospel. It is at such times that the possible views of other members may prove to be worth considering even if only as a last resort, right enough at least to supplement others' views and to aid in patching together a substitute for direct revelation from on high. Indeed, it may sometimes be found that contentions, no matter how strongly held by the self-assertive, do not turn out to be demonstrable when objective proof is attempted.

For one reason or another, then, a discussion group may hardly be able to avoid noticing the presence of the one type of member, whereas the other type may require protection and encouragement if he is to make any substantial contribution. Precisely because he is so outspoken, the former type affords objective evidence and verbal testimony as well, bearing on the relationship between his own and the quieter type.

The member who takes a strong position at the outset of discussion with regard to the very wording of the topic that is to be discussed may be of the type susceptible to many subsequent temptations that he encounters. He may prove to be the one who, throughout the discussion, leaps into a strong position opposite other members at many points. Sometimes it is not even enough that other members expressly agree with him; he may still find further things irreparably wrong in those who try to concede to him. He can doubt their mettle, and he can withhold from them an enthusiastic welcome. Nor can it be presumed that the member who seems to have this chip on his shoulder is entirely unreasonable, egotistical, and merely contrary and belligerent. For his own part he may be consistent and plausible in his successive contentions, defending logically enough a position or series of positions that to him seem wholly satisfactory. He may feel keenly that other members are quite wrong, quite stupid, and unreasonable, and secretly or openly antagonistic to him. This tendency may go so far that in the long run he will isolate himself from the rest of the group while feeling that it is the rest of the

group which is really offering the resistance and isolating him because his views are right and uncongenial to their wrong ones. He may exhibit a blithe and aggressive confidence, or a dogged defensiveness, or even delusions of persecution and grandeur.

To be sure, such an individual is an extreme case and perhaps seldom are many of the symptoms exhibited in one and the same individual. Yet it may be that milder symptoms and milder cases are constantly around us and all too easily overlooked because they are so mild. Just as the very positive can often be tempted to display themselves, the less positive and less assertive can be tempted or given requisite protection to voice ideas of their own, and it may be that neither type of member can resist the temptation, if the particular opportunity he requires is offered him. Under such circumstances it might seem that difficulty is experienced not so much with the topic itself as with group members, the silent as well as the voluble, who prevent the group from hearing what the topic means to all members.

Perhaps the member who begins to display very positive notions about what can properly be done and what should not be included under a given topic has, in so doing, launched the group into pertinent discussion of that topic. He may conceive that he is only arguing about the ambiguous wording of the group's topic, an elementary and preliminary formality. Actually, however, he may be getting pretty deep into the group's subject matter. Moreover, he is probably demonstrating, by a general behavior that speaks even louder than words, what the whole process that takes place in conference really means to him. He makes it very clear—probably clearer than he realizes—what kind of world he conceives this to be and what processes properly occur therein. Specifically, he reveals what he understands conference process to be, namely, a process through which his views can prevail and have priority over those of other members of the group.

There are words, ideas, persons, classes, whole ideologies, cultures, economic systems, and so on, that are likely to be anathema to certain participants in discussion. A member having the "positive" disposition can generally be relied upon to indicate some one view. The fact that he readily indicates *one* view does not seem to suggest to him that, quite similarly, contributions from other members of the group might be forthcoming and might constitute a series whereof his would be only the first instalment. On the other hand, in spite of his own air of rejection and exclusion, it may well be that he is contributing better than he knows and that he ought to be considered as contributing an incisive *one* to a

series although he himself would deny that that series exists. The tendency to indicate pretty emphatically and exclusively one conception with respect to first one and then another of the succeeding matters that come up in the course of group discussion is an evidence of one kind of conference process and suggests, by contrast, another more sensitive, inclusive and democratic kind.

What explanation can be offered for this behavior displayed in discussion groups and conferences? Without implying that the one sort of member is either the greater offender or more valuable contributor in group discussion, the apprehensive queries of those who fear domination and the rejoinders of others who extol leadership may serve further to illustrate if not to explain that behavior.

Who is to decide what a given topic for group discussion really includes? The response to such a query may be about as follows: The decision as to the meaning and scope of a discussion topic rests ultimately with the "discussion leader," or chairman. That is exactly the sort of activity to be expected of him. He is supposed to prepare for the discussion and therefore explores and learns what the discussion will be about. He should not be too arbitrary about excluding matters that do not exactly fit his own explorations and plans, but it is certainly his business to steer the discussion onto the subject in the first place and to keep people on the subject thereafter. In fact, he should know the topic so well that he could prepare an outline, agenda, or syllabus, together with bibliography or selected passages, and might even distribute these to the prospective members of his discussion group long before the meeting. It is obviously necessary to have at least one such functionary. However, there cannot be much doubt in a reasonably intelligent person's mind as to the proper content of a discussion topic. If the official leader himself does not know the topic or its meaning, someone else will and that individual will do the leading.

The question might be raised whether this is a process whereby some one individual or small combination of individuals can be given or can seize authority and control and can proceed to restrict the discussion according to their own fancy. Since a conference group must have leadership, it is only logical and efficient to designate and prepare that leadership in advance. Men must be willing to lose a little freedom in banding together in order to gain the advantages of union. If spontaneous as well as prearranged leadership is discouraged, a group will only mill around; having nothing to hold it together or to rally around, it will

simply dissolve. The leadership should not be arbitrary, of course, but there will usually be some members of a discussion group who know nothing at all about the subject under discussion. Other members will have so little knowledge or be so inept that their contributions are useless or irrelevant. Particularly for such individuals, leadership is necessary. There is no use fearing possible abuses by leadership, for they are not as bad, at worst, as the absence of leadership.

If the general content and meaning of a discussion group's topic is to be determined through "leadership," will not essentially the same process occur throughout the course of the discussion, determining what details as well as minor remarks are erroneous or irrelevant? Reasonable members probably ought to be able to recognize whether discussion is relevant, but if any do not, they must be stopped. Perhaps the better-informed members will automatically intervene, but certainly the leader should know and rule out the irrelevant. Likewise, when some member's statement is not merely irrelevant, but entirely incorrect, the leader should know enough to give or to elicit from others the needed correction.

Does this not amount to a presumption that any statements that are not clearly and quickly recognized by the discussion leader to be relevant are not worth spending more time on? Obviously one cannot afford to wait forever or rely upon the average member to silence useless or extraneous talk. The discussion leader may not be a specialist on every phase of the topic, but he probably will be at least as well prepared as any other member. He is in a position to recognize irrelevancies and errors when they are spoken and he should see to it that corrections are made, and the sooner the better. To be sure, some fairly good ideas may be lost in this process, but otherwise the discussion would get hopelessly muddled and bog down.

Yet what is to be done in the case of a group of individuals none of whom is well informed on a subject that they nevertheless may be tempted to discuss? Must some individuals, from the very beginning of the discussion, be ruled out as not entitled to participate at all? In the course of the discussion among the remaining few, must some be overruled from time to time and who should do the ruling? A rough approximation of leadership to deal with such matters will probably develop. It should be frankly admitted that in some cases the time of the well-informed person is wasted since too many other members know too little. It is only natural that the better-informed members should have the most to say and say it. Most people realize this and keep quiet when discussion is over their heads, but if any are obstinate they must be com-

pelled to yield the right of way to others who are better informed. A leader, and probably a nucleus of fairly well-prepared individuals, are necessary if a discussion group is to make any progress. In fact, it would be best to have a uniformly high degree of preparation among the whole membership of a discussion group. However, if a discussion group is not homogeneous as to ability and preparation, it needs nuclear personnel, and, if even such a minority is lacking, then leadership by an individual is the sole and last resort.

It is possible to distinguish between conferences that are more nearly democratic, those that are merely propagandistic, and those that are clearly dictatorial. Discussion and interchange may be more apparent than real in some conferences. To analyze such generalizations, a conference can be described with regard primarily to the personnel or actors and, again, with regard primarily to the talking or activity.

Recording durations, sizes, and seating arrangements of conference groupings is fundamental. A casual observer doubtless gets some sort of impression as to such details as number and character of membership, duration, and seating arrangements. The composition of each discussion group shows a certain distribution between the sexes, ages, nationalities, racial, ethnic and cultural characteristics, occupational experiences, religious affiliations, etc. These are items of which casual impressions become increasingly difficult and inaccurate. Personnel varies in what might be termed its "preparation" for a conference. Formal academic courses, majors, or degrees bearing directly upon the topic of a discussion group could be called specific preparation. When documentation covering topics is put forward, as when a conference issues a bibliography, study of that material is specific preparation. General preparation might then embrace travel, experience, reading, interest, etc.

The actual duration of discussion-group sessions would have to be more accurately recorded than is customary if the average distribution of the talking time among group members is even to be estimated, indicating the theoretical opportunity of each individual to participate in discussion. How near the individual comes to filling or exceeding his opportunity or quota cannot be known without closer measurements. From the flow of wordage that originates in a discussion group, there can be picked up remarks that might serve as points of departure for fresh lines of discussion. The selecting of such potential points of departure for further exploration may rest in the hands primarily of the discussion leader or be shared more equally by all present. A discussion leader might out-

line weeks in advance what ought to be covered by the group, a clique might come to sessions with a wish to have the discussion go a certain way, or a majority of members might flatly reject as being "off the subject" some new angle that a single member might see. At the opposite extreme is the case where the group as a whole hopefully attempts to examine and make room for fresh leads that any one member suddenly catches sight of and seriously believes to be pertinent.

It is possible that the vocabulary might show a significant difference between discussion groups. At one extreme are the cases where such words and phrases as these would be frequent: resolution, resolved, voted, conclusion, agree, decide, objected, denied. The other extreme would then be the cases where no such positive terms are normally used, but where an attempt is made to find some more adequate way than those particular words afford for indicating how spread out and varied the members' views usually are.

A distinction should be made between cases where the emphasis of a discussion group is on the possession of "facts," scholarly and exhaustive coverage of the subject, textbook knowledge, etc., as contrasted with the case of a discussion group where the emphasis is rather on making the most of what the average member needs and knows. The development of the individual conferee might be one important aim and feature of discussion, to be achieved by drawing him out rather than by driving facts into him.

The attempt should be made to show that responsibility can lodge predominantly in one individual or be more widely distributed among all present. The responsibility in question could be of several kinds, for instance: a personal sense of responsibility for the group's affairs; a working responsibility for such incidental tasks as writing up the record of the group's discussion, arranging the group's chairs, lighting, heating, ventilation; responsibility in the sense that scapegoats may be used, that blame for what does or does not happen in the group may be resorted to.

Many things said concerning conferences need to be displayed and viewed as a series of interrelated variables. By means of a dial face there can be represented the range that extends, for instance, from highly centralized, domineering, and monopolistic chairmanship, on the one hand, to decentralized, democratic leadership on the other hand. An indicator needle can then be shifted to different positions on the dial corresponding to varying degrees of leader domination in a conference situation. As a matter of degree, similarly indicated, responsibility for a group's affairs

may rest upon one or a very few individuals, or may be keenly felt and undertaken by the average participant as well. The source of wordage in a discussion group over given periods can be a single individual or all individuals present, as the two extremes. The length of different individuals' entries into discussion, and the number of each individual's entries, may tend to be nearly equal or radically unequal. These and other conditions under which a conference is held can be dealt with by such visual devices and manipulated and co-ordinated in actual conferences. The process in conferences involves many more conditions and elements than the ones touched on, but the examination and manipulation of even these few seem to be a useful beginning toward control.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

RESEARCH NOTE ON CHOICE AND CHANGE OF MEDICAL SERVICE[1]

HAROLD S. FRUM

Because current medical discussion lays much emphasis on "free choice" of physicians and upon the "family doctor relationship" it was thought advisable to obtain information about the actual behavior of families in selecting physicians and concerning the continuity of their relationships with physicians. Following the general pattern of a study conducted in 1938–39 in New York City by the Committee on Research in Medical Economics, the writer interviewed two hundred families in Columbus, Ohio. Schedules, descriptive material, and tables are presented in the thesis. The following summarizes the method and findings of the study.

A selection was made of twelve contiguous blocks in an industrial district of Columbus, Ohio, inhabited predominantly by native white families, a few of whom were on the W.P.A., and nearly 90 per cent of whom had family incomes of under two thousand dollars. Two hundred households were interviewed in the area. The informants were all adults and in most cases were women. Some of the data reported were later checked with records available. The inquiries included the illnesses experienced by the family, the nature of the care obtained, the reasons for the choice of the particular physicians or other resources employed, the character and frequency of change, and the reasons for change. Certain types of information, notably concerning recent and serious illnesses, were clearer in the informants' minds than other types. The more quantitative information, therefore, covers only the preceding twelve months' period, whereas attitudes and elements relating to choice and change were studied, whenever possible, as far back as ten years.

As to findings, the conclusions of large statistical surveys were confirmed in that, by and large, those families less able to bear the burden of medical care experienced more than their proportion of medical needs. The theory that each family chooses a physician with whom personal contact is maintained, as an adviser concerning health, and as the chief agent

[1] This research note is an abstract of *Choice and Change of Medical Service: A Study of Families in an Industrial Area* (Columbus, Ohio, 1939), a thesis presented for the degree of Master of Arts in the Graduate School, Ohio State University. Mimeographed copies are available on loan from the author.

of care during sickness, was not applied by a large majority of the families. The traditional family physician pattern was found to exist as a concept, and in varying degrees of reality, among only about 30 per cent of the two hundred families; and as a concept, without practical application, among an additional 10 per cent. A concept of medical care was evident in which the individual and not the family was the unit, the members utilizing different physicians or diverse types of services. In the choice of physicians the selection was rarely based on knowledge of the competence of the physicians, but rather on superficial contacts, economic considerations, rumors, fears, and prejudices.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

NEWS AND NOTES

RESEARCH NEWS

Office of Radio Research, Columbia University.—This research organization, directed by Paul F. Lazarsfeld, is now completing the analysis of data from a unique survey made during the fall and winter in Erie County, Ohio. The purpose of the survey was to study the influence of various agencies of communication, including the radio, on political attitudes. On one representative sample of six hundred persons six personal interviews were made, and other interviews were made on control samples. One of the incidental objects of the study was to test certain techniques in the use of a panel for personal interview. A variety of miscellaneous studies, most of them done under the auspices of the Office of Radio Research, appear in the December, 1940, issue of the *Journal of Applied Psychology*, the entire issue being devoted to the topic of "Progress in Radio Research," with Dr. Lazarsfeld as guest editor. A similar issue edited by Dr. Lazarsfeld appeared in 1939. The December issue contains twenty-one research papers divided among the following topics: "Commercial Effects of Radio," "Educational and Other Effects of Radio," "Program Research," "General Research Techniques," and "Measurement Problems." Two books based upon work of the Office of Radio Research have been published, namely, *The Invasion from Mars*, by Hadley Cantril, with the assistance of Hazel Gaudet and Herzog; and *Radio and the Printed Page*, by Paul F. Lazarsfeld. The headquarters of the office are at 15 Amsterdam Avenue, New York City.

Progress of the 1940 Census.—A release entitled "Composition of the Population by Age, Sex, and Color, United States: 1940" was issued on January 30, and on January 31 a release entitled "The Net Reproduction Rate—the Measure of Future Population Growth in the United States: 1940" was issued. These are the earliest dates in census history on which detailed population figures showing distribution by age, sex, and color and an analysis of population growth have become available. These figures are based on a 5 per cent sample of the population, and their availability at this time is the result of this innovation in census-taking procedure.

Other releases based on the 5 per cent sample which will be available by the date of issue of this publication, or shortly thereafter, include (1) preliminary figures on the age, sex, and color composition of the urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm population; (2) data by color, sex, and five-year age groups for the United States by geographic divisions and urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm areas; (3) preliminary figures on the unemployment status of persons fourteen years of age and over in the United States by age, sex, color, and urban-rural place of residence; (4) preliminary state figures on the employment status of persons fourteen years and over; and (5) preliminary state figures on age, sex, and color of the population.

Other releases being issued at the present time include a series giving 1940 population and housing data for metropolitan districts and for tract cities by tracts. Since the number of occupied dwelling units in any area closely approximates the number of private families as defined in the 1930 Census, the availability of the results of the 1940 Census of Housing has made possible an analysis of the trends in average size of family. Preliminary data on this subject were issued on December 20 for the United States and states, and it is planned to issue data for states and the larger cities before the date of issue of this publication.

War Department.—The Secretary of War has appointed a War Department Committee on Education, Recreation, and Community Service, which will serve as an advisory body to assist the Secretary in fostering public interest in improving the soldier with suitable educational and recreational facilities and a healthy environment when visiting communities adjacent to camp. Among members of the committee are Frederick H. Osborn, Population Association of America; Wayne Coy, Federal Security Agency; and Clarence Dykstra, University of Wisconsin. For the most part, the responsibility of the Committee will be purely advisory to the Secretary of War. It will make contacts with civilians and civilian organizations for the purpose of discussing proposed plans and for assistance in developing programs which will be useful in maintaining the morale of the troops. The Committee will study the morale programs of other armies and proposals made to the War Department in this field. From time to time members of the Committee will visit camps in order to evaluate services provided for the men and will recommend to the Army needed improvements or expansion of these programs. Similar recommendations will be presented to the co-ordinator of health and welfare activities in services outside the camps but adjacent to them.

Committee on Education for Democratic Citizenship.—Operating upon a grant from the General Education Board and under the direction of the National Association of Secondary School Principals and the National Council for Social Studies, the Committee has undertaken to evolve a program to improve civic education at the secondary-school level throughout the country. Central in the development of this program is the idea that, in the social studies, texts which deal with social problems remote from the student should be replaced by the analysis of important social problems in the immediate environment of the students. Paul B. Jacobson, University of Chicago, is chairman of the Committee.

Social Security Board.—The Division of Health and Disability Studies of the Board is continuing analyses of family composition based on schedules from the National Health Survey conducted by the United States Public Health Service. Two articles resulting from the study on employment status and social and economic characteristics of urban persons in the labor market have been prepared. The first article, which will appear in an early issue of the *Social Security Bulletin*, deals with the employment status and social characteristics of urban workers and provides information on age, marital status, and employment status of gainful workers by sex. The second article deals with the age and employment status of auxiliary workers. Another article dealing with the occupational characteristics of gainful workers in terms of broad socioeconomic classes in relation to the age, marital status, sex, and employment status of urban gainful workers is in process.

Virginia State Planning Board.—A population study under the auspices of the Board has been in progress since June 1, 1940. In this study population trends as they are related to economic resources of the state will be analyzed. Special emphasis will be given to the analysis of various areas in which there appears to be a piling-up of population in the midst of limited resources. This study will look to the formulation of plans and programs which will alleviate such conditions.

The study is one of three running concurrently in Virginia. The other two are the economic classification of lands, conducted by the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and a series of industrial analyses to be made by the Bureau of Industrial Research at the University of Virginia. The three studies are co-ordinated through the State Planning Board.

NOTES

The American Sociological Society.—The Society held its thirty-fifth annual meeting in Chicago on December 27–29 with headquarters at the Congress Hotel. The program, as usual, was presented through various divisions and sections of the Society. While there was no central theme to the entire meeting, the papers were organized around the series of special topics in the different sections and divisions. Among the topics which were so considered were the following: "What Constitutes a Sociology of Religion?"; "Methods of Meeting Political Domination"; "The Sociology of Childhood"; "Methodological Problems in the Study of Social Disorganization"; "Prediction of Success or Failure in Marriage"; "The Limits of Penal Treatment"; "Prediction in Sociology"; and "The Family in War." An interesting program was presented by the Division on Social Research on various phases of the research being carried on at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University. The program of the Division on Social Theory held an interesting discussion of two major approaches in sociology presented, respectively, by George A. Lundberg, Bennington College, and Read Bain, Miami University, in favor of one, and by Florian Znaniecki, University of Illinois, and Howard Becker, University of Wisconsin, in support of the other. The sole general meeting of the Society was devoted to a consideration of the topic "The Challenge of the Times to the Sociologist," with papers by Pitirim Sorokin, Harvard University, on "The Nature of the Challenge" and by Howard Becker on "Sociologists and the Supreme Values of Our Times."

A smoker of the Society was held under the auspices of the University of Chicago on its campus. After an address of welcome by President Robert M. Hutchins, an informal discussion was held on the opportunities and role of sociologists in the national defense program. Of outstanding interest in the entire program was the presidential address delivered by Robert M. MacIver, Columbia University, on "Some Reflections on Sociology during a Crisis."

The number of registered attendants was in the neighborhood of five hundred. The general membership of the Society at the end of the year was 1,034. The following officers were elected for 1941: president, Stuart A. Queen, Washington University; first vice-president, James H. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania; second vice-president, Howard Becker, University of Wisconsin; new members of the executive committee, Herbert Blumer, University of Chicago, and E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University; new members of the editorial board, Leonard S. Cottrell, Cornell

University, and Mable Elliott, University of Kansas. The annual meeting of the Society for 1941 will probably be held either in New York City or in Atlantic City.

Rural Sociological Society.—The third annual meeting of the Society was held December 27–29, 1940, in the Congress Hotel, Chicago. The sessions were devoted to papers on and discussions of the following topics: "The Concept, Social Process: Its Meaning and Usefulness in the Study of Rural Society," Paul H. Landis, Washington State College; "Rural Planning: Its Social and Community Organization Aspects," Ray E. Wakeley, Iowa State College; "Social Interaction of School and Community," J. E. Butterworth, Cornell University; "Significant Church Programs for Rural Communities," L. G. Ligutti, National Catholic Rural Life Conference, and Mark Rich, American Baptist Home Mission Society; and "Public Welfare and Family Social Work in Rural Areas," Wayland J. Hayes, Vanderbilt University. The newly elected officers are: president, T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University; vice-president, Edmund de S. Brunner, Columbia University; secretary-treasurer, Robert A. Polson, Cornell University; and members of the executive committee, C. Horace Hamilton, North Carolina State College, John H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin. Membership in the Society was 375 at the end of the year 1940.

American Catholic Sociological Society.—The Society held its annual convention in Chicago, December 28–30, 1940, with headquarters at the Chicago Towers. Among the papers of particular interest that were presented are the following: "The Contemporary Social and Cultural Crisis," by Pitirim A. Sorokin, Harvard University; "The Rural Problem: Major Problem of Farm and City," Most Rev. Vincent J. Ryan, Bismarck, North Dakota; "Population Pressure and Maternal Care," Louis A. Radelet, University of Notre Dame; "Socio-psychological Backgrounds of Totalitarianism," Johann Mokre, St. Louis University; "Social Implications of the Co-operative Movement," E. R. Bowen, general secretary, Co-operative League of America; "The Co-operative Program and the Catholic College," Mary G. Dooling, St. Louis, Missouri; "The Family in the Contemporary Social Crisis," Andrew J. Kress, Georgetown University; and "Effects of Social and Cultural Change on the Family," Helena M. Toole, College of New Rochelle, New York. Round tables were held on "Introductory Course in Sociology" and on "Labor Schools." At a luncheon meeting a symposium was held on "Crime and Community Re-

sponsibility." One of the most outstanding addresses was by the Most Rev. Samuel A. Stritch, archbishop of Chicago, on "The Sociologist and the Apostolate."

Occurring with the general sessions were a number of meetings for students. The registered attendance at the meetings was 480. The present membership of the Society is 228. It was decided to continue the publication of the *American Catholic Sociological Review* under the general editorship of Ralph A. Gallagher, S.J., Loyola University, Chicago.

The new officers for 1941 are: president, Francis J. Friedel, S.M., University of Dayton; vice-president, Eva J. Ross, Trinity College; executive-secretary, Ralph A. Gallagher, S.J., Loyola University; and members of the executive council, Sister Anne, O.S.B., College of St. Benedict, St. Joseph, Minnesota; Raymond W. Murray, C.S.C., University of Notre Dame, and Paul Hanly Furfey, Catholic University, Washington, D.C.

Pacific Sociological Society.—The twelfth annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society was held at Stanford University, December 27 and 28. The first session was devoted to the topic "The Sociology of Housing," with the following papers: "The Adjustment of Family Life to Its Physical Shelter," by Svend H. Riemer, University of Washington, and "Housing the Masses," by Erle F. Young, University of Southern California. The second session was devoted to "The Rural Community," with the chief paper contributed by Lawrence S. Bee, of the University of Oregon, on "The Social Attitudes in a New York Rural Community." In the session devoted to "Human Ecology" the following papers were given: "Land Values as an Ecological Index," by Calvin F. Schmid, of the University of Washington, and "The Ecological Patterning of Tacoma," by Marvin R. Schafer, of the College of Puget Sound. At the final session a paper was presented by Joseph Cohen, of the University of Washington, on "Problems of Teaching Social Statistics." The presidential address was given by Martin H. Neumeyer, of the University of Southern California, on "Leisure: A Field for Social Research."

The proceedings of this conference will be published in March by *Research Studies of the State College of Washington.*

The new officers of the year 1941 are: president, Jesse F. Steiner, University of Washington; vice-presidents, Erle F. Young, Southern California, southern division; Richard T. La Piere, Stanford, central division; William C. Smith, Linfield College, northern division; secretary-treasurer, Paul H. Landis, State College of Washington; editor, Carl E. Dent, State College of Washington.

Mid-West Sociological Society.—The annual meeting of the Society will be held at the Hotel Kirkwood, Des Moines, Iowa, April 17–19. At a joint dinner meeting with the Mid-West Economics Association, the address for the sociologists will be presented by E. B. Reuter, University of Iowa.

Ohio Valley Sociological Society.—The annual meeting of the Society will be held at Columbus, Ohio, April 25–26. Further information may be obtained by writing John F. Cuber, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

Southern Sociological Society.—The Society will hold its sixth annual meeting April 4–5 at the Miami-Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia. Copies of the program may be procured, when available, from Coyle E. Moore, secretary-treasurer of the Society, Florida State College for Women.

American Statistical Association.—The one hundred and second annual meeting of the Association was held in Chicago, December 26–28, 1940, with headquarters at the Stevens Hotel. Sessions were devoted to the following topics: "Problems of Bank Capital," "The Estimation of Animal Populations," "Statistical Research in the Field of Public Welfare," "Measurement of Marketing Efficiency," "Some Problems of National Defense," "Administration of the Wage-Hour Law," "Census Data—Their Form of Presentation," "Statistical Analysis of the Demand for Steel," "Standard Census Tract Tabulations for Census Tract Cities," "Statistical Phases of the Problem of Unemployment," "Significance and Limitations of Our Major Price Indexes," "Analysis of Variance," "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of Statisticians," "The Financing of Business," "Collection and Use of Statistics for Quality Control in National Defense Industries," "Principles and Procedures for Putting Across Business Statistics Reports to Executives," "Adequacy of Present Statistical Data on Occupations, Employment, Unemployment, and Public Assistance," "Recent Developments in Constructing Index Numbers of Industrial Output, Inventories, Shipments, and Orders," and "New Features of the 1940 Population Census." The presidential address was given by F. Leslie Hayford, New York City, on "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of Statisticians." The newly elected officers for the year 1941 are: president, Winfield W. Riefler, Princeton University; secretary-treasurer, Richard L. Funkhouser; directors, F. Leslie Hayford, New York City, Frederick F. Stephan, Cornell University, and Lowell J. Reed,

Johns Hopkins University; and editor, Frank A. Ross, Syracuse University. The membership of the Association on December 31, 1940, was 2,734 active members.

American Political Science Association.—The Association held its thirty-sixth annual meeting in Chicago, December 27–30, 1940, with headquarters at the Palmer House. The program was devoted primarily to sectional meetings and round tables. Sectional meetings were devoted to the following topics: "Political Theory," "Latin-American Affairs," "Far Eastern Affairs," "Political Parties and Elections," "International Law and Relations," "Public Law," "State Government," "Government and Business," "Legislation and Legislative Procedure," "Citizen Organization," "European Affairs," and "National Defense." Other meetings were devoted to "Public Opinion and Propaganda," "Problems of Personnel Administration," "Administration under American Federalism," "Teaching Problems in Political Science," "The Problem of Public Debt," "American Foreign Policy," "Local Government," "Public Reporting," "Relation of Political Science to the Other Social Sciences," "Governmental Aspects of National Planning," "A Post-mortem of the 1940 Election," and "Budget Administration and Interrelationships." Breakfast conferences were held on the following topics: "The Revenue Side of the Budget," "Measurement of the Qualities of Administrators," "The Problems of Office Management," and "Research in Public Administration." The newly elected officers for 1941 include: president, Frederic A. Ogg, University of Wisconsin; first vice-president, T. V. Smith, University of Chicago; second vice-president, Arthur W. Macmahon, Columbia University; third vice-president, Frank M. Stewart, University of California; secretary-treasurer, Kenneth Colegrove, Northwestern University; and members of the executive council, Pendleton Herring, Harvard University; Donald C. Stone, United States Bureau of the Budget; Harold F. Gosnell, University of Chicago; Charles M. Kneiser, University of Illinois; and Phillips Bradley, Queens College.

The Association adopted several reports dealing with civil service and with the relation of the Association to public affairs. Registrants at the annual meeting were 1,130, and the membership at present is 2,859.

National Conference on Family Relations.—The third annual meeting was held in Chicago, December 26–28, 1940, with headquarters at the Stevens Hotel. The central theme of the meeting was "Trends and Resources in Family Living." General sessions were devoted to the following

interests: "Trends in Family Living: The Family in War-Time" and "Community Resources for the Conservation of the Family." Among the outstanding papers presented were: "The Family as Unity," Adolf Meyer, Johns Hopkins University; "Technological Trends Affecting Family Organization and Functions," William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago; "The Changing Cultural Ideals of the Family," Florian Znaniecki, University of Illinois; "The Government, the Child, and the Family," Katharine Lenroot, chief, United States Children's Bureau; "Some Data on Marital Adjustments of Intellectually Gifted Subjects," Lewis M. Terman and Winifred B. Johnson, Stanford University; and "Predicting Adjustment in Engagement and Marriage," E. W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, University of Chicago.

Southern Conference on "Tomorrow's Children."—The second conference was held at Chapel Hill and Durham, North Carolina, December 5–7, 1940. Among the papers read at the Conference were "Southern Resources and Potentialities," Howard Odum, University of North Carolina; "Regional Planning and National Welfare," Henry T. McIntosh, National Resources Planning Board; "Population Policy in the United States," Joseph J. Spengler, Duke University; "Mothers of the South: A Study in Human Resources," Margaret J. Hagood, University of North Carolina; "An Industrial Policy for Tomorrow's Children," E. W. Palmer, Kingsport Press, Kingsport, Tennessee; "Child Labor and the Plantation System," Edgar T. Thompson, Duke University; "The Outlook for Tomorrow's Negro Citizen," Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University; "Family Education and Counseling Services," Ernest R. Groves, University of North Carolina; "Planned Parenthood and the Rights of the Individual in a Democracy," James H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania; "Maternal Health Clinics in North Carolina: What the Statistics Reveal," Donald Klaiss, University of North Carolina; and "The Prevention of Social Problems at Their Source," Wayland J. Hayes, Vanderbilt University.

American Association for the Advancement of Science.—The one hundred and seventh meeting of the Association was held in Philadelphia December 27–January 2. Sessions were held during the first two days by Section K on the social and economic sciences. The program of this section included a symposium on human ecology, the participants in which included Bruce Melvin, Works Project Administration, and E. C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work.

American Association of Schools of Social Work.—The annual meeting of the Association was held in Chicago, January 30–February 1. Among the addresses delivered at the meeting was a paper by Eduard C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work, on "Philosophic Roots of Professional Education in a Changing Social Order."

American Council of Learned Societies.—The third seminar in Arabic and Islamic studies will be held in the Graduate College of Princeton University under the direction of Philip K. Hitti for a six weeks' period beginning June 21. An eight weeks' period of instruction of the Chinese and Japanese languages will be offered at Cornell University during the summer period. A limited number of grants-in-aid for these sessions is available through the co-operation of the Council for specially recommended and qualified students. Further information may be obtained by writing Mortimer Graves, care of the Council, 907 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Common Ground.—Under this title the Common Council for American Unity, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York City, has begun the publication of a quarterly periodical to foster mutual understanding among the American people through overcoming racial and national intolerance and discrimination and through helping the foreign born and their children to solve their problems of adjustment. Louis Adamic is editor of this publication, which was made possible by a grant of the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

American Home Economics Association.—The annual meeting of the Association will be held at the Hotel Stevens, Chicago, June 22–26.

International Congress for the Unity of Science.—The Sixth Congress for the Unity of Science will be held September 2–6 at the University of Chicago in connection with the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the University. The program will consist mainly of symposia devoted to the discussion of central and frontier problems in the present stage of the unification of scientific knowledge. Those who plan to attend or who wish to receive further notices of the Congress are asked to communicate with Charles Morris, University of Chicago.

Institute for Propaganda Analysis.—The Institute has recently announced the election of the following new officers: president, Kirtley Mather, Harvard University; vice-president, F. Ernest Johnson, Columbia University; secretary, Clyde R. Miller, Columbia University; and

treasurer, Alfred M. Lee, New York University. The Institute's board of directors includes Robert S. Lynd, Columbia University; Charles A. Beard, Johns Hopkins University; Leonard Doob, Yale University; Hadley Cantril, Princeton University; and E. C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work.

Lester F. Ward Sociological Society.—This Society, founded four years ago in the department of sociology, George Washington University, "to honor and perpetuate the memory of Lester F. Ward and to carry forward his work," is holding a ceremony this spring to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of Ward's birth.

Russell Sage Foundation.—Robert M. MacIver, Columbia University, has been elected to the board of trustees of the Foundation.

Society for the Study of Personality and Culture.—This association has been formed under the leadership of Lawrence K. Frank, New York City, Franz Alexander, Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis, Mary Fisher, Vassar College, and Mark May, Yale University, to bring together social scientists interested in the relationship between the personality structure and the character formation of the individual and the cultural patterns. This Society envisages as important social problems within the purview of its interests the matter of maintaining national morale and enthusiasm and yet retaining balance in objectivity and preventing hysteria and the problem of diminishing the impact upon our social institutions of defense preparations, as well as other immediate questions of cultural change that may be illuminated by the skills and insights of specialists in the social and psychological sciences.

Brooklyn College.—Conrad Arensberg, recently on the staff of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has been appointed associate professor and chairman of the department of sociology.

University of Chicago.—The University has recently changed the name of its Committee on Child Development to Committee on Human Development. The purpose of this change is to point out the interest of this Committee in human development at all ages. The Committee administers work for higher degrees in the field of human development, thus combining the research and teaching interests of the divisions of the biological sciences and of the social sciences in this area. The Committee consists of

members from the departments of sociology, anthropology, psychology, physiology, anatomy, pediatrics, psychiatry, home economics, and education, as well as representatives from the schools of medicine and social service administration and representatives of research and social agencies in and near the city of Chicago. Robert J. Havighurst, formerly of the General Education Board, has recently joined the faculty of the University as secretary of this Committee.

During the Winter Quarter E. W. Burgess has been out of residence and, while on vacation in Florida, has been devoting a portion of his time to the preparation of materials for publication in the field of the family.

City College of New York.—Paul Lazarsfeld, who is connected with the radio research studies formerly at Princeton University and now at Columbia University, is lecturing during the second semester on vocational and industrial psychology. Charles H. Page has been granted a leave of absence during the second semester to serve as executive secretary of the Committee for the Resettlement of Foreign Physicians and Medical Scientists.

University of Colorado.—Members of the visiting staff of the Summer Quarter will include Henry Bowman, Stephens College, and Marvin K. Opler, Reed College.

Columbia University.—J. P. Lippincott Company has published *Life, Liberty and Property* by Alfred Winslow Jones. An abbreviated account of this study appeared in the January, 1941, issue of *Fortune.*

Fisk University.—During the period April 29–May 4 Fisk University celebrates its seventh-fifth anniversary. In the department of social sciences plans are under way to hold a program which will consider education as a cultural process, an orientation to education somewhat different from the more common administrative and pedagogical stresses, having definite implications for the education of marginal peoples as well as for education generally.

It is anticipated that the contributions to this program will provide a basis for discussion at an institute to be held during the celebration, but, more importantly, that the papers will be published, and thereby make available points of view and material of rare value and exceptional usefulness to education and the social sciences.

Contributors to this symposium volume are: Bronislaw Malinowski,

Yale University; Robert Redfield, University of Chicago; Melville Herskovits, Northwestern University; Donald Pierson, São Paulo University, Brazil; Margaret Mead, American Museum of Natural History; Bingham Dai, Fisk University; Ruth Benedict, Columbia University; Edwin R. Embree, Julius Rosenwald Fund; Horace Mann Bond, Fort Valley State College; Robert E. Park, University of Chicago and Fisk University; Mark Hanna Watkins, Fisk University; and H. Scudder Mekeel, University of Wisconsin.

Harvard University.—Charles P. Loomis, United States Department of Agriculture, is giving courses in social organization and population problems during the second semester in the department of sociology. Fred C. Frey, Louisiana State University, will offer courses in introductory sociology and race relations during the summer session. Pitirim A. Sorokin is delivering a course of eight lectures at the Lowell Institute on "Twilight of Sensate Culture, or Contemporary Social and Cultural Crisis." The fourth volume of Professor Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics* is in press and is expected to be out before May. Carle Zimmerman's monograph, *Siam, Rural Economic Survey* (1931), has been published in a Siamese translation by the Royal Siamese Department of Education for use as a social science text in Siamese colleges and universities. Max Lerner, Williams College, and Hans Kohn, Smith College, will offer courses in the department of government during the summer session.

University of Iowa.—John Gould, who has been a graduate student at the University of Kansas, and Charles D. Roberts, who has studied as a graduate student at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, have been appointed part-time instructors in sociology.

University of Kansas.—D. Appleton–Century Company has announced for early publication *New Social Horizons* by Seba Eldridge.

University of Michigan.—Harper and Brothers have published *Delinquency Control* by Lowell J. Carr. *Crime and Its Treatment,* by Arthur E. Wood and John B. Waite, has been published by the American Book Company.

New School for Social Research.—With a greatly extended curriculum of over one hundred courses, many by leading scholars recently rescued from Europe, the New School has opened its spring term. Among the

courses being offered by recently arrived scholars are "The Impact of the War on British Democracy," by Warner F. Brook, University of Cardiff; "National Socialist Propaganda," by Ernst Kris, Institutes of Psychoanalysis in Vienna and London; "Persecution: A Comparative Study," by Henri Gregoire, University of Brussels; and "The Sociological Foundations of Public Law," by Henri E. A. M. Rolin, Supreme Court of Belgium and vice-president of the University of Brussels. Besides the courses growing out of the crisis, the New School is offering others in psychology and anthropology, including one by Bronislaw Malinowski, Yale University, on "Theoretical Analysis of Culture."

North Carolina State College.—R. A. Fisher, Galton Professor, University College, University of London, will serve as visiting professor of experimental statistics during the summer session.

Northwestern University.—Arthur James Todd has recently completed *Recommendations and Summary*, the fifth and final volume of the Chicago Recreation Survey.

University of Southern California.—During the summer session, William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago, will offer courses in principles of sociology, and social progress and current trends.

University of Southern California.—The Macmillan Company has announced that a second edition of *Sociology* by Emery S. Bogardus will be published in April.

Westminister College.—President F. L. McCluer has been elected to the presidency of the Presbyterian College Union, made up of all Presbyterian colleges in the United States related to the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. President Harry M. Gage, Coe College, was re-elected secretary.

William Jewell College.—Franklin T. Walker, professor of English, is preparing a book on *William Peterfield Trent, Teacher and Scholar*, and would like to correspond with former students, colleagues, and other friends of Professor Trent at the University of the South, Columbia University, Johns Hopkins University, and the University of Virginia.

Yale University.—During the first semester the Sociology Club of the Yale Graduate School was addressed by the following speakers: Victor A. Rapport, Coast Artillery Reserve, on leave of absence from the Univer-

sity of Connecticut and assigned to the Selective Service Headquarters in New York City, on "The Selective Service Act, a Practical Application of Sociology"; Frank H. Hankins, Smith College, on "Population Problems of Japan"; John Collier, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on "The Indian and the Indian Affairs of the United States"; Edwin Embree, Julius Rosenwald Fund, on "The Negro in American Democracy"; and Walter White, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, on "The American Negro in Pursuit of His Rights."

PERSONAL

Henri Bergson, French philosopher, died January 4 in Paris at the age of eighty-one. The author of *Creative Evolution*, *Two Sources of Morality and Religion*, and *Le Rire, essai sur la signification du comique*, Dr. Bergson had been a professor at the College of France from 1900 until he recently renounced his honorary connection with that institution following the racial decrees. In 1901 he was made a member of the Academie des sciences morales, was awarded the Nobel prize for literature for 1927, and in May, 1940, received the Nicholas Murray Butler gold medal of Columbia University for his last book, *Two Sources of Morality and Religion.*

A. A. Rogers, Box 1041, University Station, Charlottesville, Virginia, is engaged in research on the family and family life in Virginia during the Colonial period and would appreciate corresponding with any persons who have data or suggestions regarding his research problem.

Thomas Y. Crowell Company has published *Urban Society* by Noel P. Gist, University of Missouri, and L. A. Halbert, Board of Public Welfare (Washington, D.C.).

As this issue of the *Journal* goes to press word has been received of the death of George Edgar Vincent in New York City, February 1. Born in Rockford, Illinois, March 21, 1864, Dr. Vincent received the A.B. degree from Yale University in 1885 and in 1896 received the Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago, where he was a Fellow in the Department of Sociology at the time the Department and the University began operation in 1892. After a two-year period as a Fellow he served as an assistant, 1894–95; as an instructor, 1895–96; assistant professor, 1896–1900; associate professor, 1900–1904; and as professor, 1904–11. In 1911 Dr. Vincent left the University of Chicago to accept an appointment as third

president of the University of Minnesota, leaving that position in 1917 to become president of the Rockefeller Foundation—a post from which he resigned in 1929. During the period 1914–29 he was a member of the General Education Board, and in 1923 he was a member of the United States delegation to the Pan-American Conference at Santiago, Chile. He was a charter member of the American Sociological Society and president of the Society in 1916. Dr. Vincent's publications include *Social Mind and Education* (1896) and (with Albion W. Small) *An Introduction to the Study of Society* (1895), and he was an associate editor of the *Journal* from the time it began publication in 1895 until 1914.

BOOK REVIEWS

Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up. By SHELDON and ELEANOR GLUECK. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1940. Pp. viii+330. $2.50.

The Gluecks herein publish the results of a study of one thousand male juvenile delinquents previously traced during a five-year post-treatment period and now followed through an additional ten years. This, the fifth in their series of follow-up investigations, makes the Gluecks pre-eminent in this field of research.

A steady decrease in the number of lads who continued in delinquency was found. Those who did continue displayed a drift from serious to minor infractions. It was concluded that the boys who reformed, those who reformed before twenty-one years of age, and those who became minor violators had better hereditary equipment and environmental conditions than those who did not reform at all, those who reformed after twenty-one, and those who continued on as serious offenders. This conclusion, it seems to me, is based on an inadequate interpretation of factors which were discovered to distinguish markedly the above three dichotomous groups. The noted resemblances and the slight differences between the dichotomies are left unexplained and are not rendered consistent in theory with the conclusions taken from the analysis of the marked differences.

As in their previous follow-up studies, the Gluecks maintain a vital interest in prediction. In general, their method of arriving at prediction by association of categories and subcategories with the extent (percentage) of failure (recidivism) is sound. But there seem to be certain deficiencies in their actual working-out of prediction tables.

The selection of the few key factors or categories which are claimed to give sufficient discrimination for prediction is not adequate. The principal statistical basis of selection is probably (the Gluecks are not explicit at this point) the magnitude of the coefficient of mean square contingency. The highest C for any of the key discriminating factors does not go very far into the .20's. A nonstatistical basis of selection of discriminating factors seems to be what the Gluecks have gleaned from experience, which has shown them that it is unnecessary to use more than five factors in a prediction table.

When the prediction tables are erected according to grouped cumulative percentage failure-scores and according to various categories of outcome, a trend in the relationship of score to outcome is not very obvious.

There is a slight but hidden relation of low failure-scores to successful outcomes and of high failure-scores to unsuccessful outcomes. But this interpretation, which seems to me the important one, is not made. Instead, the Gluecks make a cell interpretation of their prediction tables, in terms of the chances out of ten for such and such outcome to follow from such and such failure score. The chances are based purely on the percentage distribution in the various cells of the prediction tables, all of whose column and row totals contain too few cases for generalization. One of their tables predicts the chances of six out of ten from a total of forty-one cases.

If cell by cell interpretation is to be made, I believe that the actual percentage or case distribution in any cell should be accompanied by the expected percentage or number. The analysis could then be made in terms of the significance of the difference between actual and expected values.

The Gluecks may have uncovered an important theory for criminology, although I do not feel that they have sufficient proof. This theory is akin but superior to the theories of the European school of criminal biology and to the theory of criminal diathesis propounded by Goring. The implication of the Gluecks's theory is that delinquent behavior is probably abandoned when the personality achieves integration. i.e., harmonization in its various parts, which results in stabilization of conduct. Some cases of offenders take longer than other cases to achieve a degree of maturation high enough to enable them to abandon crime, depending upon the hereditary and past environmental loadings against them. The important time element in reform is the interval elapsing between onset and abandonment of crime and not the arrival at any particular chronological age. Some cases never achieve integration and hence continue in crime on a less and less energetic level.

In their previous work, *Later Criminal Careers*, the conception of maturation was mainly limited to the settling-down and sifting-out process which accompanied chronological age. In the present work, the concept is much more elaborate, embracing the differential development and integration of several phases of personality. There are many inconsistencies and shortages in the use of the present conceptual tool which need to be corrected, even if proof of a definite relationship of abandonment of criminal behavior to degree of maturation is substantiated by more and better evidence than is now available. Lack of synchronization of various phases of the personality in development from childhood to adulthood is probably the rule of human growth. Failure to achieve a high degree of integration in adulthood appears to be quite common.

I should like to see the maturation of nondelinquents compared with that of reformed and unreformed offenders, if such a feat is possible, be-

fore I would be willing to accept the maturation hypothesis as applied by the Gluecks to criminal outcome.

In spite of shortcomings which inevitably greet pioneer attempts at forecasting, the Gluecks's persistence in their endeavor to explain and to predict criminal outcome by the method of factoring is courageous and praiseworthy. In the course of time, improvements will be made in the selection of discriminating predictive categories and in the erection of expectancy tables. In the meantime, much effort is needed to see to it that the instruments and agencies used in reporting data for follow-up studies record consistently determined data. The Gluecks could render an important service to all follow-up predictive research if they could have a competent appraisal made of the reliability of their data as recorded and reported by agencies and field workers. If the various items of information which go to make up the association tables, the factoring, and the predictions are reliably reported, then forecasting of probable outcome of delinquency cases as a substitute for trial-and-error treatment and for speculative psychiatric prognosis can become a reality.

WALTER C. RECKLESS

Ohio State University

Principles of Criminology. By EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND. Rev. ed. New York: J. P. Lippincott Co., 1939. Pp. vii+651. $3.50.

Dr. Sutherland's classic text in criminology has, since the first edition in 1924, had no peer. The 1939 revision not only brings factual information up to date but also suggests a fresh orientation for criminological inquiry.

As in the former editions, dogmatic and unsound theories of criminal behavior are convincingly exposed. But the contribution is also positive. Dr. Sutherland offers in chapter i "A Theory of Criminology" and follows it up later with an illustrative chapter xiii called "Behavior Systems in Crime." These two chapters reflect the advances in his thinking which have come since the last edition and which have been recorded in his book, *The Professional Thief*, and in his writings on the "white-collar" criminal.

This review is concerned principally with the merits of this theory. But, in passing, tribute should be paid to the author's painstaking culling of research, critical evaluation of data, and the lucid exposition maintained throughout the volume.

Dr. Sutherland's theory of crime may be summarized as follows: A science of criminology cannot hope to explain the specific criminal act of a

given person since the factors in causation are so heterogeneous. Therefore, we must study systematic criminal behavior, either in the form of criminal careers or organized criminal practices. Systematic criminality is learned behavior which comes from direct or indirect association with those who already practice it. Whether a person becomes a criminal or not depends upon the comparative frequency, consistency, and intimacy of his contacts with the two types of behavior, criminal and noncriminal. Underlying this differential of association is a conflict of culture or value-schemes, one representing the criminal culture and the other the lawful culture. The ultimate cause of systematic criminal behavior is that the community is not organized solidly against such behavior. If the community is organized with reference to the values expressed in the law, systematic criminal behavior can be eliminated.

For purposes of illustrating his theory and suggesting a method of research, Dr. Sutherland, in chapter xiii, describes certain sociological units or entities in crime which he calls behavior systems. These consist of a cluster of related habit patterns and are organized into groupways such as professional theft, circus grifting, drug traffic, and the white-collar crimes of fraudulent advertising, the manipulations of Insull, the Van Sweringens, and others. The methodological advantage of proceeding with such units is that they may be understood more readily than isolated or nonsystematic criminal behavior.

There are certain rather obvious limitations to Dr. Sutherland's theory as a scientific hypothesis.

1. The theory does not explain why some individuals enter into systematic criminal behavior and others do not. One boy who has frequent, consistent, and intimate contacts with professional thieves remains law abiding; another in the same situation becomes delinquent. Two boys exposed to the same criminal or noncriminal situation will define it differently, and the organization of personality which defines the situation is outside the pale of Sutherland's analysis. He admits that receptivity of a given individual at a particular moment is a factor in his behavior, but he dismisses it as too complex to permit of generalization.

2. The theory does not cover criminal behavior which is isolated from systematic and organized criminal patterns. Organized crime undoubtedly plays a conspicuous role in the community today. But how about those thieves, kidnapers, rapists, murderers, extortioners, embezzlers, and criminals of every offense who have no associations with others in a criminal behavior system? These persons are probably more numerous than generally supposed. Would Dr. Sutherland say that such "isolated" criminal acts result from the process which he describes? He suggests that once we

have a scientific body of theory pertaining to systematized crime we may also get clues for explaining isolated crimes, but he does not tell us why he thinks knowledge of the one will throw light on the other. There is probably good reason for excluding isolated criminal behavior since such specific or incidental acts cannot be generalized because of the complication of variables. The fact remains that we will have no comprehensive science of criminology until some technique is advanced for explaining the behavior of the accidental or occasional or isolated criminal as well as the career criminal.

3. Dr. Sutherland's theory assumes a clean-cut dichotomy consisting of the lawful culture and the criminal culture conflicting with the law. This is an oversimplification. The author underestimates the difficulty of sorting out the "lawful" values from the "criminal" values. The reason why the community is disorganized (in Dr. Sutherland's sense of not being willing or able to put down crime) is that there is often no essential agreement on what common values make up the "lawful" culture. It is true that when a community feels certain common values challenged, as in the case of an epidemic of kidnapings or brutal sex offenses, it may rise in organized protest to put down wrong. But the question of white-collar crimes, such as fraudulent advertising, bribery of officials, and illegal stock-market manipulations, is not one of mere inertia. It is rather to be asked whether there are any common values to be challenged? When graft is an accepted part of the job of running a city, are we to say the community is socially disorganized because it will not throw the grafters out of office? Many American communities seem rather well organized around the behavior systems of graft.

The efforts of recent texts in criminology, including this one, to evolve a broad, systematic theory of criminal behavior are the natural result of disillusionment at the failure of the case and statistical methods to explain causation. The study of the direction of the causative influences in the behavior of given criminals has proved a blind alley. Dr. Sutherland has turned to the more concrete and understandable units of organized or systematic crime. It is a wholesome and badly needed shift in orientation, but, as the author recognizes, it does not cover the totality of behavior called "criminal."

Yet, until sociology devises a theory and technique for the explanation of noncriminal behavior, we cannot expect a scientific explanation of criminal behavior.

RICHARD C. FULLER

University of Michigan

Social Psychology. By OTTO KLINEBERG. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1940. Pp. xii+570. $3.00.

There are thirty-odd American textbooks entitled *Social Psychology*, all published since 1908. In spite of this abundance, many, perhaps most, teachers of introductory courses in the subject are ceaselessly casting around for a suitable text—for one that presupposes no knowledge of psychology on the part of the students, for one that is up to date, interesting, and as coherent and systematic as possible. The trouble seems to be that no text is self-consistent enough to create the impression of a unified science, of a body of knowledge ordered under a set of mutually compatible theories.

Whatever system an author is able to achieve in social psychology is invariably revealed by his treatment of motivation. It is here that Klineberg shows himself an empiricist, trusting fact rather than theory to produce the science. His approach to motivation (as to all other topics) is fact-finding and inductive. Instead of proceeding from a priori postulates concerning original nature he sets about to discover on the basis of ethnological evidence what *are* the "dependable motives" of men. Some, he finds,

> are absolutely dependable, have a definite physiological basis and admit of no exceptions. Social factors play a part in their manifestations, but do not determine their existence. These include hunger, thirst, the need for rest and sleep, the elimination of waste products from the body, and similar organic requirements; also activity drives and "esthetic" drives.

Then come motives that have a physiological basis, being found in all societies, but admitting exceptions in the case of individuals: sex, postmaternal desires, and possibly self-preservation. Among motives having still more frequent exceptions and less physiological basis he lists aggressiveness, flight, and possibly self-assertiveness. The list follows with still less dependable motives: gregariousness, the paternal, prematernal, and filial motives, acquisitiveness, and self-submission. The author's method of combing cultures to find uniformities in social behavior is promising, but it needs, as he himself admits, to be carried through on a larger scale and in greater detail.

Klineberg makes abundantly clear the extent to which not only motives but emotional expression, thought-forms, prejudices, and personality are socially determined. The strength of the case for cultural relativity will not escape the student. In this connection material on race differences is compactly summarized, conveniently supplanting the

author's longer standard treatment of this topic. The present text not only covers more ground than does *Race Differences*, but the thesis of cultural determinism does not seem to be so overwhelmingly emphasized as in the earlier book. From the point of view of the biological psychologist this moderation of attitude on Klineberg's part is a great improvement. After all, without native equipment and without the capacity for integrated personal lives, men would not create and re-create those cultural forms which only in a second-handed way turn into stimulus-fields affecting their creators.

Not only because of its balanced point of view, but because it is one of the simplest, most factual, and most interesting texts available, many teachers will adopt Klineberg as the best didactic guide for their students.

GORDON W. ALLPORT

Harvard University

Aboriginal Woman: Sacred and Profane. By PHYLLIS M. KABERRY. Philadelphia: Blakiston Co., 1939. Pp. xxxl+294. 9 pls.

Aboriginal Woman, a formal account of the role played by women from birth to death among the aboriginal of the Kimberleys of N. W. Australia, is unique in being the only work done by a trained woman anthropologist in Australia who has been willing to attack the culture from a woman's point of view. This virtue is also the study's principal defect because the whole discussion is oriented toward a disputatious disallowance of a large number of rather vague and uninformed remarks which have been made about aboriginal women in the past, and a rather empty controversy with Professor Lloyd Warner's use of the term "profane" as applied to women, who, like children, are excluded from the complicated ceremonial life. One is impressed throughout the discussion with how much better a book Dr. Kaberry might have written had she merely gone in and studied women, and especially women in relation to children—a subject on which her data are pitifully scanty—as integral parts of the native community, without carrying all the overhead of a need to defend the existence of women as individuals who should not be stigmatized as "profane." This discussion also blurs more important issues, such as the problem of why the men, in Australia and in every other part of the world, primitive and civilized, have always been responsible for the symbolic structure of the culture, whether they accord women a low place within this structure—as in Australia—or a high place. Just because the contrast between the sexes is sharper in Australia, and the symbolic roots more apparent,

Australian cultures are an especially fertile ground in which to pursue research into this problem. It is to be hoped, but it can hardly be expected, that Dr. Kaberry's book will end the polemics over the problem of the position of women in Australia by demonstrating, as Dr. Roheim's study had already done, that they have a life of their own, which has dignity and meaning, and that some of the sweeping statements made by earlier writers were too negligent in their disposal of women's place. Perhaps the next research work done by a woman in Australia can then concentrate on problems which emerge from the material itself, from the actual role of women in culture, rather than from echoes of nineteenth-century battles over the relative position of the sexes.

Dr. Kaberry herself places such importance upon her polemical position that it would be easy to get the impression from a brief examination of the book that the book makes no other contribution. This is not so. There is a considerable amount of well-detailed observation placed in a systematic framework characteristic of the Malinowski school which sees culture in terms of the way in which universal human needs are met. The conception of the individual is sociological throughout; we learn about member *of the social group, female sex*, rather than about any mechanisms of character formation; and this level is consistently maintained.

Perhaps one of the most interesting theoretical points which the book explicitly raises is the need for revision of Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown's hypothesis that Australian social organization was of necessity patrilocal because boys had to learn the character of their "country" from their fathers if they were to become experienced hunters. Dr. Kaberry's account of the role of the women as food gatherers, and their equal need for knowledge of the country, which they must, nevertheless, acquire after marriage, refutes this very plausible earlier theory and demonstrates, once again, how dangerous is any theory of environmental determinism of cultural forms.

MARGARET MEAD

American Museum of Natural History

The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples. By MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940. Pp. xii+492+map. $4.50.

As the first comprehensive survey of economic institutions as they are found in preliterate tribes, this book becomes immediately indispensable to every social scientist seeking ethnological perspective. Successfully avoided is "the use of difficult technical terms, of either anthropology or

economics, so that what is written may be readily available to economists, anthropologists, and all others whose concern is with the processes and forms of human civilization" (p. vii). Besides introductory remarks and conclusions, there are meaty chapters on production, exchange and distribution, property, and the economic surplus. In his survey the author covers every continent of the earth, but in his illustrative materials he prefers extended discussions of a few cases to a catalogue of all instances possibly bearing on a point. Nevertheless, some phase of the economic life of 188 tribes is discussed. There is an adequate reference map with an excellent numerical index.

The author's discussion of such general problems as collectivism and economic determinism, attacked from the anthropological point of view, will prove a useful antidote to the oversimplified explanations that are so frequently offered. Indeed, here for the first time the fundamental data of primitive economics are made readily available to theoreticians attacking such problems. But this book will contribute equally to an improvement of ethnographic techniques as applied to the data of economics. The author justly demands that anthropologists report quantitative economic data apart from descriptions of technology, on the one hand, and social institutions, on the other. That this is possible is demonstrated by the case materials presented; that anthropologists have not often understood the need is apparent from the lacunae in the ethnographic record. Herskovits' book may be said to define economics for the anthropologist, and a rapid increase of data in the field of native economics may be expected.

SOL TAX

University of Chicago

The Puerto Rican Migrant in New York City. By LAWRENCE R. CHENAULT. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. Pp. xii+190. $2.25.

The Negro Immigrant: His Background, Characteristics and Social Adjustment, 1899–1937. By IRA DEA. REID. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. 261. $3.50.

These studies deal with two immigrant groups which have been neglected by students of racial and cultural minorities in the United States.

Although the immigration of the Puerto Rican is technically a problem of internal migration, in reality the Puerto Rican immigrant meets the same problems of adjustment as any other alien group. The first part of Chenault's study presents the social and economic background of the

Puerto Rican immigrant. The Puerto Rican is primarily a peasant attempting to eke out an existence in a country where the amount of improved land per capita is less than in most of the highly industrialized European nations. As a result, thousands of Puerto Ricans were attracted to this country during the prosperous twenties; and it appears that the movement will continue since they cannot compete with Negro labor in the neighboring islands in the West Indies. The vast majority of the Puerto Rican immigrants have settled in New York City, where there are two main areas of concentration—one on the southern fringe of Negro Harlem comprising slightly more than three-fourths of the Puerto Ricans in New York City and another in the neighborhood of the Navy Yard in Brooklyn. In the second part of the study the problems involved in the economic and social adjustment of these immigrants to the urban environment are analyzed. Since the Puerto Rican is regarded as colored by most Americans, though only a fourth of them are returned in the census as such, many of his problems are similar to those of the southern Negro peasant. From the standpoint of health it appears that the Negro has made a better adjustment to the urban environment.

Professor Reid deals with the various Negro immigrants from the British and French West Indies, Cape Verde Islands, Azores, Portugal, and Cuba. The author presents first the outstanding facts concerning the economic and cultural backgrounds of these various Negro groups and the composition and characteristics of the immigrants. The vast majority of those of British West Indian origin settle in New York City.

> The Negro immigrant from the Cape Verde Islands, Azores and Portugal has gone chiefly to New Bedford, Lynn and Fall River, while the Cuban Negro has settled in Tampa and New York. Detroit's immigrant group is largely British-Canadian in its composition. New York, however, is an amalgam of all immigrant groups, the British West Indian predominating, closely followed by the non-alien groups from Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Chicago and Philadelphia also show a varied cross-section of all groups, with the British West Indian predominating. Each of these areas shows evidence of different nationality traits and cultures, and presents problems of social adjustment based upon the persistence and survival of these ethnic contacts [p. 91].

About a third of the book is devoted to a discussion of their adjustment to various phases of American life. One of the major problems of the non-English speaking immigrants—French, Spanish, and Portuguese—is to adjust to American color prejudice. The lower-class British West Indian who is accustomed to class and caste has to adjust to the prejudices of the American Negroes. On the other hand, the middle-class British West In-

dian Negro loses his preferred status and finds himself relegated to the status of American Negroes generally. Nevertheless, the British West Indian has forged ahead in the professions and in politics and has far outstripped the native American Negro in business undertakings. In a chapter of forty-four pages a kind of collective autobiography of the West Indian Negro, written by a Virgin Islander, is analyzed to show the social and psychological problems which the black immigrant faces.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

The Negro College Graduate. By CHARLES S. JOHNSON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938. Pp. xvii+399. $3.00.

Forty years ago the first survey of Negro college graduates was made by DuBois, who ten years later made another survey of the same group. Since these studies were made the increase in the number of college graduates has been many times that of the Negro population. Dr. Johnson has made an important contribution to our knowledge in his comprehensive firsthand study of a group which constitutes a kind of intellectual vanguard of the Negro.

The scope of the study is indicated in the Introduction, where it is stated that

> the purpose of this study is fourfold: (*a*) to ascertain the number, distribution and occupational adjustment of the Negro graduates of colleges, professional and vocational schools; (*b*) to provide an analysis of some of the important social factors determining the present number and status of these graduates; (*c*) to test by such means as appear valid and sound the value, in terms of the graduates themselves, of measures and methods employed in the higher education of this group; and (*d*) to lay a factual basis for the further study and planning of programs of advanced education with some reference to the social and cultural problems which continue to be a part of Negro life.

The author has succeeded admirably in achieving these aims through the analysis of a wealth of factual materials. There are nearly 150 tables dealing with the various phases of the subject besides 20 charts, which include 3 excellent maps showing the distribution of college and professional graduates, industrial graduates, and the combined 25,923 college, professional, and industrial graduates.

This study appears at a time when changes in our economic and social life are raising important questions concerning the role of this group not

only in Negro life but in the life of the entire country. In making available a comprehensive and factual study of this group, Dr. Johnson has provided the indispensable knowledge for educators and social planners generally to work on an intelligent basis.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

Freedom of Thought in the Old South. By CLEMENT EATON. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1940. Pp. xi+343. $3.00.

Mr. Eaton's thesis is that southern thought, after the death of Jefferson, tended in the direction of a defense of slavery. The turning-point came about the year 1831, coincident with the Nat Turner Rebellion and the appearance of the *Liberator*. Also the intrusion of "the common man" in public affairs must be reckoned as a strong, though hardly detached, influence affecting the trend of southern intellectual currents. Mr. Eaton's thesis is not new, for the economic historian especially has pointed out time after time the intellectual repressions of a cotton economy rooted in slavery.

This study, however, makes several noteworthy contributions to southern history: first, a searching analysis of the effect of the intellectualism of cotton capitalism upon freedom of thought and, second, a body of new material upon southern intellectual life garnered from a surprising variety of sources. The ideological defenses of slavery, far from finding their focus on the floors of Congress, were thrown up in every community and permeated the press, the church, and the university. In short, the South of 1840 had become dedicated to its cause in a manner that would have shocked the philosophical liberal of the Tidewater fifty years before.

For the student of social affairs Mr. Eaton's case study has a broad significance. Then, as now, the dissenter had not so much to fear from the law as from the multitude. Then, as now, the demagogues set up their straw men, and those defending liberty of thought were quickly identified by the multitude as the enemies of the very freedoms they sought to defend. In discussing freedom of thought—at once the most elusive, exasperating, and vulnerable bulwark of democracy—one wonders actually to what extent our vaunted advances in education, in lay and religious toleration, and our modern mobility of ideas have rendered us wiser than the proslavery headhunters. In time of crisis freedom of thought and utterance are quickly jettisoned. Then, as now, only the man of highest

courage will dare counter such a tide. One can only hope that the incidence of such men is as great today as in the intellectually blockaded South of ante-bellum years.

JOHN POMFRET

Vanderbilt University

Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes. Edited by RALPH LINTON. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940. Pp. xiii+526. $4.00.

Here is a significant volume for students of culture change. The bulk of the volume is taken up with studies of the acculturation process in seven American Indian tribes—studies which are projected against the background of the aboriginal culture; the last three chapters represent a summary of the conclusions in regard to the processes of acculturation which seem valid in the light of present knowledge.

The reports on tribal acculturation are in each instance based upon original field work; in certain cases they contribute the first detailed ethnographic studies of the tribes in question.[1] More important, however, they have been organized, as far as possible, in terms of a single plan or framework, so that comparative study is greatly facilitated. When other studies are so arranged we will have a firmer foundation for our conclusions in this field.

While Professor Linton appends a brief summary to each tribal study, his general discussion is not oriented specifically around the comparison of these cases but rather deals with acculturation from the standpoint of the available literature. Defining acculturation in terms of "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (pp. 463–64), Professor Linton centers his attention on the processes of culture change, the processes of culture transfer, and the distinctive aspects of acculturation. His discussion of these processes is the best that the reviewer has seen and the conclusions offered will be found very useful. In reference to the results of acculturation, Professor Linton emphasizes the complexity of the phenomena centering around culture change—the only

[1] The authors and the seven tribes studied are as follows: Marian W. Smith, the Puyullup of Washington; Jack S. Harris, the White Knife Shoshoni of Nevada; Marvin K. Opler, the Southern Ute of Colorado; Henry Elkin, the Northern Arapaho of Wyoming; Natalie F. Joffe, the Fox of Iowa; Irving Goldman, the Alkatcho Carrier of British Columbia; and William Whitman, the San Ildefonso of New Mexico.

constant phenomenon in situations of acculturation seems to be the establishment of mutual modifications and adaptations.

FRED EGGAN

University of Chicago

Social Psychology. By CHARLES BIRD. New York: D. Appleton–Century Co., 1940. Pp. xiii+564. $3.50.

Bird seems to feel that it is the function of social psychology to apply scientific findings to the solution of individual and social problems. That, at any event, is what he undertakes to do in this text. The findings he utilizes are those of "experimental psychology," the term being broadly defined to include any kind of quantitative study of human behavior. The problems he examines were, quite fittingly, selected by means of a questionnaire study of student interests. The book is not, therefore, a running, systematic analysis, but is, rather, a series of separate and often unrelated discussions of those topics which the author thinks are most vital to the student of psychology. The book is, however, far less tediously circumstantial in character than is Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology*, and should for this reason be more palatable to the student.

The fourteen chapters may be divided roughly into three groups. The first eight chapters deal implicitly with the fact that the human personality is social in character. Here Bird presents evidence which suggests that human motivation, attitudes, etc., are socially derived. His treatment of imitation is especially good, perhaps because in this instance he is dealing with a concept rather than with a series of fragmentary researches. The next three chapters are devoted to some aspects of collective interaction, with emphasis upon the role of individual leadership. In the three concluding chapters an attempt is made to apply the findings of experimental psychology directly to the solution of personal and social problems. The first of these chapters deals with the effect of age upon achievement, employment, crime, and mental diseases; the second is devoted to the problem of juvenile delinquency; the third, to war. The evidence presented rather definitely proves that social phenomena are social rather than biological. Thus war probably cannot be explained, we are told, as the consequence of "a natural proclivity of man, represented neurally as a system of open synapses. . . . ."

To the sociologist this book will be mainly interesting in that (1) it indicates how far psychologists have come from their strictly individual approach to human behavior and (2) it demonstrates the necessity of sup-

plementing the findings of so-called experimental psychology with those of anthropological, ethnological, historical, and case studies.

RICHARD T. LAPIERE

Stanford University

Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence. By CAROLINE B. ZACHRY, in collaboration with MARGARET LIGHTY, for the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum of the Progressive Education Association. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940. Pp. x+563. $3.00.

Few books about adolescence give any insight into adolescents. For the understanding or interpretation of the living problems of the period, they are often more confusing than enlightening. This book is a brilliant exception. It is packed with content. Its purpose is stated, its terms are defined, its method and organization are objective and logical, its evidence is presented, and, withal, it is readable. Its theme is emotion; its approach, unemotional.

The purpose of the book, as with the others written for the study of adolescents as set up within the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum of the Progressive Education Association, is an "increased understanding of young people for the purposes of education." In general the understanding of the adolescent involves an appreciation of his efforts to find personal satisfaction and, at the same time, social usefulness. The school has concerned itself only with the latter half of this adjustment of the needs of the self to the needs of its society. The welfare of the whole group would be better served by the school if the individual aspects of the adjustment were brought into sharper focus.

Recurrent throughout the volume is the major problem of adolescence: To outgrow the dependency of childhood in the family group and to assume the increased adequacy and power of adulthood in the inclusive society. The book is divided into three parts: (I) "Changing Attitudes to the Self," (II) "Changing Personal Relationships," and (III) "Changing Attitudes to Basic Social Institutions."

JESSIE R. RUNNER

Iowa City, Iowa

Commercial Banking and the Stock Market before 1863. By JOSEPH EDWARD HEDGES. ("Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science," Ser. LVI, No. 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938. Pp. 164. $1.50.

It is a commonplace knowledge that the American banking situation, including the banking crises, have been largely, if not overwhelmingly

determined by the practice of interbank balances accumulating in New York and evaporating under the stress of monetary demand from the hinterland or from abroad. Professor Hedges (Emory University) projects this story backward, so to speak, into the first half of the nineteenth century and shows that from the outset the particular position of the import and export center and of the center for distribution of manufactured commodities compelled the banks of the country to accumulate reserves in New York, which were also attracted by favorable interest rates on deposits. The development of the New York Stock Exchange since 1810 gave the definite impetus, and in each of the subsequent crises since 1837 (1847, 1853, 1854, 1857, 1860) the combined pressure of declining stock exchange, on the one hand, and backflow of interbank balances, on the other, brought the New York banks on the verge or actually into panicky conditions.

The purpose of the author is to show this reliance of the banking system on the pyramiding of deposits in New York banks and of the reliance of the latter on brokers' loans as first-line liquidity, with the well-known consequences. The study is based on original sources and is a valuable contribution to our knowledge regarding the mechanism of the American money market as it has existed for well over a century. Other factors entering the scene, such as political developments and banking legislation, are duly noticed by the author. However, his emphasis on interbank balances and street loans naturally tends to create a somewhat one-sided picture and to distract from the comprehensive understanding of the causal mechanism in American business cycles. But this does not impair in any way the value of the well-presented study as a partial inquiry into a very worth-while aspect of early American financial capitalism.

MELCHIOR PALYI

Chicago

Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia. By AUDREY I. RICHARDS. (International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.) London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. xiv+415. $7.50.

Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia not only presents an extremely comprehensive study of the place of the production, distribution, and consumption of food in the life of the Bemba tribe of Africa; it also constitutes the most complete quantitative study available of the amounts and chemical composition of the various foodstuffs upon which a primitive people subsist. Native work habits, the technology and ritual of agricul-

ture and fishing and hunting, kinship obligations, property concepts, the patterns of hospitality, methods of food storage and preparation, and native attitudes toward food are described and analyzed in terms of their effect on the Bemba diet. But Dr. Richards' work cannot be dismissed with what is at best faint praise as the outstanding study of the long-neglected problem of primitive nutrition. The materials presented in the analysis of the influence of cultural factors on nutrition merit it a place among the first rank of ethnographic monographs, especially among the studies dealing with primitive economics.

The quantitative data are "admittedly inadequate" and the "results are not conclusive as a final statement on Bemba diet problems," but they are very suggestive of differences between primitive diet and our own, and of the influence of food supply on behavior. The discussion of the annual food shortage and the associated physical weakness and lack of energy demonstrates clearly that we cannot assume primitive diet to be either more "natural" or more healthy than our own. Dr. Richards' book will prove highly valuable in further investigations of the Diet Committee of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures and should stimulate research among other tribes into its major problem, the implications of which impinge upon other disciplines than anthropology.

WILLIAM R. BASCOM

Northwestern University

Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of the Settlement Process. By C. A. DAWSON and EVA R. YOUNGE. Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. xi+338. $4.50.

In this, the eighth volume of the series on the "Canadian Frontiers of Settlement," Dawson and Younge attempt to characterize the whole settlement process in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. First came the trapper, then the cowboy with subsidiary agriculture, and finally the farmer. Population increased, new migrants arrived, and the culture spread out over the habitable parts of the region. Now the prairie region is becoming somewhat stabilized and Canadianized. Cities have grown up and the boy is leaving the farm. The farmer started with agriculture as a way with life and now he looks at it as a chance for profits. The school is becoming the dominant institution as opposed to the church, and the nation is becoming the social fact as opposed to the ethnographic groups of French-Canadians, German Catholics, Doukhobors, Mennonites, Mormons, etc., interspersed with British and American Protestant families.

The two chapters on health services and the final discussion of social organization indicate that the prairie provinces have reached, on the one hand, the ephemeral localism of Main Street psychology and, on the other, the unstable collective psychology of the "public" where the people are more of a mass than a folk. Before 1885 the prairie provinces had belonged to the Indian, the trapper, and the Husdon's Bay Company, but by 1915 had become an agrarian outpost of European expansion and have since developed a mixture of the typical psychology of a village improvement club plus the Townsendite type of experimentation. "There has been a tendency to replace one unsuccessful experiment by another without inquiring closely into the causes of failure" (p. 287).

This and the other volumes in this series emphasize description more than generalization. Nevertheless, they do furnish the basis of a typological analysis. What they fail to show clearly, in the opinion of the reviewer, is that this expansion into the Canadian prairie provinces was very closely similar to the expansion of the North European into the American prairie states and into the good lands of Australia. (See my review of E. deS. Brunner's *Rural Australia and New Zealand* [Institute of Pacific Relations, 1938] in the *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1940, p. 635.) All three were advances into fresh soil of frontier elements of populations which apparently have lost at the home bases the "folk spirit" of ruralism. Consequently, the value standards necessary to the rural pioneer were quickly replaced by the calculating standards of an urban society. In one generation millions of acres of free rich land, which would soothe the spirit of the land-hungry peasant, became a liability which weighed down the spirit of the isolated, calculating individual who wanted to live a "peaceful" life, insulated from the rigors of nature.

Otherwise how can one explain the *anomie*, the Townsendism, the loss of interest in folk values, the lack of headway in the social systems, the barber-shop economics, and the failures of the public experiments in regeneration in each of these regions, one of which is at least widely separated from the others.

The failure to achieve this type of analysis seems to make it essential that the committee add a tenth volume of conceptual integration and interpretation. Otherwise the reader cannot understand the fundamental traits and characteristics of "frontiers of settlement" of this type. The "natural history" of this type of a frontier movement is certainly different from the other great expansions in history.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Harvard University

Principles of Economic Sociology. By D. M. GOODFELLOW. Philadelphia: P. Blakiston's Son & Co., 1939. Pp. xx+289.

Since its emancipation from evolutionism, social anthropology has become a comparative study of culture—comparative in the sense that human groups are observed and described in terms that are applicable to all cultures, primitive or modern. It is this change in the conceptual equipment of the anthropologist that enabled him to discover logic, legal organization, and the family in the most primitive types of society which earlier thinkers described as prelogical, prelegal, and prefamilial. The author of *Principles of Economic Sociology* has made a serious attempt to apply this comparative method to the economic field. He has elaborated a theory of economic behavior that should be applicable to every culture and not only to our industrial civilization. For if "economic theory does not apply to all levels then it must be so difficult to say where its usefulness ends that we might be driven to assert that it has no usefulness at all."

What, then, is the comparative criterion of economic behavior? It is the management of resources "so as to get the best results within the limits set by . . . . culture for effort made," and the best results are those which afford the maximum satisfaction of aggregate wants. The aggregate wants prevailing in a culture are made up of the biological or primary needs, such as hunger, the need for shelter, and the secondary or cultural needs, e.g., the seeking of legal protection, religious values, etc. Concrete analyses of the processes through which given aggregates of these needs are gratified must show that the principle of maximizing total satisfaction is operative in primitive economy to the same degree as in our own. To demonstrate this Goodfellow devotes six sections of his book to an analysis of Bantu economy in a number of South African communities.

It is not Goodfellow's fault if these analyses, interesting as they are, fail to demonstrate his thesis. The thesis itself makes documentation difficult. It is not easy to demonstrate empirically that in a given community the prevailing type of economic organization affords the maximum satisfaction of the given aggregate needs. The terms "maximum satisfaction" and "aggregate wants" are not only incommensurable but they are also mutually dependent variables in the sense that a given type of social organization both satisfies and produces (or inhibits) definite needs. In the last analysis the theory of maximum total satisfaction must rest on the postulate that any economic scheme that works represents the possible optimum, for it would be abandoned if it did not afford the maximum satisfaction that is attainable under the given circumstances. This brings us so close to Hegel's principle ("Was vernünftig ist, das ist wirklich; und was wirklich ist das ist vernünftig") that we are left without any specific

criterion of what constitutes waste and of what distinguishes an economic scheme from an uneconomic one. Is a destructive potlatch feast necessarily economic because it satisfies a complex of secondary needs?

Nonetheless, Goodfellow's discussion moves on solid ground of comparative anthropology. What is needed is a framework of economic categories that are not all inclusive but specific enough to enable the fieldworker to observe and discriminate between economic, noneconomic, and uneconomic behavior. Goodfellow's analyses of the economic aspects of Bantu marriage, birth, pregnancy, initiation ceremonies, and husbandry in themselves constitute valuable contributions to economic sociology.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

Emigrant Communities in South China. By TA CHEN. New York: Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940. Pp. xvi+287. $2.50.

In 1934–35 Professor Chen and several assistants made a study of three emigrant communities and one nonemigrant community in South China (Fukien and Kwangtung) in an attempt to trace the influence on them of overseas Chinese, especially emigrants to Malaysia. By emigrant community is meant a community from which many members have emigrated.

The well-documented thesis of the author is that the emigrants have greatly influenced their home communities and through them southeast China and China as a whole. They have done this by cash remittances from abroad and by diffusing to China Western (Dutch, English, French, American) artifacts and ideas. Types of food and shelter, methods and amount of education and medicine, and even religious practices are more markedly modified toward Western patterns in the emigrant communities than in the nonemigrant. In addition to a discussion of the effects of emigrants on their native rural villages, some attention is devoted to recent developments in Amoy and Swatow, especially improved methods of communication and transportation largely financed by overseas Chinese or returned emigrants. Brief descriptions of the emigrants' life abroad are also given, in order to show how new ideas and values are acquired. On the whole, the orientation of the study is economic.

The book is a valuable contribution to that special field of acculturation, the emigrant community, and furthermore it serves to give perspective to such village studies as Fei's *Peasant Life in China* and Kulp's *Country Life in South China.*

JOHN F. EMBREE

University of Hawaii

Newspaper Crusaders: A Neglected Story. By SILAS BENT. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939. Pp. xiii+313. $3.00.

Silas Bent, whom Marlen Pew of *Editor and Publisher* once called "a consistent detractor of the press," has changed from Saul to Paul, blessing those he had stoned. It will be a nice surprise for Mr. Hearst.

The book reviews the part played by newspapers in the American Revolution and in the Civil War. It recounts campaigns against the Ku Klux Klan, dangerous driving, laxity in the law courts, greed in public utilities, and a host of other evils. Some chapters read like an honor roll, as though the author feared to overlook any little boy who had been good. Crusades against governmental corruption are, of course, the commonest. Precedent for them is older than the letters of Junius; moreover, the more inspired scamps in public office can always be counted on to make good copy. On this subject, however, though he provides adequate details, the author, being neither as personal nor as reflective as Lincoln Steffens, tells a far less enthralling tale.

It is a little disappointing that so informed a student as Mr. Bent does not discuss, in terms of newspaper strategy, the grounds for the success of some campaigns and the failure of others. No exposé, one assumes, can be effective unless it interests the readers. Will Irwin went into this matter thoroughly in contrasting the power of the news with the power of the editorial. But that was thirty years ago, and the complexion of journalism has changed mightily. Readers did not share the publishers' enthusiasm for Mr. Landon; yet, though Captain Patterson, publisher of the largest newspaper in the country, deduced from that the extinction of the editorial, the news commentator and the front-page editorial appear more intrenched than ever. Complicating the whole question is the power of the advertiser, upon which the author touches in discussing the Tugwell Pure Food and Drug Act in a chapter on "Sins of Omission." He has accomplished what he set out to do, however, and if he has ignored the theory he has unquestionably added to the history of journalism.

HELEN MACGILL HUGHES

Chicago

The Negro, Too, in American History. By MERLE R. EPPSE. Nashville, Tenn.: National Educational Publishing Co., 1938. Pp. xxii+544.

The Negro and the Democratic Front. By JAMES W. FORD. New York: International Publishers, 1938. Pp. viii+222. $2.00.

Although it would be difficult to find two books on the Negro so far apart in their conception of the problems of the Negro, there is very good

justification for putting them into a single review. In the first book, the author, who was born in a small town in the North and is a descendant of the first Negro United States senator, presents a history of the contributions of the Negro to American civilization. The tone of the book as well as its emphasis upon the "achievements" of the Negroes reflects the author's intense race consciousness which was suddenly awakened in a northern college. Such a book will appeal to many students in the Negro colleges of the South. As a piece of historical writing it is reminiscent of the early naïve compilations of the achievements of the Negro. The second book contains the speeches and articles of the vice-presidential candidate of the Communist Party. In offering "a way out for [his] people," the author interprets the Negro problem in terms of the conflicts between capital and labor. His interpretations are in accord with the current orthodox position of the Communist Party; hence, "The Negro people are one of the important allies of the working class, and a great force for the Democratic Front." Recent changes in the international situation would, doubtless, assign the Negro a different role.

Both of these books are symptomatic of the changes which are taking place in the Negro's outlook on life as he loses his folk culture and comes into contact with the larger world. The ideas embodied in the first book will bring comfort to the vast majority of Negroes; while only relatively few will embrace the "ideology" of the second.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

"The Chicago Negro Community: A Statistical Description." By MARY ELAINE OGDEN. Chicago: Works Progress Administration, 1939. Pp. xvii+247. $1.00.

"Occupational Changes among Negroes in Chicago." By ESTELLE HILL SCOTT. Chicago: Works Progress Administration, 1939. Pp. xvi+259. $1.00.

These two mimeographed monographs on the Negro in Chicago provide a rich source of statistical data on the Negro in a metropolitan area. The first study is divided into three parts: the first, in which statistics on the Negro are broken down according to census tracts; the second, in which twenty-three groupings of census tracts are used for determining the ecological organization of the Negro community; and the third, in which statistics on the Negro are compared with those on native and foreign-born whites. An important contribution of this monograph is that it gives a detailed analysis of the variations in the zones which were used as

more or less homogeneous areas in *The Negro Family in Chicago*. The second volume provides the most important study available of the occupational changes among Negroes in a metropolitan area, since, with the exception of New York City, the occupational differentiation of the Negro population has progressed farther in Chicago than in any other American city. The author has reclassified the occupational statistics for the five decennial censuses, 1890–1930, according to Edwards' *Socio-economic Groupings of Gainful Workers in the United States*. Thus the author has provided students with the basic materials for determining to what extent the caste factor in the occupational status of the Negro yields to competition in the urban environment.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

General Sociology: An Introductory Book. By VERNE WRIGHT and MANUAL C. ELMER. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1939. Pp. xii+655. $3.75.

This comprehensive textbook deals with the usual subject matter—culture, geography, race, population, social organization, social process, social change, social control, and the like. Its authors state: "Our approach has been one of a 'practical' nature in that we have striven to follow the interests of students and to deal with vital problems, issues, controls, and movements."

The most important fact about the book is that it embodies one-sided propaganda for the economic and philosophical views of its authors. With regard to "socialism-communism" the following quotations are typical of the position taken by this text:

> After a difficult first ten years the Soviet government has apparently become a stable and efficient power. As such it represents the first promising attempt in history to establish a proletarian society. Its future cannot be predicted, but here, under a materialistic, classless philosophy and a system of five-year plans, a remarkable experiment is [*sic*] under way. Russia of today is in the vanguard, at least for the time, in an attempt to conquer such problems as poverty, insecurity and war. . . . .
>
> Various socialists and communists have analyzed capitalism and their views may be summarized as follows:
>
> . . . . Socialism is the only program which will function adequately to meet human needs as it wholly or largely abolishes profits, interest, and rent: the three barriers to an efficient system of production.

In their discussion of laissez faire capitalism, fascism, and farmer-laborism the authors have presented arguments both pro and con. But if they

have said anything adverse to communism, this reviewer has been unable to find it. Similar one-sidedness is shown in their treatment of religion.

Some portions of the text seem to be handled admirably—for example, that on social processes. Other portions give the impression of being a mosaic of fragmentary items and collected viewpoints, inadequately digested and not clearly integrated.

HORNELL HART

Duke University

Mathematics of Statistics. By JOHN F. KENNEY. New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1939. Part I: x+248; Part II: ix+202. $4.00.

This book is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the descriptive elements of statistics, the second with the theory of statistical inference. Part I covers the topics generally found in elementary textbooks, except for the exclusion of index-number and time-series analysis on the grounds that the traditional procedures are purely empirical and have no foundation in the statistical theory of the testing of hypotheses. Although the author employs no mathematics beyond a Freshman college course, most beginning students in the social sciences are likely to find his treatment rather difficult.

Of greater interest to most readers will be Part II, which contains a mathematical treatment of the classical theory of probability as well as the modern theory of statistical inference. Students will welcome it as the first textbook that brings together the mathematical derivations of the basic sampling distributions used in the statistical testing of hypotheses—the t, z, and χ^2, as well as the Bernoulli, Poisson, and normal distributions. It would have been helpful if the author had also included some discussion of the characteristic function, which plays such an important role in the analysis of probability distributions. The book should prove of real service as an up-to-date text and reference work for graduate courses in statistics.

JACOB L. MOSAK

University of Chicago

Fijian Frontier. By LAURA THOMPSON, with an Introduction by B. MALINOWSKI. ("Studies of the Pacific," No. 4.) New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940. Pp. xxiii+153+2 maps+7 plates. $2.00.

Dr. Thompson went to the Lau Islands as a Yale-Bishop Museum fellow at a time when the depression had thrown such isolated South Sea

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY

peoples back very largely upon their old subsistence economy and material culture. The main article of commercial production, copra, was not wanted in world-markets glutted with oils, so that practically all trading stores were closed. On completing her orthodox ethnographic record (now in press as a Bishop Museum bulletin), the author drew together into a separate study her notes on this and other aspects of the contemporary scene. Without sacrificing the scientific mood, the book presents a vividly written and fascinating account of how the Lauan of today compares with his ancestors of pre-white times: the growth of the child within the society, marriage and family life, the struggle for subsistence, native style Christianity and the persistence of old beliefs, and readjustments in government and chieftainship under the white man's rule. This book will take a prominent and useful place among the growing number of field studies of cultural processes within the changing world of so-called primitives. It also has value for those interested in the practical applications of anthropological analysis. Professor Malinowski, who contributes the Introduction, praises the book, both as a first-class picture of a South sea society and as shedding light on the "laws and principles of cultural process."

FELIX M. KEESING

University of Hawaii

Hawaiian Mythology. By MARTHA BECKWITH. New Haven: Published for the Folklore Foundation of Vassar College by the Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. x+575. $5.00.

This volume draws together the materials of a lifetime study of Hawaiian and Polynesian mythology. Dr. Beckwith, of the Folklore Foundation of Vassar and the B. P. Bishop Museum of Honolulu, grew up in Hawaii "within sound of the hula drum."

The book has four parts, dealing in turn with "the gods," "children of the gods," "the chiefs," and "heroes and lovers." Theoretical discussion is interspersed with texts of the myths (in English only); alternative versions are given where these exist, and also extensive comparative materials from elsewhere in Polynesia. From the viewpoint of folklore study the whole forms a monumental contribution. More widely it sheds light on the island religion, social organization, and other aspects of life. The gods and culture heroes of old Polynesia behaved much as did the people who looked up to them, and indeed myths stood as validating forces back of the accepted usages. By reading such stories, and especially by noting the interplay of personalities and of social relations incidental to their

major themes, the student is able to glean valuable materials that supplement the more formal generalizations of Hawaiian and Polynesian ethnography.

FELIX M. KEESING

University of Hawaii

Fighting for Peace. By EARL BROWDER. New York: International Publishers, 1939. Pp. 256. $1.00.

The Philosophy of Communism. By CHARLES J. MCFADDEN. New York: Benziger Bros., 1939. Pp. xx+345. $3.50.

The first book is of documentary value for the student of political movements, since it contains the articles, speeches, and reports which were published by the secretary of the Communist party of the United States from February 2, 1938, to February 27, 1939.

The second book is also tangential to the specialist on social science, since it examines the philosophy of Marxism. The first half expounds the philosophy of communism, dealing with its propositions about nature, mind, history, the state, religion, morality, revolution, and society. The second half is a detailed refutation from the point of view of Roman Catholic theology. The work was begun under the direction of Mgr. Fulton J. Sheen of the Catholic University of America who contributes a Preface. There are many Catholics in the world today who see in communism, not fascism, the principal enemy; they respect the strength of Marxism as an integrated philosophy which they must know and then refute. The author of the present study did a thorough, systematic job, which will both guide and lighten the labors of all who follow.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

Washington School of Psychiatry
Washington, D.C.

The People's Front. By EARL BROWDER. New York: International Publishers, 1938. Pp. 354. $2.75.

From Bryan to Stalin. By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. New York: International Publishers, 1937. Pp. 352. $3.00.

World Communism: A History of the Communist International. By F. BORKENAU. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1939. Pp. 442. $3.75.

The first two volumes in this collection are "documents," or even curiosities, of the communist propaganda in America. Mr. Browder republishes his reports, speeches, and articles of 1936 and 1937. Mr. Foster invokes the name of an eminent American to improve the acceptability of communism to his audience.

The book by Franz Borkenau is so substantial in scholarship and sure in interpretation that one is even inclined to overpraise it. He depicts three broad periods in the life of the Comintern. During the first it was an instrument of revolution; in the second, an instrument of Russian factional struggles; in the third, an instrument of Russian foreign policy. The flow of events since 1919 is passed in quick, yet careful, review; and the outcome is one of the most re-

warding contributions to the political history of our times. Such limitations of perspective as remain come from blind spots that survive from earlier conceptions of historical development. Borkenau does not sufficiently sense the unity of world historical trends; he does not give sufficient weight to the characteristics of the epoch as distinguished from the initial pattern of world revolutionary processes.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

Washington School of Psychiatry
Washington, D.C.

I Confess: The Truth about American Communism. By BENJAMIN GITLOW. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1940. Pp. viii+611. $3.75.

For twenty years Gitlow was one of the leaders of Communist party activity in the United States. As a leader of the Socialist left in 1919 he had a hand in the appearance of parties that explicitly sought to associate themselves with the revolutionary current led by the victorious Russians. The present book is an exceptionally detailed account of the inner workings of the Communist party, far more important than any similar document that has been published to date. Foster's alleged autobiography (*From Bryan to Stalin*) is a nondescript collection of easily accessible material; Gitlow, on the other hand, has added new and important data from his long association with the inner core of the party.

The student of penal processes will be enormously interested in the report that Gitlow gives of his years in Sing Sing and other institutions; for Gitlow is a matter-of-fact observer and writer, singularly untouched by sentimentality or intellectual brilliance.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

Washington School of Psychiatry
Washington, D.C.

Labor Policy under Democracy. By CLAY PACKER MALICK. ("University of Colorado Studies, Ser. C: Studies in the Social Sciences," Vol. I, No. 1.) Boulder, Colo., 1939. Pp. 130. $1.00.

This is a valuable addition to material on conciliation, mediation, arbitration, and legal methods of adjusting labor disputes. The author states it is "not a history of contemporary labor relations, but rather an analysis of democratic methods of dealing with labor disputes and the foundations on which industrial peace rests." Clearly and concisely an analysis is presented of conciliation in Great Britain, the law of labor in Weimar Germany, compulsory arbitration in Australasia, and the old and the new in labor law in the United States. The author proceeds from the thesis that the inadequacy of labor law in the United States and the severity of the conflict between capital and labor make industrial unrest a threat to democratic institutions. He is convinced that the National Labor Relations Board has made a great contribution to industrial peace in the United States, and the supporting data he presents seem to substantiate his opinion. This book will be of value not only to specialists in the field of labor but to laymen who are concerned with the preservation of democracy.

MARY B. GILSON

University of Chicago

A Bibliography of John Dewey, 1882–1939. By MILTON HALSEY THOMAS, with an Introduction by W. SCHNEIDER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. xviii+246. $3.00.

Perhaps no greater tribute could have been paid to John Dewey, one of the greatest thinkers of the contemporary intellectual world, than the factual testimony in the form of a bibliographic collection comprising a full record of his prolific production. The 1929 edition compiled by Milton Halsey Thomas, on the occasion of Dewey's seventieth birthday, was brought down to date as of 1939 by the same author and prefaced by Professor Schneider's terse yet highly suggestive introduction. The thorough notation of the expository and critical writings of John Dewey's views included in this volume may be regarded a *sine qua non* source for students in many disciplines.

John Dewey, the leading American philosopher of our time, transcends the boundary of a continent through translation of his writings into many of the world's languages. Some thirty-two doctoral dissertations and thirty-six Master's theses have been written on various aspects and phases of Dewey's works in many leading American and European universities. Students in the philosophy of science, logic, political science, sociology, and social psychology will find this bibliography a most fruitful record. It should also be added that those whose interest is in the fields of jurisprudence, education, ethics, social philosophy, and aesthetics will appreciate the indispensable character of this collection.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

Chicago

The English Navigation Laws: A Seventeenth-Century Experiment in Social Engineering. By LAWRENCE A. HARPER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. xii+503. $3.75.

This is the result of an investigation begun by the author in 1925 with apparently no other idea than to set down the facts of the origin and fate of England's *Charta maritima*, but completed under the influence of "the right-about-face in American governmental theories since 1932." By the time Dr. Harper was ready to send his book to press he felt that the data of the English shipping legislation could "throw some light upon the problems involved in our present social experiments." Indeed, the Act of 1651 and the subsequent additions thereto, by creating England's shipping, did lay foundation for much else in that country's economic and social structure. As a deliberate long-range plan to regulate men's economic conduct, the legislation should be studied by social scientists other than the historians who until lately were practically the only ones in the field. Dr. Harper, by suggesting the implications, opens the field to such wider study. He presents to us bare facts rather than full-clothed conclusions. Yet, such has been his enormous labor of research (chiefly in the primary sources of English archives) that these are solid, clear, well-organized facts, and a social scientist reading them may form his own conclusions. Of special interest to sociologists is chapter ix, "The Human Factor."

ALBERT PARRY

New York City

Enquiry into Measures of Rehabilitation of Prostitutes, Part III: *Methods of Rehabilitation of Adult Prostitutes;* Part IV: *Conclusions and Recommendations.* LEAGUE OF NATIONS, ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL QUESTIONS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. 157. $0.80.

This report is based on opinions and information elicited by questionnaires sent to governments and private organizations. Sample descriptions of institutional training and extra-institutional assistance in the rehabilitative work of prostitutes are given. One receives the impression that effective procedures for reconditioning fallen women have not as yet been discovered. Expert opinion concurs in insisting that the less time a woman has spent in prostitution, the greater are her chances to make a good recovery. The obstacles to successful rehabilitation are admittedly great and are said to lie in social, economic, and psychological difficulties. The report maintains a fairly objective as well as comparative point of view in a field where sentimentality has ruled so long. Undoubtedly, the stated claims for effective reconditioning work greatly exceed the results which would be found from intensive follow-up research.

WALTER C. RECKLESS

Ohio State University

The Medieval Library. By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. viii+672. $5.00.

Professor Thompson, assisted by seven research associates, has made available for the first time in any language the narrative of the medieval library. A thorough canvass of the scattered sources and materials on this subject leads to a faithfully documented account of the earliest church libraries, the early monastic, the episcopal and cathedral libraries, and, finally, the secular, princely collections of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For the most part these developments are cast within their cultural context. The chapters on the making and care of books and the complexities of distribution and sale of books in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are particularly instructive. The sociologist who is concerned with the social organization of intellectual life will find this volume indispensable for the medieval period. A useful historical index is included.

ROBERT K. MERTON

Tulane University

When Social Work Was Young. By EDWARD T. DEVINE. New York: Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. 163. $1.75.

Edward T. Devine and social work grew up together. One of the early "career men" in the field, and for most of his life executive head of the New York Charity Organization Society, he had a hand in establishing the complex of institutions which now make up the social-work system—social agencies, periodicals, schools, associations of workers, federations of agencies. His reminiscences show these institutions taking form; the emerging of a problem, private conference and public agitation, trial-and-error action; and eventually organization of a new agency, or a new branch of an old one, followed by surveys, propaganda,

definition of function, and a line of action. The account has an almost newsy air, although the events reported are mostly thirty to forty years old. Perhaps that is because they relate to still unfinished business.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

These Are Our Lives. AS TOLD BY THE PEOPLE AND WRITTEN BY THE MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT OF THE WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION IN NORTH CAROLINA, TENNESSEE, AND GEORGIA. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939. Pp. xx+421. $2.00.

This is the first of a series of projected volumes on life in the South planned to give "a fair picture of the structure and working of society." It consists of brief life-histories of Negroes and whites, usually poor but not always without zest and hope. Eleven stories describe the lives of families on the farm; nine in mill village and factory; in eleven the breadwinner is in a service occupation; and four show family life on relief.

Since the people tell their own stories, they approach the newspaper human interest story rather than fiction. The accounts show the careers of plain people, and while opinions are quoted on politics, race, and religion, more emphasis is put on a man's scheme of his own life: farming is endurable to the tenant farmer because "the main thing is we hope to be better after next year"; dentistry to the Negro dentist means a vain struggle against the vogue of gold crowns; not having an education can "keep you out of a job, from teaching Sunday School and from 'sociating with good people." Thus the volume takes on the character of a set of newsy illustrations to illuminate the census or tables of employment and literacy.

HELEN MACGILL HUGHES

Chicago

Treatment and What Happened Afterward. By WILLIAM HEALY and AUGUSTA F. BRONNER. Boston: Judge Baker Guidance Center, 1939. Pp. 54.

Here are presented the results of an investigation of the careers of five hundred cases five to eight years after they were treated by the Judge Baker Guidance Center. The results of the treatment were found to be "favorable" in 81 per cent of the cases.

These studies indicate a trend toward a more thorough evaluation of attempts to modify the behavior of children. At the same time they illustrate the difficulties inherent in such evaluation either through the use of objective tests or such categories as "favorable" and "unfavorable."

HENRY D. MCKAY

Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research

Catégories matrimoniales et relations de proximité dans la Chine ancienne. By MARCEL GRENET. Paris: Alcan, 1939. Pp. 251. Fr. 70.

By rigorous analysis of documents from ancient myths down to the republican code of 1928, the author throws new light on the evolution of the family in ancient China. The transformation of the archaic system of matriarchal descent

into an unstable order in which the women were expatriated at marriage and in which matrilinear and patrilinear descent were superimposed, prepared the way for the agnatic system of the fuedal epoch based upon the independence of cult groups and name federations. This permitted the extension of marriages and the dowry system to two or even three partners in one generation. If this be so, the principal point of exogamous marriage is not the horror of incest or the progress of morality but a positive understanding of the best possible means of assuring social cohesion combined with flexibility in spite of the conflicts of the generations.

RAYMOND LENOIR

Paris

"Kokutai: A Study of Certain Sacred and Secular Aspects of Japanese Nationalism." By JOHN PAUL REED. A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Division of the Social Sciences in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Chicago: Private edition, distributed by the University of Chicago Libraries, 1940. Pp. 274+Bibliography.

This book is a study of the role in the life of the Japanese of certain sacred nationalistic beliefs collectively termed *kokutai*, with particular emphasis on the ways in which these sacred beliefs control secular activities. *Kokutai* includes the belief in the eternal and sacred character of the imperial line, the kin tie of all Japanese subjects with the emperor, and, most important, unquestioning loyalty to the emperor. Chapters on "Shinto," "Dangerous Thought," "Patriotic Societies," and the "Good Japanese" bring out the varied aspects of this nationalistic concept and the way in which it serves to unit the nation, on the one hand, and is used as a social sanction, on the other. One basic conclusion of the author is that *kokutai* has served to maintain the continuity of Japanese social organization and tradition in the face of strong western influences in the realm of practical life.

JOHN F. EMBREE

University of Hawaii

A Short History of the American Negro. By BENJAMIN BRAWLEY. 4th rev. ed. New York: Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. xv+288. $2.00.

When the first edition of this book by the late Professor Brawley was published in 1913, it represented one of the two or three attempts by Negroes to write a general history of the race in America. Since then professional Negro and white historians and others have made available a vast amount of materials on the Negro's career in this country. Much of this material has appeared in the volumes of the *Journal of Negro History*. But so far Negro historians have not produced a general history that would command the serious attention and respect of scholars. Hence, if this latest edition of Brawley's work is judged from the standpoint of what has been accomplished in the field, it still deserves to be rated as the best brief account of the outstanding happenings in the career of the Negro in America. It is written primarily for students of high-school level and is provided with questions for reviews and a bibliography.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

Negro Slave Revolts in the United States 1526–1860. By HERBERT APTHEKER. New York: International Publishers, 1939. Pp. 72. $0.15.

The thesis of this booklet is that American Negro slavery was a cruel and barbarous form of exploitation and that because of its harshness and brutality Negro slaves carried on a persistent and courageous warfare against the system. According to the author, apologists for slavery and historians with Bourbon traditions, the leader of whom was the late Ulrich B. Phillips, have created the myth that slavery was a mild and humane institution. In support of his thesis and in refutation of the myth the author has culled materials from many sources. Although students of slavery cannot accept the implication that slavery was a perpetual warfare between master and slave, this little study will provide a good antidote to sentimental accounts of slavery. In addition, it includes an excellent table of the date and location of slave plots and revolts in the United States.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

The Philadelphia Main Line Negro: A Social, Economic, and Educational Survey. By MARVIN E. PORCH. Philadelphia: Published privately by Author, 1938. Pp. 125.

This is a survey of the Negro population of a suburban area extending along the Main Line Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad and bordering on the western boundary of the city of Philadelphia. These Negroes were part of the migrants who moved to northern cities during and following the war of 1914–18. The author has made a statistical study of practically every phase of the lives of the 6,073 Negroes settled in six civil divisions forming the Main Line. For students of the Negro problem, the study provides a valuable source of factual material on a small group of migrant Negroes living in the suburbs of a metropolitan area.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

Civil Service in Public Welfare. By ALICE CAMPBELL KLEIN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1940. Pp. 440. $2.25.

This manual will serve as a useful primer for public personnel officers and will provide an excellent source of descriptive material on personnel administration for public welfare officials. As a discussion of effective selection of public social-work personnel through the merit system, the book makes an important contribution to that uncharted area between social work and personnel administration.

LOUIS E. HOSCH

American Public Welfare Association
Chicago

A Metropolitan Library in Action: A Survey of the Chicago Public Library. By CARLETON BRUNS JOECKEL and LEON CARNOVSKY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. xvii+466. $3.00.

The first half of this work deals with problems of organization and administration; the second with library service in its community aspects. This emphasis on the relationship between the library and the metropolitan area which it serves will be of interest to urban sociologists. Essential facts are given in the form of specific findings and, when possible, recommendations based on these findings are made. Comparisons between Chicago and other cities are given. Some fifty-two tables presenting data ranging from city population data to the size of public library units are given. Such chapters as "The Library and the People," "Library Relationships in the Chicago Metropolitan Area," and the final one, "A Program for the Future," should be of value to those interested in the city.

HUGH D. DUNCAN

Chicago

An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology. By ROBERT H. LOWIE. New and enlarged ed. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1940. Pp. xx+584. $3.50.

Professor Lowie gives the aim of his *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* as follows: "Deliberately avoiding theoretical discussion, it endeavors to present the essential facts topically." In the new edition there is an added chapter on language, and one on the "Theory of Culture," which is really concerned with the principles of historical reconstruction; another new feature is the "description of typical cultures in their totality," which consists of short summaries of ten cultures, ranging from the simple Fuegian to our own complex western civilization. The material in the first edition has not been revised, but there is a three-page addendum.

J. S. SLOTKIN

Chicago

Migration and Social Welfare. By PHILIP E. RYAN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1940. Pp. vi+114. $0.50.

In the first part the author gives a few random statements about the historical and contemporary aspects of migration and transciency. Then brief consideration is given to problems which arise "when migrant meets community." Chapter vii, "Proposals and Experiments," suggests that an increase in economic opportunities and social services might reduce migration. The book is based on general observations rather than research.

HARVEY J. LOCKE

Indiana University

Boy Transiency in America. By GEORGE E. OUTLAND. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Santa Barbara State College Press, 1939. Pp. iv+141. $1.50; paper, $1.00.

The book is a compilation of articles published by the author between 1934 and 1939. The fact that originally each article was published separately results

in considerable duplication. The book has three general divisions: (1) education and educational backgrounds; (2) the work of the Federal Transient Service; (3) causal factors of transiency. The book is a factual account done by a careful, critical student of boy transiency.

HARVEY J. LOCKE

Indiana University

Tuberculosis and Social Conditions in England. By P. D'ARCY HART and G. PAYLING WRIGHT. London: National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, 1939. Pp. vii+165. 3*s*.

This book is a study of the development, distribution, and causation of the retardation in the decline in respiratory tuberculosis among young adults in England and Wales. The problem was related to such social conditions as general standard of living, poverty, housing, internal migration, and volume of occupation. The influence of unsatisfactory housing was outstanding.

The authors have presented a number of comprehensive and well-arranged tables and correlations and a special appendix on materials, sources, and methods. Although its specific source material is limited to England and Wales, this report will interest social workers and others concerned with this aspect of public welfare.

VERA MILLER

Chicago

ABSTRACTS OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

The persons who have aided in the preparation of the material for this issue are: Hubert Bonner, Donald L. Foley, Florence M. King, Robert B. Reed, Erich Rosenthal, Lewis W. Spitz, and Everett K. Wilson. The numerals and letters appearing after each abstract correspond to the items in the following scheme of classification:

I. THEORETICAL SOCIOLOGY
- *a*) Sociological Theory
- *b*) History of Sociology
- *c*) Methods of Research
- *d*) The Teaching of Sociology

II. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY
- *a*) Human Nature and Personality
- *b*) Collective Behavior

III. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
- *a*) The Family
- *b*) Ethnic and Racial Groups
- *c*) Social Stratification
- *d*) The Church and Religion
- *e*) The State and Political Process
- *f*) The School and Education
- *g*) Economic Institutions
- *h*) Voluntary Associations

IV. POPULATION AND HUMAN ECOLOGY
- *a*) Demography
- *b*) Ecology
- *c*) The Rural and the Urban Community

V. DISORGANIZATION
- *a*) Personal Disorganization
- *b*) Social Disorganization

368. **Differential Fertility in Copenhagen.**—One of the most important objections to birth control has always been that the well-known greater fertility of the lower social layers would still more augment their preponderance because they are less inclined to control than the higher layers. Without entering upon an apology for birth control, we present figures showing that this objection has, in Copenhagen, lost a part of its former weight. Although it is impossible to draw a clear distinction between lower and higher social layers, it is possible to divide all children into those born in wedlock and those born out of wedlock. Figures giving the number of legitimate births per thousand married women, age fifteen to forty-four, show a rather steady decline in marital fertility from a rate of 269 in 1880 to a rate of 87 in 1932. On the other hand, the number of illegitimate births per thousand unmarried women, age fifteen to forty-four, which was 46 in 1880, showed no appreciable decline until around 1913. However, from 1913 to 1932 the fertility rate of the unmarried dropped from 45 to 23. This recent and sharp drop in the fertility of the unmarried is doubtless due not to a greater virtue but to a progressive intellectual development and a widespread diffusion of knowledge about contraception.—**Søren Hansen**, *Population*, II (1936), 3–5. (IV*a*.) R. B. R.

369. **Population Administration and the Family-Individual-Card System in the Netherlands.**—The family-individual-card system has been used experimentally in the Netherlands as the basis of a population register since 1930. At present (1936) the system is being put into universal and uniform application. The basic unit of such a register is a single card (17×23.5 cm.) for each individual in the population. At the time of birth the card is filled out from information on the birth certificate, and throughout the life of the individual information of importance for the administration is recorded on his card. The card is kept on file in the commune of residence of the individual, following him about the country as he migrates from commune to commune. The individual card of a person who becomes the head of a household also becomes a

family card, and on the reverse of the card of such a person is recorded information concerning his children. Upon the individual's death, his card is withdrawn from the population register, and, if he was the head of a family, the information concerning the family is recorded on the individual card of the new head of the family. Since for purposes of administration it is important to be able to determine the residents at any given address as well as the address of any given person, a house register is also kept. Every house in the commune has a separate sheet in the house register of the commune. In addition to basic descriptive data about the building, there is recorded on this sheet a list of the residents of the house from the time of construction to the time of its destruction. Further information concerning the residents may be obtained by consulting the individual cards. Such a system of population registration provides an uninterrupted demographical and genealogical history filed by the place of abode of every inhabitant. The general information recorded is of use not only administratively but also scientifically. Moreover, the register provides an opportunity for collecting further scientific data at any time.—**H. W. Methorst and J. L. Lentz,** *Population,* II (1936), 42–65. (IV*a.*) R. B. R.

370. **Population Phenomena in Amsterdam in Comparison with Other Big Towns—Illegitimate Births.**—The legitimate birth rate began to decline in Amsterdam around 1880, at which time the rate was 270. By 1930 the rate had dropped to 105. The illegitimate birth rate (number of illegitimate births per thousand unmarried women age fifteen to forty-nine) did not begin to decline until around 1890. At that time the rate was 17.6, but by 1930 it had dropped to 4.9. The decline in the illegitimate birth rate was sufficiently rapid to cause a continuous decline from 1890 to 1930 in the proportion which the illegitimate births formed of all births, although this proportion did rise slightly in the decade between 1880 and 1890. When the figures are broken down by religion for the period from 1905 to 1932, it appears that the decrease in the illegitimacy rate has been true of both Catholics and Protestants, while the Jewish rate, which was the lowest of the three religious groups, has shown a slight rise. Illegitimacy rates given by five-year intervals of age of the mothers for the period around 1925–30 show that in Amsterdam the highest rate occurs in the age interval from thirty to thirty-four years, while in Zurich, Prague, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Magdeburg, and Stockholm—all cities with a greater prevalence of illegitimacy than Amsterdam—the highest rate occurs in the age interval from twenty to twenty-four years.—**J. H. van Zanten and T. van den Brink,** *Population,* II (1938), 48–52. (IV*a.*) R. B. R.

371. **Les différents aspects de l'équilibre démographique [Different Aspects of Demographic Equilibrium].**—Population movements have long been considered as causes of social phenomena. A number of ancient thinkers felt that there was a demographic equilibrium and that a growing population, without adequate outlets, would lead to revolution. Malthus restated more exactly the same view. Numerous sociologists have regarded population growth as the underlying force of history, attributing to it the development of new forms of social organization and technology. History, however, seems to show that technical advances or political events have often preceded and conditioned population movements. Technical progress has often been slight in those very areas where population pressure has been high; invention and territorial expansion have repeatedly been effected by people who were not pressed by overpopulation. On the other hand, the progress of public health and medicine has allowed tremendous population growth; such historic events as the discovery of new lands and the establishment of a new trade route have been factors in bringing about population movements. It would be absurd to say that population movements are always effects and not causes of social phenomena. But it seems accurate to state that in most historical examples the important population movements have been the consequences. In considering population as an effect, the psychic aspects of society render impossible a simple assurance that, because past events have brought certain population changes, a recurrence of these events will again be accompanied by similar effects.—**Gaston Bouthoul,** *Revue internationale de sociologie,* XLVI (1938), 119–29. (IV*a.*) D. L. F.

372. **La Loi du "parallélisme sociologique" comme loi d'équilibre social [The Law of "Sociological Parallelism" as the Law of Social Equilibrium].**—There are two criti-

cisms of existing sociological systems: (1) they confuse the part with the whole, giving exclusive importance to particular factors (e.g., economic or political), and (2) they confuse society itself and the framework of factors (e.g., geographic or biological) that condition it. Herein is presented a sociological system to overcome these criticisms. Society is conceived to be the result of synthesis, having a social unity in the form of a mind. Society is in continuous activity and transformation—what we call social process. We cannot study the social mind directly but must study it through its manifestations, i.e., through social activities. These manifestations may be classified according to the needs which they fulfil: (1) manifestations fulfilling man's individual needs: (*a*) material (economic activities) and (*b*) spiritual (religious, artistic, and scientific activities) and (2) manifestations fulfilling society's needs—for regulation and organization of the above activities: (*a*) ethical-legal and (*b*) political-administrative. The factors which condition society are (1) geographical, (2) biological, (3) psychological, and (4) historical. Society may be defined as an autonomous totality of individuals who live together and who develop, as manifestations of the social mind, economic and spiritual activities which are conditioned by geographical, biological, psychological, and historical factors. According to the law of "parallelism," there is a triple reciprocity between (1) the various manifestations, (2) the various conditioning factors, and (3) the manifestations and the conditioning factors. No manifestation or conditioning factor becomes a predominant one, and no factor loses importance without throwing the system out of equilibrium. Any unbalance brings about a reshaping of interrelations in order to restore equilibrium.—**D. Gusti,** *Revue internationale de sociologie*, XLVI (1938), 7–20. (I*a*.) D. L. F.

373. Psychologie des masses: rapport de l'individu à la foule [Mass Psychology: The Relation of the Individual to the Crowd].—The individual enters the crowd situation with an innate character and an acquired nature. The crowd divests him of that part of his personality that is contrary to its feelings; his individuality is thus diminished to the extent of this loss. The part of his personality which is in accord with the crowd is strengthened. There are two possible consequences: (1) lowering the superior individuals to the level of the crowd or (2) elevating the masses. The individual can thus be dominated or be freed by the crowd. Two types of individuals not likely to be greatly influenced by the crowd are (1) the isolated thinker or artist and (2) the domineering would-be leader. The behavior evoked in the individual by the crowd could be brought forth in the isolated individual under the proper conditions. The consciousness of thinking and feeling as part of a crowd brings about action by strengthening already latent impulses and by providing direction for their outlet.—**André Joussain,** *Revue internationale de sociologie*, XXLVI (1938), 151–62. (II*b*.) D. L. F.

374. Probleme und Begriffe der nächsten Reichswohnungszählung [Problems and Concepts of a Future Housing Census].—Since the last housing census was taken in 1927, a new census should be arranged in order to get adequate information for the public works program, for resettlement of industries, for decentralization of large cities, for city planning and slum clearing, for protection from the air, and for quartering of soldiers. If a census covering the whole country proves to be too expensive, only large cities and industrial areas and communities should be enumerated. Another way of collecting the data would be to combine the housing with the population census, as has been done in some states. The census should be centered around the quality of housing, on the one hand, and on the relationship of rental to income, on the other. The first problem could be solved by a detailed description of the living quarters and of the number and relationships of the persons occupying a unit. In order to find the relation between rental and income, direct questions about income should be avoided, the information being instead obtained from the tax office. The material thus collected should preferably be tabulated by streets or by areas (residential, business, labor, middle class). It would be advantageous to connect a building and land survey with the housing census. Moreover, the "subjective demand" for housing should be attempted to discover how far those households that do not live in a unit of their own express the desire of finding a place of their own. Information should also be gathered about place of work and means of transportation used between residence and place of work in order to get a basis for future community and transportation planning. Finally, the mistake of not defining

operationally the concepts of lot, building, living quarters, room, family, objective and subjective housing shortage should not be repeated.—**Friedrich Kaestner,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv,* XXVI (1936), 12–39. E. R.

375. **Love and Morality Character Types.**—There is a process whereby a moral attitude toward others is substituted for an attitude of love. The id impulses cannot express themselves directly but have to undergo extensive modifications in the super-ego. This process is intimately related to the problem of sadism. There is consciously or unconsciously a fear of the tender attitude being destroyed, and the subsequent reaction-formations are designed to prevent this calamity. The object-relationship can be preserved only under the condition of morality. This provides a clue to the motive for the moral attitude and subserves a defensive function. A further protection comes from the component of restitutive tendencies in the moral attitude, its most characteristic element being a sense of debt or obligation, the latter presumably having been deprived by an act of spoliation. The restitutive processes imply a sort of contract, whereby the injured person is induced not to inflict punishment for the act of injury by attacking what is most precious to the evildoer. The introjection-projection mechanism plays an important part in the substitution process. Two particular types of revolt against morality are (1) that which comes from the super-ego, designated as the obsessional, and (2) that which comes from the id, designated as the hysterical. Both are ultimately types of defense against aphanisis. Differences between the types are: in the obsessional type the revolt is unconscious, while in the hysterical type it is more conscious; much higher ordinary standards of behavior in the obsessional type in regard to social obligations are found, while the hysterical type may be so nonsocial as to approach the criminal type; the obsessional is self-reproachful at not being more "good," the hysterical is self-reproachful at not being more loving or at not being able to love at all; greater renunciation of loving and enjoying which remains at a more sadistic level characterizes the obsessional type, while the hysterical type shows more capacity for restitutive activity and approaches more to a genital level where the revolt sets in earlier and is more intense; revolt is more manifest after puberty with the obsessional type and more manifest before puberty with the hysterical type; the dread of aphanisis is purer with the obsessional type, taking the form of fearing slavery, loss of personality, etc., whereas with the hysterical type it is a fear of being overcome by sadistic excitement. Causes of these differences seem to be constitutional and economic concerning the degree of sadism present and the age at which this gives rise to insoluble conflict.—**Ernest Jones,** *International Journal of Psychoanalysis,* XVIII (1937), 1–5. (II*a.*) F. M. K.

376. **Japan's Demographic Expansion in the Light of Statistical Analysis.**—Much discussion has been given to the increase of population in Japan, the topic becoming an obsessive substratum of the political ideology of that country. It is stated that, following a period of two centuries when population was stagnant, Japan emerged from a state of torpor and was biologically rejuvenated despite increasing death rates. There has been a tendency, however, to repeat and distort views expressed by other authors in the study of this problem. Moreover, census data of the Tokugawa period, ending in 1868, are not available for the nineteenth century. In this period the conception rate was high but was offset by high infant mortality, famines, and other calamities. Despite fluctuations in the population, the actual level is likely to have been well above the thirty millions hitherto assumed. Following the Meiji period there was a remarkable, but neither unique nor inexplicable, increase of population. The gradual improvements in statistical recording, the continued high birth rate, and the decline in mortality through the decline of infanticide and possibly abortion are crucial factors. Japan's industrialization was contrary to what happened in Western countries, a deliberate fiat achievement by the government or under government auspices. Therefore, it cannot be considered as the natural consequence of population increase. The fertility of Japanese women is declining but will be offset, at least in part, by reduced mortality. The present age distribution tending to lower the birth rate will gradually give place to a distribution having the opposite effect. The ill effects of the time lag between the demographic evolution of Japan and other countries has been aggravated by the Japanese policy favoring increase in population, which has been pursued for the last two generations.—**Grzegorz Frumkin,** *Sociological Review,* XXX (1938), 1–28. (IV*a.*) E. K. W.

377. **The Time Lag in the Recent Migration Movements within Great Britain.**—In view of serious consequences which may result from the present southward drift of the population in England, it is desirable to know more than the total movement during a period of years which the census reveals. The annual internal migration of Great Britain is expressed as a percentage of the mid-year population of three particular sources of migrants: South Wales, the northeast coast, and southwest Scotland. Graphic presentation of these annual migration rates plotted with the opportunity of employment elsewhere, as indicated by the average number of insured workers in employment in Great Britain, shows a phase lag of the migration curve behind the employment curve of from six to eighteen months. This statistical material leads to two conclusions. First, the annual migration rates from these areas have been controlled by changes in the opportunity for employment in Great Britain as a whole and not by changes in the intensity of depression within the areas. Second, there has been a time lag of not less than six or more than eighteen months in the response of these three main sources of migrants to changes in opportunities for employment in Great Britain. There is a tendency for employment opportunities in London to be grasped by neighboring communities which in turn fill their vacancies from the north. Thus short, successive movements of many migrants creates a migration stream. Gaps originating in the south travel up the stream to the three areas studied. But the study shows a similar lag within London, indicating that various migration streams within Great Britain have lagged behind employment opportunity both at their destinations and at their sources, the phase lag probably increasing as the sources are approached.—**R. S. Walshaw,** *Sociological Review,* XXX (1938), 278–87. (IV*a.*) E. K. W.

378. **Typus und Struktur [Type and Structure].**—Type must have antitype or it will be no more than class or genus. The antitype may appear in the plural, depending on the span of polarity from type to type. Between the pole and antipole are gradual transitions, mixed and intermediary forms, passing through a neutral or indifferent group in the middle. An essential feature of type, differentiating it from the concept of class, is its character of relativity. The "pure type" can be approached by degree. To determine the degree of approach or attainment, modern psychology has created the method of correlation. Ideal types can never be fully approached; concrete types can, though not as mere types. Kretschmer, e.g., refuses to operate with ideal types. There are the pure athletic and the pure pyknik type, even though each person still has something like a "character" which makes him an individual instead of a mere pattern. Illustrative of ideal types are Jung's two basic types, Jaensch's integration poles, and the Leipzig *Wahrnehmungstypen.* Spranger's *Lebensformen* only approach the ideal type. They are not mutually exclusive but merely present relative affinities and dominances—are merely concepts of the ideal-type nature. Max Weber's are, as he calls them, ideal types. The ideal type is important for theory; the concrete type for experimentation. The two are parts of the type concept, every type being either the one or the other, either fully attainable or not. Typology furnishes the background of characterology, the field within which the characterologist finds the individual for his study. Type is not inherited. It is a unified, permanent structure which can never be deduced from a bundle of isolated elementary traits.—**Albert Wellek,** *Archiv für die gesamte Psychologie,* C (1938), 465–77. (II*a.*) L. W. S.

379. **Strukturtypologische Untersuchung der Entwicklungsphasen [A Structure-typological Study of the Development Phases].**—The investigation of developmental phases from a typological viewpoint necessitates a brief study of E. R. Jaensch's doctrine of types. Jaensch's typology places the emphasis on integration. This term implies that the various functions within man permeate one another. Jaensch operates with five types which he designates as I_3-type, I_2-type, I_1-type, S-type, and I/S type. These types were established by a series of tests: the spectacle test, the Aubert test, the Exner spiral, the retinal-fatigue test, the Düsseldorf picture test, the Rorschach test, and the arrangement test. According to Jaensch, the individual phases of development in youth are characterized by definite basic forms of human types. That is, the structure of youth exhibits in such a phase attributes and traits which in integration typology are ascribed to a very definite type, constituting a phase structure. In contrast with this the basic structure is man's throughout life. This structure is changeable and in the

age of adolescence is dominated by other structures to an extent determined entirely by the basic structure. Test observation must be supplemented by that of youth's everyday-life milieu and natural situations. In validating the tests the attitude of the person toward being tested must be taken into consideration. This varies with each youth phase. The I_1-phase of the eleven- to twelve-year-old is still the child's world. There are pride of body, disregard of order and cleanliness, and joy in play with others of the same age. The phase of ambivalence begins at thirteen, reaches its crises at fourteen or fifteen, and ends at sixteen. Youth begins to wash and comb his hair without mother's telling him to do so. Instead of looking directly into the world, he looks into the mirror or a window or a water puddle and daydreams. The *S*-phase introduces the age of challenge and personal independence. Youth is in revolt. But upon this unstable phase follows maturity and stability. Ideals are set up. This is a phase of idealism. Its inexperience finds expression in the schoolboy's statement: "I shall be either a tramp or a celebrity."—**Heinz Schöne,** *Archiv für die gesamte Psychologie,* CII (1939), 543–79. (II*a*.) L. W. S.

380. **The Trend of the Illegitimate Birth Rate in the United States.**—The trend of the illegitimate birth rate is of interest not only from social and ethical standpoints but also because of its relationship to the hereditary endowments of the population. There can be no doubt that illegitimate children do not turn out as well on the average as those who have no stigma attached to their origin, and it is probable also that from a purely genetic standpoint they constitute a class of subaverage quality. Statistics tabulated for several states, both northern and southern, indicate that, while there is a considerable degree of fluctuation in the rates for successive years, on the whole the proportion of illegitimate births to total births has increased from 1917 to 1932. Up to 1928–29 the increase has shown an irregular course with many ups and downs, but during the last few years the upward trend has become rather more general and decided. Although illegitimacy rates vary according to place of residence, nativity and color, and age of the mothers, this rise in the proportion of illegitimate births appears to represent a general trend affecting all such groups, both urban and rural. The increase does not seem to be the product of improved registration methods since, while the accuracy of our data on legitimacy leaves much to be desired, there is no evidence that it has changed in one way or another. The rising proportion of illegitimate births seems to be largely a consequence of the decline of the legitimate birth rate. The proportion of illegitimate births to the general population has remained fairly constant, although it appears to have increased somewhat during the last few years. The ratio of illegitimate to legitimate births will probably increase as long as the general birth rate continues to decline. The proportion of illegitimate births has increased in spite of circumstances which would tend to decrease it. Illiteracy has decreased in both the white and the colored elements of the population. As a result of the increasing average age of our population, there are fewer women in the age groups in which illegitimacy rates are high. Also, one would suppose that the increasing familiarity of our rising generation with the use of contraceptives would have resulted in a decrease in illegitimate births even if irregular sex relations became much more frequent. The decline of the general birth rate, as is commonly conceded, is mainly the result of voluntary causes and affects all classes of the population, urban and rural. Illegitimate births are mostly unwanted births, and hence their number might be expected to remain much the same regardless of the causes which have brought about a decline of the legitimate birth rate. Whatever may be the future trend of the illegitimate birth rate, we may be sure that the death rate of illegitimate children will continue to go down. For humanitarian reasons we may not deplore this reduced rate of mortality, but it will be unfortunate if it continues to be associated with a higher rate of reproduction.—**S. J. Holmes and E. R. Dempster,** *Population,* II (1936), 6–22. (IV*a*.) R. B. R.

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With this issue the *Journal* inaugurates a policy of printing annotated statements regarding books received and of selecting the more outstanding works for longer and more considered reviews.

Anderson, Camilla M. *Emotional Hygiene.* Rev. ed. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1940. Pp. x+253. $2.00.

A revised edition of a work written primarily for the nursing profession.

Anderson, Nels. *Men on the Move.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. xiii+357. $3.00.

A comprehensive study of the modern American migratory worker and migratory family by the author of *The Hobo.* Selected for the Sociology Book Club Plan.

Barnes, Harry Elmer; Becker, Howard; and Becker, Frances Bennet (eds.). *Contemporary Social Theory.* New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940. Pp. xx+947. $5.00.

An effort by various authors to synthesize sociology and its contemporary schools and to treat sociology in its relation to the other social sciences.

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A study by the American Youth Commission and the United States Employment Service "into the needs of young people seeking jobs and a demonstration of several ways of meeting these needs." Emphasizes basing program upon community research.

Blaisdell, Donald C. *Government and Agriculture: The Growth of Federal Farm Aid.* New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1940. Pp. xiii+217. $1.00.

A study in the "American Government in Action Series" by the former assistant to the Undersecretary of Agriculture of what the government is doing for the farmer and the prospects of agriculture.

Bond, Frederick W. *The Negro and the Drama: The Direct and Indirect Contribution Which the American Negro Has Made to Drama and the Legitimate Stage, with the Underlying Conditions Responsible.* Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1940. Pp. x+213. $2.00.

Historical survey with evaluative interpretations.

[1] Books received from November 1 to December 31, 1940, inclusive.

Bourquin, Maurice. *Dynamism and the Machinery of International Institutions: A Critical Study of a Twenty Years' Experiment*, Vol. XI, No. 5. Geneva, Switzerland: Geneva Research Center, 1940. Pp. 61. $0.40.

Brown, Josephine Chapin. *Public Relief, 1929–1939*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1940. Pp. xvii+524. $3.50.

A comprehensive record and evaluation of the public relief program from the inception of the depression indicating the various types of public relief, the evaluation of public relief policy, the relation between public and private relief, and the essential framework of the emerging permanent program.

Bryan, Gerald B. *Psychic Dictatorship in America*. Los Angeles: Truth Research Publications, 1940. Pp. 211. $2.50.

An iconoclastic study of the "I Am" cult.

Butler, Pierce. *The Origin of Printing in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. xv+155. $1.50.

A brief history of printing seeking to establish its cultural importance and tracing the stages of its technological development.

Carrazzoni, André. *Getulio Vargas*. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1939. Pp. 298.

A biography of the eminent Brazilian statesman.

Carsel, Wilfred. *A History of the Chicago Ladies' Garment Workers' Union*. Chicago: Normandie House, 1940. Pp. xv+323. $2.50.

Covers period from beginning of the garment industry in Chicago down to 1939. Includes a bibliography of original documents.

Coffin, J. Herschel. *Visual Outline of the Psychology of Personality*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1940. Pp. iv+72. $0.75.

A topical outline of the contemporary treatment of personality. For college students.

Cole, Luella. *The Background for College Teaching*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1940. Pp. xxiv+616. $3.50.

Intended for those preparing for teaching in colleges and universities. A consideration of problems of the curriculum, stimulation of interests of students, class-work procedure, and the measurement of teaching success.

Cox, William B., and Shelly, Joseph A. (eds.). *Handbook for Juveniles*, Vol. III: *Pacific Coast States, 1940*. 1st ed. New York: Osborne Association, Inc., 1940. Pp. ix+417.

A survey by the Osborne Association of state and federal training schools for delinquent children in California, Oregon, and Washington. Contains an annotated bibliography on juvenile delinquency.

Crum, Mason. *Gullah*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1940. Pp. xv+351. $3.50.

An introduction to the social history of a Negro group living among the decadent plantations on the sea islands and coastal plain of South Carolina. They are the purest African stock remaining in America. Intended both for students of community life and for the general reading public.

Cummings, Richard Osborn. *The American and His Food: A History of Food Habits in the United States.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. xi+267. $2.50.

A historical account of the eating habits of Americans from 1789 to the present, containing an account of the discovery of nutritive elements, vitamins, and the relation of food to physical well-being; with an account of recent federal feeding programs.

Cunningham, Bess V. *Family Behavior: A Study of Human Relations.* 2d rev. ed. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1940. Pp. 527. $3.00.

A textbook including introduction of new subjects and recent studies.

Debo, Angie. *And Still the Waters Run.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940. Pp. xi+417. $4.00.

A historical study of the impact of the white man's world on the "Five Civilized Tribes" of Indians in Oklahoma.

Ebenstein, William. *The Law of Public Housing.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940. Pp. ix+150. $1.75.

A concise treatment of organized governmental activities and institutions in the American housing field with special emphasis upon legal aspects. There is a brief comparative account of the experiences of other countries. Appendix contains the United States Housing Act and two leading court cases.

Frazier, E. Franklin. *Negro Youth at the Crossways: Their Personality Development in the Middle States.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1940. Pp. vii+301. $2.25.

Second in the series of Negro youth studies based on research sponsored by the American Youth Commission. Academic and popular audience.

French, Lois Meredith. *Psychiatric Social Work.* New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1940. Pp. xvi+334. $2.25.

A study of psychiatric social work, its field and functions. Sponsored by the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers. Various chapters deal with the relation of social work to psychiatry, the growth of psychiatric work, the personnel in the field, the hospital and clinical experiences, mental hygiene education, trends in treatment, and professional status.

Glass, D. V. *Population: Policies and Movements in Europe.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940. Pp. viii+490. $6.00.

The discussions refer to England, Wales, France, Belgium, Italy, Germany, and Scandinavia. The emphasis is on policies and their consequences.

Goldstein, Kurt. *Human Nature: In the Light of Psychopathology.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. x+258. $2.50.

These are the William James lectures presented at Harvard University. The author, an eminent psychiatrist with much experience in observing adjustments made by patients suffering from brain lesions, develops a comprehensive picture of human nature that will be of interest to the general reader as well as to those in the medical profession.

Haas, William H. (ed.). *The American Empire: A Study of the Outlying Territories of the United States.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. xi+408. $4.00.

A description in vivid narrative style of the major territories of the United States dealing with the geographical background of each territory, its history, resources, economy, and social life.

Haefner, John H., *et al.* *Housing America: A Source Unit for the Social Studies*, Bull. No. 14. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1940. Pp. 80. $0.50.

Hanna, Paul R.; Quillen, James I.; and Potter, Gladys L. *Ten Communities*. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1940. Pp. 512.

For use in elementary schools.

Hansen, Marcus Lee. *The Immigrant in American History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. xi+229. $2.50.

Essays on the historical role of the immigrant in American life, linking immigration to democracy and puritanism, the expansion of population, and the development of American culture, with a highly suggestive chapter on immigration as a field for historical research.

Harris, Herbert. *Labor's Civil War*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1940. Pp. vi+298. $2.50.

A trenchant analysis of the schism between the craft and industrial unions in America, with attention to recent national policies involving the N.L.R.B., Wages and Hours Act, and the present defense crisis. Contains a plea for labor unity. For the general reader.

Hart, Hornell. *Chart for Happiness*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. 198. $2.00.

Presents and explains a new instrument—the "euphorimeter"—for measuring happiness; addressed to the unhappy and those counseling the unhappy.

Harwood, Sumner. *Vital American Beliefs*. Cambridge: Cambridge Analytical Services, 1940. Pp. 44. $0.25.

A propaganda pamphlet.

Hawgood, John A. *The Tragedy of German-America: The Germans in the United States of America during the Nineteenth Century—and After*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940. Pp. 334. $3.00.

Contains some impressions of the tendency toward the elimination of the "hyphen" with a brief consideration of the turn of events since the advent of the Nazis.

Heaton, Kenneth L.; Camp, William G.; and Diederich, Paul. *Professional Education for Experienced Teachers*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. x+142. $1.25.

A review of the history of the workshop movement as an experiment in teacher education, with some suggestions as to a possible implication of this experiment for professional and graduate instruction.

Herring, Pendleton. *Presidential Leadership: The Political Relations of Congress and the Chief Executive*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1940. Pp. xi+173. $1.00.

The "American Government in Action Series." A concise account of the presidential office and the place of the president as a person and as an official.

Holy, T. C., and Stahly, G. B. *Survey of the Boys' Industrial School, Lancaster, Ohio*. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1940. Pp. xii+275. $1.50.

A comprehensive administrative study.

Hooton, Earnest Albert. *Why Men Behave Like Apes and Vice Versa.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940. Pp. xxv+234. $3.00.

With a fine contempt for the ironic inconsistencies of society, a hard-hitting scientist, an entertaining and forceful commentator on the vagaries of the human animal, tells what is wrong with modern man and what has made him "less respectable than an ape."

Hopkins, William S. *Social Insurance and Agriculture.* ("Pamphlet Series," No. 5.) Washington, D.C.: Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council, 1940. Pp. v+93. $0.50.

Contains fifty pages of classified bibliography.

Huberman, Leo. *America, Incorporated: Recent Economic History of the United States.* New York: Viking Press, 1940. Pp. viii+251. $2.75.

Popular.

International Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics, 1939–40. Rome: Villa Umberto I, 1940. Pp. xliii+1096. L. 100.

Jarvie, L. L., and Mark Ellingson. *A Handbook on the Anecdotal Behavior Journal.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. viii+71. $1.25.

An account of a new method of recording and interpreting significant day-by-day behavior of students, based on belief that "an anecdote is more revealing than a graded personality trait."

Jones, Arthur Hosking. *Cheltenham Township: A Sociological Analysis of a Residential Suburb.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. Pp. xiv+173. $2.00.

A Doctor's dissertation in the University of Pennsylvania department of sociology, showing some of the relationships of the suburb to the central city, and outlining the basis of suburban living.

Jones, S. Shepard, and Myers, Denys P. (eds.). *Documents on American Foreign Relations, July 1939—June 1940,* Vol. II. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1940. Pp. xl+875. $3.75.

Important documents referring to such topics as modification of our neutrality legislation, the government's reaction to the invasion of Poland, Finland, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, and other countries, the effect of the war on American trade and finance, registration of aliens, and Western Hemisphere solidarity.

Kuno, Yoshi S. *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent: A Study in the History of Japan with Special Reference to Her International Relations with China, Korea, and Russia.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1940. Pp. ix+416. $4.00.

Second volume of three projected.

Latimer, Murray Webb, and Tufel, Karl. *Trends in Industrial Pensions.* ("Industrial Relations Monograph," No. 5.) New York: Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., 1940. Pp. x+88. $1.00.

An account of the development of industrial pension plans with special reference to recent changes as effected by taxation policies and the social security legislation.

Leão, Josias. *Mines and Minerals in Brazil.* Rio de Janeiro: Centro de estudos economicos. Pp. 243. $1.00.

Leiser, Clara (trans.). *Refugee.* New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. Pp. 308. $2.50.

A vivid autobiographic story by two "Aryan" Germans, man and wife, voluntary refugees from their native land. Revealing and dispassionately written.

Leopold, Richard William. *Robert Dale Owen.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. xii+470. $4.50.

Of particular value as a guide to the many movements with which Owen was identified and for which there is no adequate historical account.

Lorimer, Frank; Winston, Ellen; and Kiser, Louise K. *Foundations of American Population Policy.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1940. Pp. xiii+178. $2.50.

Population facts and trends considered basic to government policy. Prepared under the direction of a Committee on Population Studies and Social Planning, including many leading students in this field.

Mabry, William Alexander. *The Negro in North Carolina Politics since Reconstruction.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. Pp. vii+87. $1.00.

Emphasis on the period before 1900.

McPherson, William Heston. *Labor Relations in the Autumobile Industry.* Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1940. Pp. xi+173. $1.50.

For both academic and lay readers.

Mangus, A. R. *Rural Regions of the United States.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940. Pp. ix+230.

A geographic background for analysis of problems of relief and unemployment.

Menefee, Selden C., and Cassmore, Orin C. *The Pecan Shellers of San Antonio.* Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940. Pp. 82.

A W.P.A. study of the problem of underpaid and unemployed Mexican labor.

Mitchell, Lucy Sprague; Bowman, Eleanor; and Phelps, Mary. *My Country, 'Tis of Thee: The Use and Abuse of Natural Resources.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. xv+335. $3.50.

A study of the use and abuse of natural resources in the United States—with special reference to soil, coal, and oil—indicating the effect upon social life of the unplanned use of these resources and suggesting a program of amelioration and control.

Pearl, Raymond. *Introduction to Medical Biometry and Statistics.* Rev. ed. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1940. Pp. xv+537.

Intended for medical men but of interest to sociologists.

Peters, Charles C., and Van Voorhis, Walter R. *Statistical Procedures and Their Mathematical Bases.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1940. Pp. xiii+516. $3.50.

An intermediate text requiring only modest mathematical competence.

Popenoe, Paul. *Modern Marriage: A Handbook for Men.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. xi+299. $2.50.

New edition of well-known popular volume upon education for marriage, completely re-written, by the director of the American Institute of Family Relations, Los Angeles. Appendix contains four tables on factors making for marital happiness.

Population Trends and Programs of Social Welfare. Reprinted from the *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XVIII, Nos. 3 and 4 (July and October, 1940), 189–221 and 345–402. Pp. 99. $0.25.

Papers presented before the Annual Conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund, relating population trends to social welfare, education, security, and public health.

Ramazzini, Bernardini. *De morbis artificum [Diseases of Workers].* The Latin text of 1713 revised with translation and notes by Wilmer Cave Wright. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. xlviii+550. $5.00.

A translation which will be of interest to historians in medicine.

Rohrbaugh, Lewis Henry. *Vectors in Group Change.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1940. Pp. iii+85.

A doctoral dissertation on the problem of the mind and behavior of the individual, of groups of individuals, and their interrelationships.

Rosenquist, Carl M. *Social Problems.* New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. Pp. xix+519. $4.00.

An elementary text.

Rosinski, Herbert. *The German Army.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940. Pp. 267. $3.00.

A history of the German army and its relation to the German nation from the time of Frederick the Great to the present.

Saetveit, Joseph G.; Lewis, Don; and Seashore, Carl E. *Revision of the Seashore Measures of Musical Talent.* ("Series on Aims and Progress of Research," No. 65.) Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1940. Pp. 62.

Salter, J. T. *The Pattern of Politics: The Folkways of a Democratic People.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. xv+246. $2.25.

A study describing the democratic processes in all of its homeliness.

Sanderson, Dwight. *Leadership for Rural Life.* New York: Association Press, 1940. Pp. 127. $1.25.

Written for college classes and executives of rural organizations.

Seldes, George. *Witch Hunt: The Technique and Profits of Redbaiting.* New York: Modern Age Books, 1940. Pp. xv+300. $2.50.

An exposé.

Sinclair, Upton. *World's End.* New York: Viking Press, 1940. Pp. 740. $3.00.

A novel tracing the education of a young American from the period of World War I to Armageddon. Its major theme is the intrigues of statecraft and international diplomacy.

Smith, T. V. *The Legislative Way of Life.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. xi+101. $1.00.

A series of lectures aiming to counteract public disdain for politicians by a sympathetic treatment of the character of legislation, its problems, its personnel, and its product. The author, who is a professor of philosophy, has been a member of Congress.

Southern Conference-Seminar. *Teaching and Research in Rural Sociology.* Blue Ridge, N.C.: Southern Conference Seminar, 1940. Pp. ix+196.

A collection of papers and discussions dealing especially with the South. The teaching reports deal with training at the various levels of academic instruction, whereas the research reports deal with recent projects and publications including three papers on the planning of future research, interstate and regional co-operation in research, and selection and recruitment of personnel.

State Law Index: An Index to the Legislation of the States of the United States Enacted during the Biennium 1937–1938. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940. Pp. vii+701. $1.50.

Statistics of Public High Schools, 1937–38, Bull. No. 2. Washington, D.C.: Federal Security Agency, U.S. Office of Education, 1940. Pp. vi+92.

Stix, Regine K., and Notestein, Frank W. *Controlled Fertility.* Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1940. Pp. xiv+201. $3.00.

A study of the patients of the oldest and largest co-operative clinic in the United States attempting "to show the effect of the patients' cooperative practices on their fertility, to evaluate the influence of the clinic's services, and to consider the place of such a clinic as an agent of public health and welfare."

Stolper, Gustav. *German Economy 1870–1940: Issues and Trends.* New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1940. Pp. xx+295. $3.00.

A popular analytical account emphasizing the changing governmental policy and the development of the welfare state by a noted democratically minded German economist, editor, and politician.

Strachey, Mrs. St. Loe. *Borrowed Children.* New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1940. Pp. xiv+149. $0.75.

English evacuees.

Strode, Josephine, and Strode, Pauline R. *Introduction to Social Case Work.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1940. Pp. xv+219. $2.50.

Designed for undergraduate courses presenting a historical view of the development of social case work, analysis of its principles and practice, and consideration of its problems.

Warner, Robert Austin. *New Haven Negroes: A Social History.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. xiv+309. $3.50.

A historical account plus a survey applying to a northern Negro community; the methods and concepts used by Dollard and Powdermaker in the South.

Waverly: A Study in Neighborhood Conservation. Washington, D.C.: Federal Home Loan Bank Board, 1940. Pp. x+97.

A report of the data and conclusions developed in the Waverly community conservation test in the city of Baltimore, which constituted an attempt to rehabilitate a blighted urban area. Contains suggestions as to causes of urban decay and the possibilities of remedying obsolescence, the decline of property values, and the deterioration of community life.

White House Conference on Children in a Democracy. *Preliminary Statements.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940. Pp. viii+257. $0.40. (Planographed.)

Statements assembled by the Research Staff of the Conference.

Wilson, Charles Morrow. *The Landscape of Rural Poverty: Corn Bread and Creek Water.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1940. Pp. 309. $3.00.

A colorful reportorial account of poverty and rural life in the United States with a suggestion as to possibilities of rural rehabilitation.

Winslow, Thacher, and Davidson, Frank P. *American Youth: An Enforced Reconnaissance.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. xv+216. $2.50.

A group of contributions reviewing youth's relation to society and to social and economic changes with proposals for the future.

Wisdom, Charles. *The Chorti Indians of Guatemala.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. xiv+490. $4.50.

A comprehensive ethnological monograph on a tribe of agricultural Indians in Guatemala.

Woodbury, Robert Morse. *Methods of Family Living Studies: Income—Expenditure—Consumption.* London: International Labour Office, 1940. Pp. vii+144. $1.00.

An appraisal of the chief family budget inquiries of the last fifteen years.

Wright, J. F. C. *Slava Bohu: The Story of the Dukhobors.* New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1940. Pp. vii+438. $3.50.

A popular account of Canada's most troublesome sect.

Wunderlich, Frieda. *Labor under German Democracy: Arbitration 1918–1933.* New York: New School for Social Research, 1940. Pp. xiii+101. $1.00.

Detailed account of arbitration and compulsory labor awards in the German republic.

Young, Kimball. *Personality and Problems of Adjustment.* New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1940. Pp. viii+868. $4.25.

A college text for courses dealing with the psychology of personality or with problems of mental hygiene and to serve as an orientation to the interplay of personality, society, and culture.

Ziskind, David. *One Thousand Strikes of Government Employees.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. x+279. $3.00.

A survey of American cases.

Znaniecki, Florian. *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. 212. $2.50.

A series of lectures treating the recent attempts on the part of societies to deal with knowledge as their subject matter, with a general treatment of the role of technologists. wisemen, scholars, and an epilogue on the emerging types of knowledge.

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SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE MODERN COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT

The author presents a method of community study used by social anthropologists. The method is related to the problem of ascertaining the social status classification in the modern community. A system of status classification used in a New England town is outlined and a few of the ramifications presented. The classificatory scheme is amenable to quantitative treatment.

Current researches by social anthropologists of modern communities in North America, Asia, and Europe[1] provoke the question of their differences from community researches by sociologists. It is clear that the similarities between the two are greater than the differences, which are primarily matters of emphasis. By describing how some of the anthropologists have gone about their new task, the present article will attempt to enable the sociological reader to make his own comparisons between the community researches of the two disciplines.

A community is a society locally organized. Local groups every-

[1] John F. Embree, *Suye Mura: A Japanese Village* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939); Horace Miner, *St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1939); Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom* (New York: Viking Press, 1939); Robert R. Redfield, *Folk Culture of Yucatan* (to be published by the University of Chicago Press); E. H. Spicer, *Pascua: A Yoqui Village in Arizona* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940); Robert R. Redfield and W. Lloyd Warner, "Cultural Anthropology and Modern Agriculture," Part V of *Farmers in a Changing World* (*Yearbook of Agriculture, 1940*). Other studies on which this article is based will be referred to during the course of the discussion.

where consist of socially interactive individuals sharing common territory. These groups characteristically possess technical, social, and symbolic systems which are mutually dependent,[2] the degree of dependence varying with the type of community.[3]

The anthropologist has traditionally studied such local groups as the "tribe," the "clan," and the "local band," whereas the sociologist has studied rural and urban communities, the neighborhood, and metropolitan regions. The people studied by the anthropologist have tended to be non-European, nonliterate, and simply organized; those of the sociologist, European, literate, and complexly organized. Yet the simple Australian band and the vast metropolis in the United States are but two extreme varieties of the local community. The social anthropologist has studied diverse types of societies, as well as their institutions and rank orders,[4] in a comparative range of social differentiation for the ultimate purpose of forming adequate generalizations on the nature of human social interaction. His studies of modern communities and their institutions must in time be fitted into a larger framework of all societies; they must become a part of a general comparative sociology. These more general purposes make it clear that the anthropologist will tend to emphasize the study of a community's social organization. Therefore, when he studies the individual, he will examine the role of this individual within a social framework.

[2] W. Lloyd Warner, *A Black Civilization* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1937), pp. 10–12.

[3] William F. Ogburn, "Social Change," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, III, 330–34.

[4] Rank, as used here, is the most general term to refer to "any kind of social hierarchy which places individuals or groups of individuals in superior and superordinate places and other individuals in inferior and subordinate positions." (For a full discussion of rank, status, and hierarchy see W. Lloyd Warner and W. Allison Davis, A Comparative Study of American Caste," in Edgar T. Thompson [ed.], *Race Relations and the Race Problem*, [Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1939], pp. 219–40.) Certain rank orders, such as class and caste, cross-cut a whole society, whereas others, such as school, church, or factory hierarchies, segment a total group.

"Status" refers to any social position in a society, whether it be ranked or not. A society with superior and inferior positions has recognizable statuses; for example, the kinship system of an Australian tribe provides many statuses in a society where rank is not present. A society with a class order can have a large number of equal statuses at any one class level.

For the anthropologist the study of the life-career of the individual in the community is the investigation of the development of the personality and the maintenance of its equilibrium in the social system.[5] It is hypothesized that the personality of any individual is a product of the interaction of his organic endowment and the experiences he has as an interactive unit within a given part of a status system. It is believed that, if these experiences can be reconstructed by the analyst and placed in the social context in which they occur, it is likely that we can achieve deep insight into the mysteries of personality. It is also hypothesized that satisfactory classifications and generalizations can then be made of personality by use of certain status criteria.[6]

The urban sociologist has tended to emphasize the study of social change and social disorganization. He has, therefore, selected areas where such phenomena as crime, delinquency, divorce, family disorganization, gang behavior, ethnic conflict, suicide, and insanity are most prevalent. From the anthropologist's point of view, the smaller and larger towns where the social tradition has been little disturbed and the ways of life are more harmonious and better integrated have perhaps been neglected by the sociologist. The selection of communities to be studied by anthropologists was determined by criteria which accented harmonious adjustment, high integration, and well-organized social relations. The problem of American social equilibrium rather than disequilibrium was of paramount interest.

In studying the social organization of a community, the anthropologist necessarily investigates the interactions of individuals. These interactions take place in recognizable social relations, consisting of customary and expected ways of behavior which are evaluated by the members of the group and are negatively and positively sanctioned. By positive sanctions the society provides rewards to help maintain certain approved behavior, the punish-

[5] W. Lloyd Warner, "The Society, the Individual, and His Mental Disorders," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, Vol. XCIV, No. 2 (September, 1937).

[6] W. Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1940); W. Lloyd Warner, Buford H. Junker, and Walter A. Adams, *Color and Human Nature* (to be published by the American Council on Education).

ments of negative sanctions discourage disapproved activities. Negative sanctions vary from the mild use of gossip and ridicule, informally expressed, to the extreme of capital punishment. In the field the anthropologist observes a given event in terms of a particular set of social relations of the individuals involved. Then he views these social relations as part of a larger configuration, such as family, clique, association, or combinations of these. The resulting interactive system is then examined in the context of the whole community. This relational type of analysis is the opposite of that ordinarily made; for the individual, rather than the relationship, is the ultimate unit of most investigations.

From previous researches in other societies, a hypothesis has been developed that all communities tend to emphasize certain parts of their organization. Consequently, certain structures within a social system are frequently dominant, and other structures are modified to fit the fundamental one. For example, in many of the East African societies, a formally organized system of age-grading is dominant. The lives of all individuals in the group are ultimately regulated by this fundamental structure. An East African individual, at any given time, regulates his life and his relations to other people according to the division he occupies and the division occupied by others. His economic, political, and familial activities are organized accordingly. Other societies have seized upon other structures; certain Indian communities have caste systems; certain Polynesian communities, status hierarchies; and in Australia, kinship is dominant.

When modern communities were first studied by anthropologists, the question of a fundamental structure arose. A hypothesis of the dominance of the economic system was formed. We thereby assumed that a man's economic status fundamentally determined how he would behave. While it was clear that a man's economic status was of great importance, it soon became evident that it did not adequately account for many of his actions and for some of the determining evaluations of him by others in the community. The wealthiest man, for example, was often outranked by others of much less wealth. Some of the people who were consistently placed at the top of the social heap had less money than those at the bottom.

It was frequently found that men had higher and lower positions in the total community than in their occupations or professions. For example, a mediocre doctor socially outranked another doctor with a larger income whose professional and moral reputation was of the very highest. These considerations ultimately led us to the formulation of several hypotheses of general rank order and status in our local societies.

A hypothesis was formed from our earlier interviews and observations which stated that in the integrated structure of the American communities is a rank order which places all individuals on higher and lower levels of social participation. These social levels cross-cut the whole community. In order to determine the nature of the ranking system, the value and symbol systems of the community were examined to ascertain how social position was assigned. Families, cliques, associations, churches, and other groupings where individuals interact in superordinate, subordinate, and co-ordinate relations were studied to determine the actual relations of rank among the individuals in the community. When all the several thousand individuals were placed in the several strata, it became evident that multiple factors rather than a single element determined an individual's place in the rank order. The social characteristics were statistically analyzed and the proportionate amount of all the characteristics in each level determined. A few of the social traits so treated were type of house; budgetary expenditure; occupation; place of residence; church, association, clique, and ethnic affiliations; magazines, books, and newspapers read.

A comparative study of the rank orders of northern and southern communities soon demonstrated that their systems of ranking were not the same.[7] The system of rank in northern communities was thought by us to be a class system, and the southern one was considered a class-caste order. These classifications resulted from comparing the American systems with those known to anthropologists

[7] W. Lloyd Warner, "American Caste and Class," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII, No. 2 (September 1936), 234–37; W. Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Deep South* (to be published by the University of Chicago Press); John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937); *Yankee City Series*, Vol. I: *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, by W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt (to be published by the Yale University Press).

from non-European societies.[8] The northern social hierarchy was so classified because its social values operated to place people at given levels and sanctioned upward and downward mobility as well as marriage above and below the social levels of the persons involved. the southern system of rank forbids marriage between individuals in higher and lower groups (endogamy) and will not permit upward and downward mobility between them (the hereditary principle of caste).[9] Within each caste there are higher and lower levels within which individuals move up and down and are allowed to marry.

Once the system of rank has been determined, it becomes important to know the social mechanisms which contributed to its maintenance. There arise concomitant problems of how the different social structures fit into the total system. An upper-class Negro family in the South must solve different social situations from those confronting a lower- or an upper-class white family. The integrative problems of the church, associations, and other institutions vary according to the system of rank in the society. The school hierarchy, the curricula, the system of grading, the selection of teachers, and the financial support all reflect the status system of the community. For example, the Davises and Gardners found a system of grading in the high school in the Deep South which was highly influenced by the relative social status of the pupils' families. In Yankee City the type of curriculum chosen in the high school correlated closely with the student's position in the social strata. The selection of the type of curriculum conformed to the general social status of the adolescent's family. The school functioned to help maintain the class order through the generations (1) by contributing to the upward and downward mobility of some of the students and (2) by stabilizing the status of the remainder.[10]

The factories of the community were studied as social systems in the same manner as the family systems. The relations of management to the worker and of the different levels of workers to one another were part of the research. The place of the factory and the

[8] Warner and Davis, *op. cit.*

[9] A. L. Kroeber, "Caste," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, III, 254–56.

[10] *Yankee City Series*, Vol. I: *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, by W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt.

comparative social statuses of the personnel of management and the operators in the community yielded much understanding of how the economic life of an industrial society functions. Essentially, the same procedure was used for the plantation economy of the South and the farm life of Ireland. Incidentally, the study of how the farm was connected with the Irish family, and this family to the larger social system, made it possible for Arensberg and Kimball to relate the immigration and vital statistics of Ireland to their proper social framework.[11]

Mention of the social changes in Ireland brings us to the general question of how anthropologists study social change in modern communities. Ethnologists have always been interested in such phenomena in nonliterate societies; their scientific papers are filled with studies of what are called "acculturation" and "diffusion."

The ethnic groups in American communities offer splendid materials for similar investigations of change. The subcommunities of such groups as the Irish, French-Canadians, and Jews were studied as subsystems which had their own internal organization and external relations with the whole community. Each generation of each ethnic group was examined to discover its rate of progress in the occupational hierarchy and to determine how far it had moved into the more favored residential areas of the town. Finally, the areal and occupational studies were interrelated with the general class levels of the community. It was clear that all these phenomena of social change are interrelated and interdependent.[12]

If the basic unit of analysis is the relation rather than the individual, then it should be possible in a community research to connect any given relation with all others and thereby construct an interconnected, interdependent system of total interaction. Previous

[11] Conrad Arensberg, *The Irish Countrymen* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937); Conrad Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, *Family and Community in Ireland* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940); F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939); *Yankee City Series*, Vol. IV: *The Social System of the Modern Factory*, by W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low (to be published by the Yale University Press).

[12] *Yankee City Series*, Vol. III: *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*, by W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole (to be published by the Yale University Press).

knowledge from researches on the social structures of non-European communities does not equip the investigator with a full methodology for his task. It provides him with a form of system analysis which allows him to analyze family, kinship, political, or other institutional behavior in one system, and it allows him to state how much a system or systems vary at the different levels of a rank order. But no previously attempted community research using the relation as the basic unit had succeeded in inducting a total system of differential statuses which were interrelated. This was first tried in the Yankee City study.

When the class levels of all individuals have been determined and when their interactions in a set of relations in the various institutions are known, the basic data are available to take the next inductive step toward developing an analysis of interrelated statuses. Each individual in the society is a *member* of several social structures. For example, he is a member of a family, several cliques,[13] a church, and possibly such associations as the Rotary, the Masons, and discussion groups. At the same time he has a position in one of the several classes. Ordinarily, as a member of a family, he is interacting with other members of the family at the same class level. This is true for some of his cliques but not for all of them, since some of the clique members may be a level above or below him in rank. In the formally organized discussion groups the members are largely of his own class or of one level above or below him; but the members of larger associations may range from one to all social levels.

An individual in any one of the classes participates in many memberships or statuses. Certain of the memberships are interrelated with others which are all of one rank; other memberships may place the individual in face-to-face relations with the whole range of status in the community. As an individual moves from one status to another in the daily round of his life, he must give attention to different social situations, change his attitudes, and ordinarily modify his behavior. An upper-class member of an entirely upper-class family is in a different situation from that of an upper-class person some of whose family members are middle class. Although

[13] A clique is an informal, voluntary association. Unlike a formal association such as a fraternity or lodge, its rules of entrance, exit, and for the period of membership are not explicitly defined.

such an individual as the latter may succeed in disguising his inner feelings, nevertheless his acts, thoughts, and feelings will differ from those of a person whose family members are co-ordinate with him. An individual, talking and acting as a member of an "aristocratic" discussion group, "naturally" behaves in a different fashion when he is talking and acting as a member of a group whose membership includes all classes. He is much more likely to use social values and symbols which are "democratic" in the latter context than he is in the former. By virtue of his interaction with other members of the group in each situation, the same individual occupies two different statuses. His statuses (positions as here defined) depend on (1) belonging to a particular class and (2) being a member of a social structure (family, clique, association, etc.).

Once this point in the analysis is reached, the total number of statuses (positions) in each class and in the whole community can be ascertained. Furthermore, the number of memberships in each of the statuses (social positions) can be counted. We can find out, for example, that there are five hundred members of the status, in the upper "aristocratic" level, which includes only those memberships which do not go below that class; we can isolate and count the four hundred upper-class memberships in a status which is interrelated with the middle class, and, let us say, some three hundred which connect with all statuses down to the lower class. We determined (always by induction and counting) that there are twenty of such general statuses (positions) in the upper class and varying numbers in the other classes. We know the amount of relationship that exists among the several social levels, or classes, because we know the number of memberships in each stratum which are interrelated with other members at other levels. We thereby achieve the point in our analysis where we have an inducted and interrelated system of statuses which accounts (1) for the kind and number of members in each class and in the total social system of the community and (2) for the number and kind of vertical relations among the members of the several classes.

We thus have a partially completed analysis of the community's social system—only partially completed because, although we know the number of members in each status, we do not know the amount of relationship among the members of all statuses of any given class.

To complete the study of the total system of integrated relations, it is necessary to determine how the various statuses within each class are interconnected and the amount of interconnection that exists between each status and all others within a given social class. To accomplish this purpose is a long, tedious task. The procedure consists of first counting the number of connections the members of a status have with each of the other statuses in its social stratum.

For illustration, we will again select Positions (statuses) I and II from the upper class. There are six possibilities of membership by any given *individual* in these two positions of the upper stratum. These possibilities are: (1) no membership in Position II, but one or more memberships in Position I; (2) no membership in Position I, but one or more memberships in Position II; (3) no membership in either position; (4) an equal number of memberships in both positions; (5) memberships in both but more in Position I than in Position II; and (6) memberships in both positions but more in II than in I.

We will choose a concrete illustration which fits the possibilities just enumerated. An individual may be a member of a family and a clique in Position I and have no memberships in II; a second individual may hold a family membership, four clique and two associational memberships in Position II but none in I. A third individual might not be a member of either position (but of Positions IV, V, and VI in the upper class); a fourth individual might hold two clique positions in I and two in Position II. A fifth has a family membership in Position II and has two clique and three association memberships in I; a sixth individual in the upper stratum might hold four clique memberships in Position II and be a family member of I.

If the fourth individual's memberships, and those of all others like him, were considered by themselves, there would be no difference in the amount of membership connections between the two positions. If the fifth individual and all others like him were considered by themselves, Position II would be more connected into I than the latter with it (in the sense that individuals in Position II have more memberships in Position I than individuals in Position I have in Position II), and if the sixth were involved the situation would be reversed.

When the totals for all the memberships in the two positions are added, there are ten members in Position I and fourteen in II, but

some memberships in each position are not connected with the other position (see Table I). There are two members in Position I who have no connections with Position II and seven in Position II who have no connections with Position I. When these memberships are subtracted from the totals for each position, the first position is found to be connected seven times into Position II out of a possible fourteen, and Position II is connected eight times out of a possible ten with Position I. The difference between them gives the comparative amount of connection each has with the other. We now have the essentials of the procedure for determining the kind and amount of relationship among the members of all statuses in any

TABLE 1*

MEMBERSHIP INTERCONNECTION AMONG POSITIONS

	Individual 1	Individual 2	Individual 3	Individual 4	Individual 5	Individual 6	Total
Position I	2	.....	.....	2	5	1	10
Position II	.....	7	.....	2	1	4	14

* "Positions" mean any statuses in a given class; the designation of "Position I," "Position II," etc., does not imply any hierarchal solution between them.

class. If there are twenty positions in a class, this procedure must be used for the hundreds and sometimes thousands of members in each position. For example, some of the five hundred members of Position I may be connected with all the other positions, some with none and others in varying amount with all the other positions. After Position I is completed, the others in their order must be dealt with in the same manner. All the total combinations each position has with all others as well as the totals all others have with it can be added and the differences accounted for.

The percentage of the total horizontal connections that a given position in a class has with any other position can be found by dividing the total number of the connections the position has into the totals for each position. The same procedure is used to find the amount of connection each has with it and comparisons on the amount of connection between any two positions.

The internal composition of a status consists of memberships in different structures (family, clique, association, etc.). These mem-

berships are further analyzable by counting the number of males, females, ethnic and religious affiliations, and other social characteristics of the members. We learn by this analysis whether a member acting in a given status is adult-male-Protestant-Yankee or an adolescent-Catholic-woman of Irish extraction.

Further operations are possible. Although these operations are known and have been used, they are too complex to describe here.[14]

When these last steps have been taken, the necessary analysis for seeing the society as a total system of interdependent, interrelated statuses is completed. The kind and amount of mutual influencing among the members of the total system can be ascertained, and it is possible to examine qualitatively and quantitatively behavior within each separate status and study its interconnectedness with the whole system.

When completed, the whole construct and its parts might be described as a map representing the social system of a community much as the map of a good cartographer might represent the physical realities of such an area as the Caribbean Sea. The larger body of land and water which comprise the total area of an ordinary map are perhaps analogous to the statuses. The total composition of each status—that is to say, the interrelated structural memberships (family, clique, etc.) and their social characteristics (sex, age, religion, etc.) and the thousands of horizontal and vertical relations—might be compared with the detailed map the mariner uses to chart his course. Neither the social map nor the physical one gives all the details of any given area. The mariner's map ordinarily does not inform one about the type of vegetation along the shores of the island around which he is navigating, nor does the social map tell one the specific events within a status or between it and other statuses. However, the interested social observer is in a far better position to understand any given event in the life of an individual if he can place it in its proper point within the social map. The attitudes of the individuals involved in the event are better understood, and the immediate context of the event in the status system is not confused with other contexts in other parts of the society.

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[14] *Yankee City Series*, Vol. II: *The Status System of a Modern Community*, by W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt (to be published by the Yale University Press).

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS AND ORGANIZATION

SAUL D. ALINSKY

ABSTRACT

In the industrial area adjacent to the Stock Yards of Chicago, a community council was formed which included the two basic institutions of the area—(1) organized religion and (2) organized labor—as well as all of the other interest and action groups in that community. "Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council" is an experimental demonstration of a community organizational procedure predicated upon a functional conception of the character of a community and its problems. On the local scene the council has operated a successful program. It has brought about not only a tangible improvement in the way of life of the local residents of Back of the Yards but has also resulted in the development of an unusual sympathy and understanding between organizations which previously had been in opposition and conflict. This Council has not confined its efforts to the local scene but has also addressed itself to the task of coping with those larger socioeconomic issues which converge upon the local scene to establish the plight of Back of the Yards. The Council is aiding other industrial areas to organize in a similar manner in the hope that the combined strength of many such community councils will be sufficient to deal effectively with these major destructive forces.

Community organizational enterprises have traditionally confined themselves to co-ordination of professional formal agencies which are, first, superimposed upon the community and, second, play a superficial role in the life of the community. It is a rare phenomenon today to discover a community organization in which the indigenous interest and action groups of the community not only participate but also play a fundamental role in that organization. Even where the possibility of organizational work of this character has evidenced itself, it has not been accompanied by any significant understanding of the social forces involved in the functional nature of a community or of the socioeconomic strata of the community and its corresponding implications. The two major defects in the traditional community organization movement are (1) that it views each problem of the community as if it were independent of all other problems and (2) that it views the community as a social, political, and economic entity which is more or less insulated from the general social scene. This appears to be true both of those agencies which are concerned with some one special problem of the local community as if this problem were isolated and of those which claim to be interested in the development of a program for such a local neighborhood

as a whole, without recognizing that the life of such a neighborhood is shaped by forces which far transcend the local scene.

An understanding of the fashion in which a local community functions within the larger social organism demands a marked departure from the conventional procedures characteristic of that kind of communal organization which proposes that the community elevate itself by means of its own bootstraps. It means that, while the community as a whole is taken as a specific starting-point for a program of social construction, the organizational procedures must direct their attention toward those larger socioeconomic issues which converge upon that scene to create the plight of the area.

In this paper it is proposed to discuss very briefly and generally an effort now being made to project these considerations into a concrete situation. I propose to indicate an employment of the foregoing philosophy in the formation of a community council.

Among the many neighborhoods whose names have been synonymous with certain characteristics responsible for their reputation, such as "Hell's Kitchen" and "Harlem" in New York City, there is none which stands out more conspicuously than that part of the city of Chicago known as "Back of the Yards." This is "The Jungle" of Upton Sinclair. Colorfully dramatized in American literature, immortalized in poetry, "Back of the Yards" has come to be in the eyes of the American people a byword for disease, delinquency, deterioration, dirt, and dependency. The history of Back of the Yards is to a large extent a study of the immigration movements to this country. It is a story graphically demonstrating the methods employed by a rapidly expanding industry in its drive to secure cheap labor. It is a history of the American "melting-pot" process. It is also the saga of organized labor in the United States. It reflects the history of the Knights of Labor, of the American Federation of Labor, and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It is a story of desperation, of surging enthusiasms, of violence, and of heartbreak.

A survey of the possibilities for community organization of the residents of the Back of the Yards neighborhood reveals two basic social forces which might serve as the cornerstone of any effective community organization which would, first, be representative of the

people of the community and, second, by the very virtue of such representation, possess the necessary strength to effect constructive changes in the life of the Back of the Yards neighborhood. These two elemental social institutions are, first, the Catholic church and, second, organized labor.

More than 90 per cent of the population of the Back of the Yards community is Catholic in religion. It is the Catholic church which serves as the medium through which these people express some of their most cherished traditional hopes, desires, and aspirations. The Catholic church is an integral and dynamic factor in the experiences and lives of the people "back of the yards." In this area one finds a variety of nationalities. There are Poles, Lithuanians, Slovaks, Germans, Irish, Ukranians, and Mexicans. The Poles constitute the dominant nationality group. The parishes are to a large extent composed of distinct nationality groups. For example, there is a Slovak church, a German church, a Polish church, a Lithuanian church, etc. In this particular neighborhood there are seven large parishes. It is common knowledge that, even though parts of the same denomination, these parishes have rarely acted as a unit in attacking community problems. Today, through the medium of the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council, these parishes are operating as a solid bloc.

Just as the Catholic religion is the common spiritual denominator for the people of the community, so to a relative extent one finds in the neighborhood a common vocational denominator. To a large extent the economic life of this community depends upon the Stock Yards and its affiliated subsidiaries. If production falls off at the Stock Yards, the economic level of the people back of the yards correspondingly declines. If a man or woman in the community is not directly employed in the Stock Yards or in one of its subsidiaries, that person's wife or husband (as the case may be), or child, or relative, or neighbor, or friend, is, or has been at some time or other, employed in the Stock Yards. Organized labor unions not only represent the vocational interests of a large number of residents of the Back of the Yards community, but they also serve as the medium through which these people express their secular hopes and desires for economic security.

The major Back of the Yards labor union today is one large industrial labor union to which belong the vast majority of workers in the packing industry. This union is the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee, which is an affiliate of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It is obvious that the membership of this union is very closely related to the membership of the Catholic church. The same people that comprise the membership of a parish also form the membership of a union local. It is quite common to find that a steward or member of the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee is also an official of a Holy Name society or another religious organization.

In recent months, after years of the ravages of depression, there has been developed a strong conviction among the various organizations in the Back of the Yards community that, first, they are confronted by menacing, seemingly chronic social problems. These problems range through unemployment, disease, child welfare, delinquency, and poor housing. Second, these organizations have become convinced that if these problems are ever to be solved they must be solved by the local residents operating through their own organizations and institutions. Quoting from a recent program published by the Council:

> For fifty years we have waited for someone to offer a solution—but nothing has happened. Today we know that we ourselves must face and solve these problems. We know what poor housing, disease, unemployment, and juvenile delinquency mean, and we are sure that if a way out is to be found, we can and must find it.

Operating on the basis of these convictions, the organizations came together and banded into the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council. Their objectives are clearly presented in their statment of purpose:

> This organization is founded for the purpose of uniting all of the organizations within that community known as the Back of the Yards, in order to promote the welfare of all residents of that community regardless of their race, color or creed, so that they may all have the opportunity to find health, happiness, and security through the democratic way of life.

With the possible exception of some of the smaller organizations maintained by outsiders in the community, almost every person in that area is affiliated to one or more of the organizations which are

represented in this community council. It is significant to point out that the earnestness and enthusiasm of the Catholic church is illustrated by the fact that, instead of sending nominal lay representatives to the Council, the priests have personally assumed membership. Similarly, the chief officials of all the other organizations are personally participating in the Council.

The Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council today represents the church, labor unions, both C.I.O. and A.F. of L., the local chamber of commerce, the local American Legion post, the leading businessmen, the social, the nationality, the fraternal, and the athletic organizations of the people "back of the yards." The Chicago Park District has played a dynamic role in the Council as reflected through its local park director, an indigenous leader in the community and one whose aggressive leadership was a highly significant factor in the organization of the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council.

It can be seen that the Council is not simply a group of well-meaning individuals, nor is it merely representative of one or two segments of the community. Above all, it is not an organization controlled by outside groups whose basic interests are, in the final analysis, either not identical with or opposed to the objectives sought by the people "back of the yards." The Council, rooted primarily in the fundamental institutions of the community, now includes practically every organization of significance in the life of the Back of the Yards community.

Its program is carried on by eight committees. Each committee has its elected officials who in turn compose the executive board of the Council. The personnel of the executive board as well as of the various committees is of such an indigenous character that through their experiences (in some cases life-long) and associations in the community they have all acquired a vast fund of intimate knowledge regarding those subtle, informal, and personal aspects of the communal life of "Back of the Yards." This is the type of intangible information that cannot be uncovered by formal surveys or studies. The procedures and methods utilized by the Council all stem from this body of personal, informal, intimate data. The objectives of each committee, as well as their composition, clearly reveal the issues of the area as defined by the local residents. A study of these

issues is of the utmost significance in understanding why so many organizations seemingly opposed in their programs and objectives nevertheless united. For example, during an early Council meeting the representative of the local chamber of commerce bitterly complained about the problem of unemployment. He emphasized that the price of unemployment was borne in the main by business because of the high taxes for public relief. The labor representative disagreed with this view pointing out that an unemployed man cannot pay union dues and is a constant drain on the union benefit fund. The religious representatives then interrupted to emphasize that an unemployed man cannot contribute to his church, and, lacking these contributions, the churches could not sustain themselves. After prolonged discussion, they reached the conclusion that the disastrous effects of unemployment were borne by all in common. The blunt fact is that common grave problems presented a fundamental threat to the welfare of all the people "back of the yards" and all of their organizations. Issues such as unemployment or disease are fundamental threats to the welfare of labor unions as well as to business dependent upon the purchasing power of that community.

Therefore it is understandable why, on the committee for unemployment or on the committee for a higher standard of living or on the health committee, one finds represented the leading local businessmen, labor leaders of both the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L., Catholic priests, police officials, leaders of nationality, social, and athletic groups—all putting their heads together and pooling all their efforts and collective skill toward the solution of their common problem. This common immediate stake for church, business, and labor transcended doctrinal differences and has resulted in the development of an unusual understanding among them. It is this unity of purpose, this organized sentiment and opinion, that generates an almost irresistible force and explains the record of achievement and speed of accomplishment of the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council. Because the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council represents the mobilized sentiment of the community as articulated through their indigenous organizations, it is not only a community council but a movement. The fact is that, when a community is organized so that it moves, it becomes—a movement.

The final authority of the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council is lodged in a community congress which meets on a minimum of twice a year; elects officers, amends by-laws, ratifies or disapproves policies, and acts upon all matters referred to it. The community congress consists of one representative for each twenty-five members of each member organization of the Council in good standing. This community congress insures control of the Council by the people. The following is the program achieved by the Council during the last eighteen months.

1. An infant welfare station has been secured.

2. A contract was signed whereby the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council secured a large section of land in the neighborhood for the purpose of creating a community recreational center. An all-community recreational center is now in the last stages of construction.

3. Within five months the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council became recognized by the Community Fund of Chicago, secured an allocation, and became a participating agency in the fund. Now in its second year, the Council's allocation has been doubled.

4. A survey is now being completed of specific immediate needs of the community so that they may be met as quickly as possible.

5. On the subject of relief, the Back of the Yards community was singularly articulate and unanimous in waging the fight for adequate relief standards. It has exerted constant pressure for the support of humane relief standards for those in need of relief. It has carried its fight to the state as well as to the national capital.

6. Negotiations are now under way regarding a possible housing project.

7. More than 2,800 jobs were secured through the co-operation of both the National Youth Administration and private industry.

8. A delinquency subcommittee has been created which comprises representatives of various organizations. This committee investigates each case of juvenile delinquency, then takes appropriate action. If unemployment of a parent of a delinquent boy appears to be a contributing factor to that boy's delinquency, then some kind of job is secured for that parent.

9. A community-owned dental clinic is now being set up to pro-

vide free dental service for all children under thirteen years of age whose families are unable to afford such care.

10. Arrangements were concluded between the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council and the owners of the local weekly community paper whereby a special board of governors appointed by the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council have complete jurisdiction over the character and policy of the local weekly paper. As a result, the community today has a newspaper which they write, edit, and read themselves—a journalistic organ reflecting the interests, attitudes, and aspirations of the people of the community rather than of an extremely small segment of the population of the area.

11. A general community improvement project is now under way to convert all empty, dirty, vacant spaces into little individual parks with grass, trees, and attractive facilities, offering places for the workers and their children to relax.

12. Following the example of their elders, the youth in the community have organized their own Back of the Yards Neighborhood Youth Council, and for the first time the youth groups of the community are engaged in a co-ordinated, constructive, well-organized program for the solution of their problems.

13. An agreement was reached between the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council and the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation whereby fourteen hundred children are fed one hot meal every day of the year. A portion of the expense of this food project is carried by the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council. The project was instigated by the youth organization, which bears the slogan "Not Only Bat and Ball but Bread and Butter."

14. The Council has sponsored a great many affairs, such as boxing shows, carnivals, dances, fairs, and various other forms of community get-togethers. All proceeds from these events have been utilized for the Council program. Here is a demonstration of where the people in the community pay admission for entertainment to their own community affairs and then have their own money turned back to be used in their own general welfare program.

15. The Council is now in the process of purchasing a large summer camp site out in the country. The camp facilities will be con-

structed and developed by the local people themselves, and it is their desire that every child "back of the yards" shall enjoy the advantages of a summer-camp vacation for at least two weeks each year. The camp will be owned and operated completely by the community.

16. Recently the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council sponsored a community fair at which they had a large exposition tent. In this tent individual merchants and organizations rented booths for the purpose of advertising their wares and also to indicate their allegiance to the Neighborhood Council. The spectacle of the C.I.O. booth adjacent to that of the chamber of commerce, and the Democratic and Republican parties sharing adjoining booths, was a vivid demonstration of the new spirit of democracy which has pervaded the culture of "back of the yards."

17. A community credit union is now being financially underwritten through definite agreement with all the major institutions of the community whereby they will purchase shares in this enterprise. This community credit union is the Council's major project for this year. The Council regards this credit union as one of its most important weapons in its drive for the economic security of its people.

To most observers the intangible achievements of the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council have been of far greater importance than its tangible accomplishments. Through the medium of the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council, leaders in various interest and action groups have learned to know one another as human beings rather than as impersonal symbols of groups which, in many cases, appeared to be of a hostile nature. The personal relationships which have been developed have to a large degree broken down that urban anonymity characteristic of all such communities. Furthermore, we today find an independent philosophy developing back of the yards which can best be described as a people's philosophy.

A revealing demonstration of this type of social relationship is to be found in some of the recent activities of the constituent organizations of the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council. For example, some months ago when the C.I.O. held a picnic, the local chamber of commerce took the lead in securing advertisements for

the C.I.O. picnic program book. Similarly, a few weeks later when the local chamber of commerce embarked upon a membership drive, the C.I.O. leaders not only assisted the chamber of commerce membership committee but publicly informed local businessmen that it was their duty to be members of the local chamber of commerce. This community solidarity does not rest completely upon any special benevolence on the part of the members of the Council and the organizations for which they speak but upon the clear recognition that to a large extent they either stand or fall together.

The position assumed by the Council in a number of crises of impending conflict between labor and capital has caused many observers to characterize the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council as "pro-labor," "sympathetic to the C.I.O." The point of view of the Council on organized labor is quite clear. First, it looks to the national organized labor movements to cope effectively with many of those major social forces which impinge upon the Back of the Yards community with disastrous results. Second, the Council fully recognizes the important role of organized labor in the drive for economic security and the improvement of those conditions under which people work. The philosophy of the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council is that a community organization which does not improve the economic life of its community cannot become a really significant force in the lives of the people. The Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council concedes that constructive work within limits can be done without reference to the economy of the community. But until the economy of that community is significantly changed, until the problem of economic security is dealt with, one actually has the paper decoration one finds on the end of lamb chops—but no lamb chops.

From the inception of the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council, organized labor began to participate actively despite that skepticism and profound distrust which has caused labor to refer to welfare work as "hellfare work." The grave reservation which labor has maintained toward most social welfare programs and agencies was and is based upon certain fundamental contradictions underlying the field of social welfare. Labor recognizes that practically all private social-work agencies are supported and governed by those very

same persons whose activities in the industrial world have, in many cases, not only laid the foundation for many of our social problems but who, by the very nature of a large part of their pursuits, tend to perpetuate those very conditions which in their philanthropic life they profess to be combating.

It is therefore understandable why in a union-conscious community many of these welfare agencies have come to be regarded and defined as "company social-work agencies." Members of company unions request favors. Members of bona fide unions request their rights. Therein lies a partial explanation of the recent introduction and development by the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council of the concept of "rights" as over and against the prevailing antiquated welfare motif of "benevolence."

That this shift of emphasis from "favors" to "rights" is a marked departure in the philosophy of community organization is obvious. The organizations and institutions of the people back of the yards feel that the only way that they can get their rights is through a community organization which is built, owned, and operated by themselves rather than by outside interests which in many cases are basically opposed to many of the fundamental objectives which these people want.

In recent times the people "back of the yards" have become vitally interested not only in the problems of their own community but also in the problems of the state, as well as in national issues. This growing recognition on the part of the people back of the yards of Chicago that many of their problems stem from sources far removed from their own community has been one of the most fundamental developments and achievements of the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council and has been manifested in their interest in a national housing program, the national health program, the policies being practiced by their political representatives, the development of a common curiosity regarding the reasons pro and con of national programs, the inquiries of people about the congressional records, etc.

This broad realization by the Back of the Yards people that their problems are not peculiar unto themselves and that their community is not a little world by itself is responsible for the interest and

assistance of the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council in the organization of similar community councils in the other industrial areas of the nation. They believe that only through the combined strength of many such organizations can they hope to cope effectively with those major destructive forces which pervade our entire social order. Their problems are the same, the causes of their problems are the same, and the organic character of these industrial communities is very similar.

If the fact of a disorganized community is in any way symptomatic of underlying and pervasive processes, then recreation or any other segmental activity which is held out as a panacea must be regarded as limited in its possibilities. Similarly, it will be increasingly clear that the experiments with community organization on a purely local scale will prove themselves ineffectual. While the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council is not held out as the nostrum for the reconciliation of irreconcilable conflicts, in its basic framework it may be regarded as suggesting the direction in which the problems of social life in complex societies can be met with greater hope of success than previous philosophies of community organization.

INDUSTRIAL AREAS FOUNDATION
CHICAGO

THE EVOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY[1]

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

ABSTRACT

Nominalism and realism are defined as types of community integration. In the beginning the North American community was realistically integrated because it represented the transplanting of the medieval semifeudal village on our eastern coast. With the growth of the frontier and the mixing of peoples, Americanism and nominalist forms of community organization came to be almost indentical. While pure realism or pure nominalism seldom exists in fact, a number of variables tend to emphasize one or the other. In America, age of settlement has been a constant factor promoting community realism. Mobility, low and differential fertility, urbanism, trade and commerce, and centralization of government and economic life have promoted community nominalism. On the whole, however, the evolution of the American community, after its first settlement, has been toward realistic integration. This process will probably move more rapidly in the twentieth than in the nineteenth century because the community-forming forces are gaining the upper hand over those which promote disintegration.

A community has some elements of random and incidental association of a number of persons. The chief form of integration in this case is largely mechanical proximity. The best word for this type of a community, and this type of element in all communities, is "nominalism." ("Formalism," "associationism," and "aggregationism" are possible alternative meanings but are not so definite philosophically.)[2]

The idea of "nominal community" or nomalist element in the community implies that the group is integrated largely by geographic proximity. The members have very little in common as regards tradition, language, origin, national background, or common experience. Such a type of community is the mode in most new countries, in lands recently settled from diverse sources, and in extremely mobile regions such as urban areas.

An illustration of the meaning of this for America may be given for a typical section of the east central Louisiana Purchase (i.e., a Missouri community). This region was originally settled (as far as Europe is concerned) by a few Spanish and French traders who intermarried with the Indians. However, the Scotch-Irish, Irish,

[1] For aid in this study I am indebted to the Harvard Committee on Research in the Social Sciences.

[2] See Carle C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community* (New York, 1938), Prologue.

English, and earliest Germans, North European elements, came into the region from the southeastern states in the course of their westward migration. In 1803 the Louisiana Purchase area was gained by the American government, and the immigrations of the North Europeans continued. Since the region possessed fertile lands, slaveholders came in from the South, bringing with them a few Negroes. Further Irish and German elements came in different waves from Europe, owing to the revolutions and famines there in the nineteenth century.

An examination of this typological community in the last quarter of the nineteenth century indicates that its composition was very diverse. It included Indians, French, Spanish, Scotch-Irish, Catholic and Protestant Irish, English, three waves of Germans, and a few Negroes. Some of the people were born in a number of different communities in various European lands. Others were born in various eastern American states, and a few were born in the state and in the community itself. The major integrating factor in such a typical central American community in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the mechanical adjacency of the people. What existed of the "community proper," separate from the physical elements from which a community might in time be created, was nominal or formal or fictitious. Community and government were represented in the law by more or less mechanical township, with its government and a larger county governed by a constantly changing group of office-holders. No permanent county bureaucracy existed. Life was floating, mobile, and individualistic. Nothing (not even the land, the timber, the fish, or wild-life resources) was sacred.[3]

Such communities as this, with their elements of mechanical integration only, formed a large share of the total American scene up until the beginning of the twentieth century. Of course, there were regional variations ranging from the conditions of the old New England, the Pennsylvania-Dutch village, and the Colonial settlements in the South, on the one hand, to the unorganized aggregates on the Far West, on the other. Even up to the beginning of the twentieth

[3] For a description of some of these regions upon which part of this is based, see Carle C. Zimmerman and Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Families on Relief* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938), chaps. i, vii, and ix.

century many of the outlying American frontier communities of the West were essentially only mechanical settlements so loosely integrated that their formal social organization constantly broke down into vigilante government. The description given above for the community of the eastern central sections of the Louisiana Purchase then represented the great American average of the typical semi-formal or nominalist community at the time the United States burst into the world-scene as an *imperium* or meaningful nation.[4]

The other extreme community type may be expressed by the words "realist community." ("Organic," "integrated," *Gemeinschaftlich*, and "social fact" are similar terms which might be used, but again these words are not as useful philosophically as "real.") This realist type is found most often in the more peasantish sections of Europe and in the older and less mobile rural regions of the American Southeast. It is developing now in the typical American community.[5]

In the realist community type one finds a rather settled stable population mostly born in the region speaking not only the same "public language but also having a similar colloquial language and 'subliterary culture.' " They also have similar general traditions and hold similar magical and religious beliefs and feelings. The attachment of the people to their place or community is similar to those universal sentiments and derivations encompassed under the words "home" and "folk."

In the realist American community, integration is only incidentally geographic and mechanical. The realist integration is social. The community becomes an unquestioned mental fact. The community becomes illogically logical in the sense that it has a variety of standards to apply to the same problem, depending upon the circumstances. In the Machiavellian institutional concepts, the realist

[4] The nominalism of life in the western states was expressed by their wholesale adoption of codes of laws from eastern states. In some cases specific laws did not even have meaning in the new states because the conditions which gave rise to these laws in New York or Massachusetts were lacking in the West.

[5] Those who wish to find a careful analysis of this identical problem and its homogeneous treatment under different words by sociologists of various countries (from Hegel to Park and Sorokin) should see Ettienne Dékány's monograph, *Communautés et organizations* (Paris, 1940), chap. iv. The best single work is, in the author's opinion, F. Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, trans. C. P. Loomis (New York, 1940).

community can look at either "ends" or "means" as it suits the purpose, the time, or the event.[6]

An old New England community offers an excellent example of this dual ethics of the social mind in the realist community. The mere thought of extravagance or possible chicanery, as illustrated by the fact that the justice of the peace gets not only a salary but many unlisted fees, stirs it to a stormy town-meeting session. At the same town meeting it purchases a swamp for a ball park, holding that $50,000 of labor from the apparently inexhaustible federal funds is an opportunity which "must be grabbed before someone else gets it."[7]

In the real community the means must often be hidden but the ends must be gained. The "real community" is a personality, at least an *acting* organic reality, in which quarreling, punishment, prayers, self-sacrifice, and the animal and vegetative facts of existence must be integrated into a many-sided workable whole.

In the realist community there is only one community, although there are classes, groups, associations, and there may be caste differences. The community is a social system in that it stands out by itself as a clearly defined integrating factor. But in this social system the oldsters snub the new, the well-to-do the poor, and the social climbers snub and are snubbed endlessly. Caste members only associated formally with members of other castes. But this entire aggregation of classes and subgroups are integrated by the community into a system with some meaning. Here we have what Sorokin calls "logical meaningfulness."

Between the nominalist and realist extremes of communities there are many variations or mixtures of these two elements. One might say that *a pure nominalist or pure realist community never exists in*

[6] This is not metaphysics but merely a position that highly integrated groups do become, for practical purposes, real. Corrado Gini calls this general school of thought "neo-organicism" as opposed to the Spencerian mechanical organicism, on the one hand, and the "group mind" metaphysics, on the other.

[7] Here it is evident that the philosophy of judging actions by ends, not by means, is a social, institutional, and community trait more often than an individual trait. No person is judged entirely by the *means* of his actions and no institution entirely by the *ends* it gains. There are at least dual bases of ethics or evaluative judgments upon human behavior—*how* a thing is done and *what* is done. In this case the community acted upon antithetical ethical considerations at the same meeting. It saved its own funds but wasted those of the federal government.

reality. All are mixtures, some emphasizing more of one element and some more of the other.

Why is it that a pure community type—nominalist (lack of any but mechanical integration) and realist (complete meaningful integration into a social system)—never exists in this world? There are numerous reasons for this.

First, life is always a dual fact—individual and society, sacred and profane, the human being and his social structure. Either extreme of community type—the one giving complete freedom to the individual as far as mechanically possible and the other integrating the individuals as in Maeterlinck's *Ants* or Huxley's *Brave New World* people—is inhuman, antisocial, and essentially unlivable except for short spaces of individual time. If we were ants, we would be ants. If Huxley's biological presuppositions became realities, we would have a brave new world. Without these conditions we remain human and neither completely integrated nor disintegrated.[8]

In addition to this general prime cause, there are many variant factors leading to mixtures of nominalism and realism in a system of local communities. Some of these are type of settlement, age of settlement, mobility of people, the differential between births and deaths in the community, stable and unstable occupations, and interference of outside governmental and economic agencies. These secondary "causes," working upon this "prime" cause (in the Aristotelian causal framework), give us the modern American community, our Pleasant Hill, Centerville, or Main Street of today. The "evolution" of the American community comes essentially as the results of the working-together of these diverse variables.[9]

Type of settlement influences a community in the sense that communities formed out of peoples with similar backgrounds carry with them traditions of solidarity and agreement from their old lands to

[8] In this above paragraph, the reader will see that I follow much of the philosophy of E. Durkheim in his *Règles de la méthode sociologique*. See the Catlin edition translated by S. A. Solovay and J. H. Mueller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938).

[9] The word "evolution" is used here to mean change in regard to time. It is not used in the sense of linear evolution or improvement but rather to mark the rather fluctuating movement of the American community from an aggregation possessing some considerable amount of nominalism toward a more mature community with at least some realism or sustained personality.

the new.[10] This gives them a head start on the community-building factor. The Germans recognize this in their settlement projects in East Prussia and the Italians in the colonization of the redrained swamplands of the Pontine Marshes. The most successful communities of the Germans in East Prussia were of groups from the same region so that the community at the beginning had a common provincial language such as similar *Platt Deutsch* or *Bayerisch.* In the same manner the settlement of the Pontine Marshes was done in solid groups of Italians from the districts near Venice where the sub-language and subliterary culture of the peoples in the new villages was similar.

In America this homogeneous type of settlement has played an important, although varied, role in community-building. In the early years of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries whole regions here, such as the New England colonies and the Pennsylvania areas were settled by groups with a close integration of subculture. The New England town was a seventeenth-century English parish transplanted to America. Of course, there were foreign introductions, but the major stream of influences led immediately to an adaptation and adoption of the English parish idea where the "Lord's Proprietors," until they were abolished by the insurgent "common people," played the manorial role. In other states the feudal community, with its solidarity based upon land, was represented in part by the quit-rent system.[11]

The same type of community settlement took place among the Pennsylvania Germans or what are more popularly called the "Pennsylvania Dutch." Even today these communities show much of the realistic solidarity, the good farming, the fine mores, and the respect for the soil, the timber, and the integrity of the person and the family traditional in the German village community.

[10] "Type of settlement" refers here to groups with a common subculture and not to the more specific problem of group versus isolated farm types of settlement. Some cultures use group or village forms of life and others use the isolated farm. Some use both. This problem is different from that of groups settled either in villages or on isolated farms but having or lacking a common subculture.

[11] See H. J. Carman (ed.), *American Husbandry* (New York, 1939); B. W. Bond, *The Quit Rent System in the American Colonies* (New Haven, 1919); Irving Mark, *Agrarian Conflict in Colonial New York 1711–1775* (New York, 1940); C. A. Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940).

This type of community settlement took place elsewhere in early America. In later years much of it came about in the placing of "cultural islands." These island communities were also very influential in the settlement of the prairie provinces of Canada, not to mention the important and very realistic communities of French in eastern Canada, Louisiana, and modern New England. However the isolated cultural islands were and are doomed to disappear under broader influences. In Canada, Dawson refers to this reduction of cultural islands process as "Canadianization."[12] Only "continents" appear to be able to keep their community integrity in the face of the increased communication and contacts of our commercial life.

The first influence of this type of settlement was to give the early American community a high degree of realism, a factor which did much to make early America livable. Reproduced here in America in large regions were the cultures, the objects, and practices of different regions of Europe. The "log cabin," the truly early American house institution, came not early and in the "East" but only later and on the frontier, when Irish, Scotch, German, Swede, Frenchman, Spaniard, and others got away from their early replicas of European life and began an American synthetic rebuilding of a truly American way of life. After the seventeenth century, as F. J. Turner has already shown, the real America developed on the frontier.[13]

The second influence of type of settlement upon the American community has been to decrease its realism and to make the community more nominal, formal, and fictitious. As people left their eastern settlements and plunged into the frontier, they intermixed, destroyed early cultural solidarity, and had to begin anew to create an America. Three main roads led to the West and the frontier: the sea to the mouth of the Mississippi and upward, the valley of Virginia to the Cumberland Gap and the rivers of Ohio and Kentucky, and the Mohawk Valley and Great Lakes. In these avenues of movement the old and the new Americans intermingled—English, Irish, Scotch, Scandinavian, French, and Spanish. New communities were formed not of peoples with common subculture but of di-

[12] See C. A. Dawson, *Group Settlement, Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* (Toronto, 1936).

[13] See H. R. Shurtleff, *The Log Cabin Myth* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939); F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1921).

verse individuals having in common only the frontier with its abundant resources and lack of traditions and the fact that they were humans.

The new communities were almost universal in the lack of any formal or informal restraints as found in the older communities. The process was made more heterogeneous by the fact that millions of new peoples poured in from Europe to join in the westward trek. About three million people in 1775 formed a fairly homogeneous America on the eastern seaboard. Seven million people in 1810 were sufficiently integrated to continue our struggle against Europe.

The increase to 130 million by 1930 was achieved by some growth in the numbers of the originals but primarily by the addition of 40 million new immigrants, fruitful peasants from diverse regions of Europe. These 40 million and their numerous broods of children formed a large part of the increase from the original 7 million in 1810 to the 130 million in 1930. Every community tended to have a sample of all the various elements entering into America. No community was essentially a solid European planting in America, and those few which tended to be soon gave way to the restless surging of peoples in the new America.

Age of settlement, in itself, tended to increase the realism of the community. Mobility, new arrivals, the development of unstable and mobile occupations, urbanization, the building of branch plants, chain stores, and outside community economic agencies, and the increasing interference by state and national governmental agencies, however, tended to decrease its realism. "Real" communities are unions of persons under the sway of the ghosts of their ancestors. Mobility, instability, urbanization, trade, transportation, and interference by chain-store managers and outside ruling bureaucrats tend to create conditions where men do not know the ghosts of their own ancestors much less the ghosts of the ancestors of their neighbors.

In the realist community your grandfather and my grandfather fished, played marbles, drank cider, and fought each other in this same pasture back of the mill. In the nominalist community your and my knowledge of our grandfathers is only from ill-remembered tales from each of our mothers. Your mother did not know my mother when either was young, and your grandfather never knew

either my mother, my father, or my respective grandmothers and grandfathers.

Thus the evolution of the American community has been a hectic thing in which one general factor (age of settlement) and one specific factor (type of settlement) have been pushing toward realism. Opposed to this increase in realism have been a varied dozen of factors all tending toward nominalism in community life. The mobility of the frontier and the new arrivals from abroad tended to break down the realism of the original homogeneous settlements. However, age of settlement tended to bring about a regaining of this realism. Then the higher birth rates on the frontier and among the new arrivals, first Irish, later German, and now South European, tended to lead to an increase in nominalism. The high birth rates were generally in new and essentially more nominalist communities. However, the old process of age of settlement continued again and again to heal these wounds of nominalism and to bring about a more real community.

This process of play and counterplay has continued through the whole history of the American community. It has carried us through the processes of industrial development of exploitative industries which were quickly formed and quickly broken. It has also taken us through urbanization, chain-storing, economic and governmental centralization, and some phases of New Dealing. Each of these processes tended to promote greater nominalism, but each has been resisted and forced into a more real frame of reference by time, age of settlement, and the development of tradition.

The evolution of the American community has thus been a very wavy one, showing many countersurges, but moving, on the whole, from a nominal community type toward a real one. The American community, however, has not yet gained sufficient realism for the best social interest. Local government in America, from the viewpoint of what our people showed they could do in their European experiences, is still a failure. A further increase in realism, a movement now under way in the American community, will probably do much to heal this inherent fault in such a hastily constructed and somewhat jumbled scene as is this America of ours.

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EVOLUTION OF THE SOCIAL SURVEY IN ENGLAND SINCE BOOTH

D. CARADOG JONES

ABSTRACT

As conceived and executed by Booth, the social survey was a procedure for transposing impressions regarding squalid living conditions into objective evidence and had three fundamental characteristics: (1) definition and measurement; (2) penetrating description; and (3) analysis of interrrelations of conditions and causes. During the last fifty years there has been evident in the many subsequent surveys undertaken in England an improvement under the first and third of these headings, largely owing to a development in statistical technique and a wider grasp of its value for such a purpose. Illustrative of this development are the works of Rowntree and Bowley, and more recently those of Mess, Owen, Jennings, and others. Some recent surveys have been so delimited in scope as scarcely to satisfy the definition of that term. The unsolved problem in the social survey is that of developing reliable methods for measuring intelligence and temperament.

What is a social survey? The title selected for this article implies that there has been development in the connotation of the term "social survey" in the fifty years since Charles Booth made his great survey of the *Life and Labour of the People of London*. To trace this development it is necessary to start with his conception of a survey.

The distinctive feature of Booth's investigation was that it was scientific in spirit and method. He was concerned, as many others had been before him, by evidences of fairly widespread poverty which were to be seen in the streets of London and by the contrast between the condition of the destitute and the wealthy. But his intelligence was stirred as well as his heart. He went on to ask himself what was the true extent of destitution and what was its root cause, and in searching for answers to these questions he discovered that only vague opinions could be given which had not been put to any factual test. Everyone knew that poverty existed, but no one had any sound basis for tracing its origin or its extent. The social scientist may fittingly recall here the parallel case of Francis Galton, who, by a like process of self-questioning, was led to contribute valuable ideas to the design of statistical methods which were indispensable later to the evolution of the social survey. It had long been apparent to the casual observer that "like begets like," but Galton took a step beyond that familiar ground by asking: How far is this

true and why? So he hit upon a method of measuring the extent to which children resemble their parents and discovering association between different types of resemblance. A simple illustration may be given of the underlying idea. Assembling a number of fathers taller than the average, he found their mean height and proceeded then to ascertain the mean height of their sons. He discovered that if the selected fathers were, on the average, one inch above the mean height of fathers in the general population, their sons were, on the average, half an inch above the mean height of sons in the general population. In other words, he made a direct appeal to facts which nobody could controvert, granted that the material was selected without bias.

In exactly the same way Charles Booth started by defining, as precisely as he could, different categories of poverty, and then by house-to-house investigation he found what proportion of families fell into each category. This gave an immediate answer to one of the questions he had put to himself: it provided for the first time an estimate of the extent of poverty, as defined by Booth, in the area investigated. His researches did not stop there; he gave a vivid and detailed picture of the life of the ordinary working people of London, the industries which occupied their working hours, and their leisure pursuits. But, looked at through his eyes, they ceased to be "ordinary people"; no one who has sought to follow in the footsteps of Charles Booth has been gifted with his genius for portraying the light and shade, the color and the pathos, which transform bare statements of fact into inspired writing capable of so moving the reader that he is eager himself to press forward to the reform of the conditions of which he reads. Moreover, the patient analysis of his material led Booth to certain conclusions and pointed the way to reform: he showed, where possible, the relations between the conditions which he described. In short, his appeal was to the intelligence as well as to the feelings of the reader; it was not just a sentimental appeal of which the effect soon evaporated; it was founded on a basis of logically related facts and figures.

Here then, in brief summary, we have three fundamental characteristics of the social survey as a completed work in the hands of this great pioneer: (1) a clear-cut definition and precise measurement

as opposed to confused impressions and opinions lacking substantiation; (2) a power of description which penetrates below the surface and catches the imagination of the reader by the sensitiveness and sureness of its touch—a human narrative, not merely a directory to the contents of a district; (3) the intelligent relation of conditions and their underlying causes, so that things are not left as they are; the community experiences more sharply than before its sense of responsibility and sees more clearly what steps are necessary for reform.

During the last fifty years many other surveys have been undertaken in England, and a considerable improvement on Booth's achievement can be claimed under the first and third of the above headings, largely owing to a development in statistical technique and a wider grasp of its value for such a purpose. It would be tedious to refer to every notable survey made in recent years.[1] Those which are selected serve to illustrate some special aspect of development, and it must be understood that the unnamed surveys are not necessarily the least important.

Some ten years after Booth's first results were published, Mr. Seebohm Rowntree made a detailed investigation of working-class conditions in the city of York. He aimed at greater precision in his definition of poverty. By the "poor" Booth meant "those who have a sufficiently regular though bare income, such as 18/ to 21/ per week for a moderate family . . . . those whose means may be sufficient, but are barely sufficient, for decent independent life." His was a qualitative definition, whereas Rowntree's was quantitative. Rowntree, by a careful analysis of food values, estimated the amount and cost of food necessary to provide just sufficient fuel energy for a worker and his family. He added to this the cost of rent, clothing, fuel, light, and certain household materials. A family with an income which failed to reach his level of minimum subsistence was said to be in "primary poverty." This he distinguished from "secondary poverty," where the income would have sufficed were it not that some part of it was "absorbed by other expenditure either useful or wasteful." Thus Rowntree's special claim to recognition as a

[1] The reader will find a useful bibliography of surveys at the end of *The Local Social Survey in Great Britain* by A. F. Wells (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1935).

leader in this field rests on the improvement he secured in definition. If we do not agree upon the meaning we propose to give to poverty, we cannot hope to measure it.

Rowntree's study of conditions in York was published in 1901. In 1912–14 Professor Bowley directed a comparative inquiry of a similar kind in five medium-sized towns: Northampton, Warrington, Stanley, Reading, and Bolton. He introduced for the first time in survey work the principle of random sampling, which gave reliable results within known limits and with far less expenditure of labor. Instead of investigating every working-class household, a random sample of about 1 in 20 was selected for visitation. Also for the first time we have an inquiry repeated about ten years later, in the same five towns. These are the new features for which Bowley was responsible: a notable advance in statistical method and the planning of comparable parallel investigations in different areas at the same time and in the same area at different times.

The researches and conclusions of these three men, Booth, Rowntree, and Bowley, inspired others. Factual investigation of this type, with the improvements in method already noted, promised to throw new light upon long-standing social problems. From 1928 onward we have a more or less continuous series of surveys directed by different people; e.g., Henry Mess on Tyneside, ADK. Owen in Sheffield, Hilda Jennings in Brynmawr, Richard Evans in Hull, Percy Ford in Southampton, Terence Young in Becontree and Dagenham, and Herbert Tout in Bristol. Some, like that of Dr. Mess, were in the main confined to an analysis of existing material collected by official and voluntary bodies; nevertheless, the Tyneside inquiry has been singularly successful in arousing public interest and stimulating local committees to action. In others, available material has been supplemented by *ad hoc* investigation. The surveys accomplished have varied greatly in scope and value. The special interest of some lay in the character of the region surveyed; it may have been a particularly depressed area, like Brynmawr, or a newly developed area, like Becontree and Dagenham. Others have been confined to some single aspect, or one or two related aspects, of social life, such as housing, unemployment, standard of living in relation to nutrition, intelligence in relation to fertility. It may be doubted, indeed,

whether these should be classed as social surveys in the full sense of the term. Recalling the three fundamental features of the social survey as conceived and carried out by Charles Booth, to be in line with that tradition it hardly suffices to possess one or even two of those features alone. The precise measurement of the amount of poverty in an area or a lively description of the various types of inhabitant may be of value, but it does not constitute in itself a social survey of the area; separate but largely independent reports on selected problems, though they deal with the inhabitants of a single area and though they be bound together in a single volume, also fail to satisfy the definition. Several different aspects of social life must be studied contemporaneously as a related whole and illuminated by accurate measurement and informative description if we are to have a social survey in the full sense of the term.

Here we are faced with the difficulty that it is impracticable to survey all aspects of social life; since selection is essential, a due sense of proportion must be observed in the attention given to the different aspects selected: some will deserve weightier treatment than others. Besides the content, the question of the approach is one of importance. In Booth's survey consideration was given to both the occupational and the leisure pursuits of the people. In contrast with this, the emphasis in the industrial surveys of their respective regions carried out by representatives of the universities of Manchester, Liverpool, Durham, Cardiff, and Glasgow for the Board of Trade in 1932 was mainly economic. The difference of approach is brought out by the difference in title: an industrial survey is a survey of one aspect, though a very important aspect, of the life of the people. In regional planning surveys, as carried out extensively in this country by Abercrombie and others, the emphasis is different again; it is less on the people than on the region, the aim being its subdivision to suit the various activities in which the people engage without spoiling the amenities of the countryside, part being reserved for factories, part for dwelling-houses, part for recreation, and so on. This too is a social survey in a restricted sense.

A broad distinction may be drawn here between those who describe in detail topographical features of a locality and the institu-

tions and organizations to be found within it and who focus attention upon the action of this environment on the inhabitants—the environmentalist school, as it might be called, represented by Le Play, Patrick Geddes, Branford, and Farquharson—and those who are interested primarily in the people themselves, regarding them as the architects and artificers of the place where they dwell and of the institutions through the medium of which they give expression to their corporate life. Actually there should be no rival division between these two schools, for clearly human beings and their environment act and react upon each other: a man shapes his environment, and his environment in a measure molds the man. There is therefore no reason to exclude from our selected sample of surveys, on account of its title, a survey of the Oxford district, which is still proceeding. The two volumes already issued, the separate contributions of several writers, present a valuable study of the statutory and voluntary social services, with a substantial background of general information about the general character of the area and its inhabitants.

The two surveys which in scope and purpose most nearly resemble the Booth survey are the *New Survey of London Life and Labour* and the *Social Survey of Merseyside*. Modern methods of assessment and analysis and machine tabulation were applied in the former to discover what changes had taken place over the fifty years' interval in the London that Booth had known. The publication of the results of this impressive work was completed in nine volumes in 1935. The first volume, based largely upon material already available in government and other sources, gave a summary sketch of the transformation produced in everyday life and the habits of the people by the development of transport, wireless, and the cinematograph, by the advance in education, the growth of the social services, the decline in size of family, and so on. Two volumes describe the methods used and conclusions reached in the survey of poverty and its concomitant conditions in the eastern and western areas, and another two provide maps illustrating these conditions. Three volumes are devoted to a detailed and fascinating description of the industries of London. Volume IX is of more general interest. It gives an account of various voluntary organizations and what the

people do in their leisure time, with special chapters on crime, sex delinquency, drink, and gambling. Students of social science have in these volumes a rich field for exploration.

The Merseyside survey was undertaken at about the same period as the new London survey. It covered an area containing a population of rather more than one and one-quarter million, and the methods employed closely followed those advocated by Professor Bowley. Roughly, seven thousand working-class families, randomly selected, were visited and detailed particulars obtained about them. This made it possible to draw a picture of the normal working-class population and to use it as a standard by reference to which the position of other special classes, investigated independently, could be measured. In this way the incidence of unemployment, overcrowding, poverty, sickness, and other carefully defined conditions could be compared in different sections of the community. Admirably as Sir H. Llewellyn Smith, Professor Bowley, and their associates did their work in London, there is little doubt that the area they had to survey was unmanageably large. The separate contributions had to be assembled in sections. Those responsible for the Merseyside survey had an advantage in that respect, and the three volumes which contain the account of their researches are perhaps more closely knit on that account. The first opens with a history of the development of the area. The existing inhabitants are analyzed by age, sex, and marital condition. Discussion centers on the family and the home, and the problems of overcrowding and poverty emerge. Unemployment is well known to have been the major factor responsible for present-day poverty, and the second volume proceeds accordingly to an examination of the industrial character of the area and work of different kinds available. Attention is then directed in the final volume to the use of leisure. Selected normal groups in the community pass under review: infants, school children, adolescents, broken families, and pensioners, and one large section devoted to various subnormal types in the population. This leads to a description of the social services upon which certain members of the community lean for support. Cumulative evidence is presented throughout of a marked differential class fertility, and its bearing on the future population is indicated.

It is doubtful whether any of the three last-named surveys could have been undertaken had it not been for the generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation of America, to which large-scale research in this country owes so much. Yet the real wealth of any country consists—in order of importance—first, of its inhabitants; second, in natural resources and amenities; and, third, the products of man's fertile brain and skilled hands found within it. It is surely as important to take stock periodically of this wealth as it is to know the assets of any business firm. A comprehensive social survey is, in effect, a national stock-taking. Every country should be mapped out into suitable regions centered around universities where skilled surveyors ought to be available, and these regions should be surveyed at suitable intervals on a comparable basis. The aim should be not to produce simply a photograph of things as they are but a moving picture exhibiting their trend. Shortly, these are the questions for which we should like answers. Is our population growing or declining in number? Is it improving in physique and health, in intelligence, in temperament, and in character? Are our institutions designed to assist such an improvement? Are we making the best use of our national resources or are we squandering them? Some of these questions it is clearly impossible to answer in our present state of knowledge. We can determine now the probable trend of our population; by periodical measurements of selected sex and age groups in different social classes we can detect an improvement or deterioration in physique; by means of intelligence tests we can tell whether, on the average, it appears that the school children of this generation are more or less intelligent than those of the last. But we have not succeeded yet in devising really satisfactory tests for measuring the intelligence of the adult population; still less can we claim to have discovered reliable methods for measuring temperament or character. Research workers in different countries, however, are devoting themselves to these problems, and progress is not discouraging when we take the long view and compare the population today with that of fifty or even twenty years ago.

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THE LONDON REGION: A METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY IN CRISIS

ALBERT LEPAWSKY

ABSTRACT

Metropolitan London, in its broadest sense, covers an area with a radius of from thirty to sixty miles from the center of the city, extending to the North Sea and the English Channel. Embracing one-eighth of the area of England and one-fourth of the population of Great Britain, Metro London consists of ten governmental authorities overlapping like concentric circles on a target. Following World War I, a prominent geographer offered a scheme for reorganizing the Province of London. In addition, students of government warned that the overlapping of administrative authorities in London would weaken its functional and political unity, both in ordinary times and in crises. After the present war, however, a new London may be built, and steps have already been taken which may integrate these functions into the new society and the neotechnic age.

London is the world's largest city and its most compact metropolitan region. Its significant role in England, in the Empire, and in the world at large, its social structure, and its government make London a most fruitful and fascinating region for research into the elements of community life. But what man has wrought, man can also destroy.

What, then, is this London that is being threatened with destruction? If London should capitulate, what is it that will be sacrificed? How does London function in both peace and war? How is London governed? Where does this immense metropolis really begin and where does it end? When I started my studies of London some seven years ago, a couplet ran through my mind as I dug through the musty records or motored over the modern highways of Metropolitan London:

> London starts no one knows where,
> London stops no one seems to care.

But now I find London standing before me, stark and understandable, as though the incendiarism of war had illuminated the crowded chaos of yesterday into the terrible target of today.

The London target, as the *Luftwaffe* knows it today, is not a single city. It is a score of cities, several counties, dozens of towns and

villages, and a hundred boroughs blanketing the whole southeastern tip of England. For more than a thousand years the City of London was nothing more than a single square-mile trading-post, known as Londinium to the ancient Romans, which happened to be located at the farthest point up the Thames that could accommodate sea-going vessels at high tide and the lowest point at which, in 1176, London Bridge could have been thrown across the river. However, this city, which was described in the sixteenth century by John Stow,[1] London's first modern researcher, as being "about sixty miles from the Sea but not so nigh as to be in danger of a Surprizal by the Fleet of a Foreign Enemy," is today the bull's-eye of the target of London that extends all the way to the sea itself.

The monstrous metropolitan and suburban region that can now be described as Metro London covers a radius of thirty to sixty miles from the city, extends to the North Sea on the east and the English Channel on the south, and embraces an area of six thousand square miles, or one-eighth the area of England, and a population of twelve million, or one-fourth the population of the whole of Britain, including England, Scotland, and Wales. If the crucial campaign of World War II is to be the Battle of Britain, then the outcome depends upon the battle for London, the world's largest city, the capital of the Empire, the hub of Great Britain, the metropolis of an island people who are the last European stronghold against the conquerors of the Continent.

The London leviathan centers on Charing Cross, which is undoubtedly the pedestrian hot-spot of the world. Boswell's Johnson spoke of "the full tide of humanity at Charing Cross" one hundred and fifty years ago, and Johnson should have known, for there still stands that "respectable Hottentot" carved in stone in the churchyard of bomb-scarred St. Clement's Dane, a musket's shot away from Charing Cross. At Charing Cross converge the main subway lines and much of the suburban railway and bus traffic. Only a stone's throw from famous Trafalgar Square, Charing Cross is not

[1] John Stow's *Survay of London* was first published in 1598 but passed through several revisions. The quotation is from John Strype's revision printed in 1720 (Vol. I, p. 4). Stow has had many worthy successors, including Henry Mayhew, Charles Booth, and Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith and his associates in their recent nine-volume *New Survey of London Life and Labour*, started in 1928 and completed in 1935.

far from the meeting-point of the major north-south axis of Central London known as The Kingsway, with the east-west axis known at different points as Fleet Street or the Strand. It is about midway between the city's old centers such as St. Paul's, the Bank, London Bridge, and Waterloo and London's new West End centers such as Piccadilly, Oxford Circus, Hyde Park Corner, Marble Arch—all of which are within three miles of one another. Not only are these major centers of London nucleated around Charing Cross, but the Cross is also at about the statistical center of Metropolitan London's population and of its built-up residential and industrial area. Centered on teeming Charing Cross, the London area is the most compact and circular conurbation in the world, and by the same token it is the most deadly target for aerial bombardment that man could ever have devised to facilitate his own destruction.

How the British metropolis has been virtually constructed target-wise can be seen from London's official map.[2] Actually there are ten official Londons overlapping one another, like concentric circles around a bull's-eye, each one representing the metropolis in its various stages of governmental growth. These are the City of London, the County of London, Police London or Greater London, Port London, Drainage London, Water London, Electricity London, Transport London, Planning London, and Traffic London. Off center here, skewed a bit there, each of these concentric areas, increasing in radius and in population from the smallest to the largest, kaleidoscopes out from the London nucleus until the whole south-eastern corner of England is engulfed by the Metro London that began to emerge long before the present war.

Near the center of the bull's-eye is the City of London, now badly gutted by incendiary bombing, with only one square mile of territory not much larger than Chicago's Loop, and a resident population of only nine thousand souls (1937 estimate).[3] The City plays primarily a financial and economic role, comparable to New York's Wall Street, and indeed it has its own London Wall Street containing remnants

[2] The London County Council, in its annual (now biennial) *London Statistics*, publishes the best map of these London areas.

[3] The population figures for the various Londons are official estimates, mainly for the year 1937, but some for 1936 and 1938 (see *London Statistics, 1936–1938*, chap. i).

of the ancient Roman wall. Governmentally, too, it is still a powerful municipal corporation in spite of the fact that its Guildhall has been bombed out. It has, for example, a police force of its own that is independent of even Scotland Yard, and it exercises important extraterritorial functions including that of acting as the Port of London's Sanitary Authority.

Though its more important docks and harbors are within the City of London, Port London goes far beyond the city boundaries, for it is an elongated district extending sixty-nine miles from Teddington on the west to the Thames's mouth on the east, and is responsible for the second largest port in the world, being surpassed in peacetime only by New York City. Not only does Port London govern London's docks and harbors, which were among the first objectives to be demolished by the *Blitzkrieg*, but it also polices these properties, and its importance in Britain's administrative picture is indicated by the fact that, next to Scotland Yard, it is the second largest police authority in the country.

The next concentric ring on the target is the boundary of London's major municipality which is not a city at all, but a county—the County of London—known popularly as the L.C.C. because it is governed by the London County Council. The L.C.C. is an irregular area with roughly a five-mile radius around the City, a population of four million inhabitants (1938 estimate), and an area of 116 square miles or about the size of Philadelphia, which, by way of contrast, has less than half of London County's population. The "mayor" of the L.C.C, that is, the majority leader of the Council, has for several years been Herbert Morrison, who has sometimes been called the "boss" of London. That the Laborite boss of London is now His Majesty's Minister of Home Security clearly symbolizes the importance of the London target in the Battle of Britain.

Almost coextensive with the L.C.C. but a separate municipal corporation is Drainage London (the London Main Drainage Area) with a population of five and a half million and the slightly larger Water London (Metropolitan Water Board Area), a triangular district with seven and a half million inhabitants, both of which must now keep their network of mains and plants in a sanitary functioning condition amid the nightly wreckage of bombing raids de-

signed to harass just those vital services that must be carried on if London is to keep functioning as a metropolitan community. Incorporated within the L.C.C. boundaries are, moreover, London's metropolitan boroughs, all of them performing local government functions and now neighborhood services for London's air-raid precaution system. For it is to the county and its boroughs that have been assigned some of the crucial functions of auxiliary fire service, blackouts, evacuation, air-raid shelters, first aid, air-raid warnings, salvage, and repair. Some of London's boroughs are well known to Americans. There are Lambeth and Battersea, Kensington and Chelsea, Paddington and Hammersmith, Greenwich and Woolwich, and twenty more boroughs making up the area of London County.

The ring on the target next to the five-mile London County is Greater London, with roughly a fifteen-mile radius around Charing Cross. Greater London is coterminous with Police London, which was established as the Metropolitan Police District in 1832 by Prime Minister Robert Peel, whose nickname "Bobby" has since stuck as the sobriquet of London's police. Greater London or Police London comes closest to the London that is comparable for census purposes with the city of New York, Berlin, Chicago, Paris, Tokyo, as it has been recognized by Britain's registrar-general as the official London census area since 1875. It has an area of seven hundred square miles, which is still less than one-third the area of the New York Metropolitan District as defined by the United States Census Bureau, but it has a population of eight and two-thirds million, thus clearly establishing London's claim as the largest city in the world. It has within its boundaries a total of 101 local government areas, including not only the City of London and the 28 metropolitan boroughs, but 41 other boroughs and 31 urban or rural districts, not to speak of a dozen overlapping counties or special areas. Some of these boroughs and districts in Greater London, such as Croydon and Harrow, Kingston and Richmond, Wimbledon and Epsom, will be readily recognized on this side of the Atlantic, and all of them, whether they be military objectives or not, are fair game for bombers concentrating on the London target.

But the major objectives of the aerial attack are the nerve centers

of the metropolitan power and transport system, owned or governed by Electricity London with its twenty-five-mile radius and Transport London with its thirty-mile radius, both of which cover an equal but not identical territory of 1,800 square miles and have a population of nine and two-thirds million. The London and Home Counties Joint Electricity Authority, which governs Electricity London, controls the operations, rates, and services of the 45 municipally owned generating or distributing systems as well as the 31 private electrical utilities within this district. Transport London's London Passenger Transport Board was established as a public authority after World War I through the efforts of the Labor government and the then minister of transport, Herbert Morrison, to govern the unified system of tubes and busses. In this capacity the integrated and efficient Transport London plays a major role in World War II by continuing to get people to and from their jobs amid the dangers and havoc wrought by night bombardment.

The outermost rings of the London target are the boundaries of Traffic London and Planning London. Covering somewhat more population than the thirty-mile Transport London but slightly less area than the twenty-five-mile Electricity London is Planning London or the official region for the Greater London Regional Planning Committee. When I was last in London, Planning London was principally engaged in replanning two major facilities, airports and cemeteries, thus delimiting the range of the Londoner's hopes and despairs today. Traffic London, for advisory purposes, is the identical region, but the more important Traffic London is to be found in the final official ring on the target, namely, the Metropolitan Traffic Area, which covers a radius of forty miles, an area of 2,400 square miles, and has a total population of ten million.

Thus have we transversed the target as it is zoned on the official London map, from the one-half-mile radius of the City of London with ten thousand inhabitants to the forty-mile radius of Traffic London with ten million. But we have by no means exhausted the real area of either War London or Peace London, whose framework began to emerge even before the present war. Some of the regional arrangements recently made for London's defense are not and should not be too well known, as hostile ears are ever listening for clues to

new objectives for attack and disruption. But official releases have already indicated that some strange boundaries are now being laid down. Inner London may perhaps be considered as the aerial limits of the action areas for eager Spitfires and Hurricanes which fly beyond these mysterious action areas only at the peril of their own antiaircraft barrage. Or perhaps the Inner London War Area may be delimited a thousand feet high by the ugly balloons and their treacherous nets and cables which keep the enemy at so respectable an altitude that Messerschmitts are forever trying to destroy these floating boundaries of Defense London. There are also the ten new defense regions of England, besides Scotland and Wales, which were created for British civil defense purposes.[4] One of these defense areas coincides with Greater London, and another extends over the rest of southeastern England all the way to Dover, with headquarters at Tunbridge Wells adjacent to the Metropolitan Traffic Area, thus giving greater reality to the unity of Metropolitan London.

It is this combination of Londons that constitutes the London target of today, the emerging Metro London of tomorrow. This larger London, reaching out to the sea itself, is already widely recognized by official and unofficial reference to London's home counties which, most widely conceived, include not only London and the adjacent counties of Surrey, Middlesex, and Kent but also Essex to the north and Sussex to the south and certainly the commuter's counties of Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Berkshire, long ago abbreviated in American fashion into the counties of Herts, Bucks, and Berks. Rounded out to conform with topographical, demographical, communicational, cultural, and historical relationships, this area had been regarded as the Province of London as early as 1919 by C. B. Fawcett, one of England's leading geographers, in his brilliant analysis of the twelve provinces for the reconstructed England that was to follow World War I but did not.[5]

[4] See statement of Sir John Anderson, home secretary, in the House of Commons (Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, June 12, 1940, pp. 1289 ff.).

[5] C. B. Fawcett, *Provinces of England: A Study of Some Geographical Aspects of Devolution* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1919). See statement of Mr Norman, valuer of the London County Council, in Royal Commission on London Government, *Minutes of Evidence, 1921*, p. 22. The most recent analysis of the government of Greater London is the comprehensive work of William A. Robson, *The Government and Misgovernment of London* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939).

Not only as a regional province but also as an area for the government of the metropolis itself, which constantly pushes itself into the surrounding countryside, Metropolitan London would embrace the entire southeastern corner of England for a radius of thirty to sixty miles with a total area of six thousand square miles and a population of over twelve million—about the size of Metropolitan Chicago as defined by the University of Chicago social scientists but over twice as populated and immensely more integrated in its daily life. A long-developing railroad network has continually thrown the lengthening arm of commutation far beyond the famed country suburbs around London to the seaside and holiday places of Southend, Margate, Ramsgate, Hastings, Hove, and Brighton, which have now become the new suburban dormitories of the metropolis—London-by-the-Sea, as it were.[6]

But it is not only for the residents of "Snoburbia" that London constantly widens its suburban scope. There are and always have been a ring of Cockney suburbs for the dirty shirt as well as the white collar, a movement that is being strengthened by the growth of London's municipally owned housing estates located far beyond its official borders. London County's Becontree, for example, located in the County of Essex, now houses 115,000 people occupying 25,000 dwellings,[7] a good-sized town of its own, belonging to London, lock, stock, and barrel.

Attempts to arrest London's growth have repeatedly failed. Elizabeth, the Stuarts, and after them Cromwell issued proclamations and enacted statutes "for the preventing of the multiplicity of dwellings in and about the suburbes of London," but to no avail. One hundred years ago William Cobbett decried the overgrowth of the metropolis, the "Great Wen" as he called it, and more recently Patrick Geddes complained of "the octopus of London, polybus, rather."[8] As the present war broke out, the Royal Commission on

[6] The census of 1921 contained place-of-work as well as place-of-residence statistics, but this was not repeated in the 1931 census. The available figures on London commutation offer compelling evidence of the continued suburban trend (see Albert Lepawsky, "Redefining the Metropolitan Region," *National Municipal Review*, XXV [July, 1936], 417–22).

[7] *London Statistics, 1936–1938*, p. 147.

[8] Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, p. 26.

the Distribution of the Industrial Population, known as the Barlow Commission, after two and one-half years of study singled out London and recommended a policy forthwith that would for social, economic, and strategical reasons stop the drift of the industrial population to London and the home counties.[9] But, in spite of evacuation and in spite of the terror of air raids, many suburbanites scurry back at night to seek safety in the tubes and the deep shelters of Central London.

That the all-inclusive London target of the present war should become the unique Metropolitan London of the peace need not surprise us. For the Greater London as established first in 1832 and then officially recognized in 1875 had as sordid an origin as any of the deadly and drastic events that will delimit the shifting London of war and reconstruction. It was in 1592, following the recurrence of the Black Death, that the London parish clerks began to issue the "weekly bills of mortality." From these somber statistics, the number of living were estimated from the dead, and there emerged the enumeration of population for the parishes "in and about London," thus starting the official recognition of the Greater London outside the ancient city.[10] Out of the terror of incendiary bombing, out of the nightly pounding which the whole London target has learned to take, out of the rocks and rubble which merely symbolize the London that was beginning to be rebuilt in any case, there will yet arise the Metro London of the new society and the neotechnic age.

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[9] Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population, *Report* (Cmd. 6153 [Barlow Report] [London, January, 1940]), p. 202. See also the report on *Our Cities* by the National Resources Committee of the United States, now the National Resources Planning Board, commented on by the Barlow *Report*, p. 196.

[10] Captain John Gaunt, "Natural and Political Observations on the Bills of Mortality," *Bills of Mortality, 1657–1758*, chap. x, reprinted from 6th ed. (1676), commented on by Mr Hunt, valuer, London County Council, before Royal Commission on London Government, *Minutes of Evidence, 1921*, p. 135.

THE STATUS FACTOR IN RESIDENTIAL SUCCESSIONS

HAROLD A. GIBBARD

ABSTRACT

Residential succession is a concept referring to the processes entailed in the displacement of one group and its replacement by another in a residential area. In a large city people seek visible symbols of status, among which are areas of residence. The inhabitants of an area determine its value as a status symbol; in turn, the area gives visible expression to the social status of the people living within it. This connection between personal status and area of residence reflects itself in many aspects of the residential succession cycle. This cycle starts with invasion. People of high status in a minority sometimes invade new areas to demonstrate their social position within the minority. In doing so they give each area they enter a new status among the minority and attract others to it. The established residents in an area may resist invasion by various means and, if the resistance fails, may move from the area in large numbers. Behind both these stages of the residential succession cycle is the anticipation that the invasion, if or when successful, will change the symbolic value of the area. The succession completes its course with the reintegration of the area around the succeeding people and the re-establishment of stability in the area. The status factor is only one of a number of motivating factors in the residential succession cycle.

In the older sections of most American cities there are residential areas which have been occupied in turn by many different peoples. Sections that at one time were fashionable have passed through a series of changes and eventually become slums. Elsewhere areas have a shorter history or have better resisted change. The tendency is common for areas of native-white occupancy to change to a more heterogeneous condition; many of these in turn come to be dominated by a cultural or racial minority.

The term "succession" is employed in this paper to conceptualize the cycle of change that occurs when one population type, or ecological order, displaces the immediately preceding one in a functionally delimited area. It is intended to point to the nature of the processes of areal transition and the relation of the new and invading element to the old one in the area. This usage makes "invasion" one of a temporal series of overlapping stages in the cycle of transition.

There are many different types of succession, each with its own characteristics and life-cycle. Residential succession constitutes

only one such type. The concept "residential succession" is used here to refer to the processes entailed in the displacement and replacement of one population type by another in a built-up residential area. It does not presuppose any rebuilding in the area.

In a residential invasion two sets of people are brought together; usually there is a status difference between them. A residential succession may be said to have occurred only if the population which enters and establishes itself in the area differs in certain respects from the one which it supplants. The differences between the two may be economic or cultural or racial.

The social status of the participants affects the course of residential successions. Inside our urban communities people are concerned not only with their social position among people with whom they have some special connection, as in their professions and their friendship groups, but also with their position and that of the people with whom they identify themselves, in the larger community. In an impersonal setting, such as the large city, community status does not rest on any intimate evaluation of the person. Instead, certain easily recognizable traits, such as possessions, become symbolic of each status class. Among the urban badges of status are areas of residence. Each residential area, then, has a status value in the eyes of the community.[1]

The tendency is for residents to resist the entrance into their neighborhood of others who would give the area a less desirable character. It seems a paradox that while one's neighborhood appears to act as a badge of his status, it retains this symbolic character only so long as people of a desirable sort are identified with it. This is to say that while a person may take on the status that is represented in the symbol through being identified with it, the status value of the symbol depends on the place in the com-

[1] This is not to imply that residental areas might be ranked on one continuum from highest to lowest. The factors that affect the status value of any one area are complex; among them are the rent level of the area, the ethnic or racial characteristics of its nhabitants, possibly the tradition that has become attached to it, the presence of prominent families in it, etc. An area might assume its character from a number of such factors; e.g., it might be a low-class native-white area or an upper-professional-class Negro area.

munity of the whole class of persons to which it is attached and so is subject to change. A neighborhood that is desirable at one time may become less desirable if it comes to be occupied by families of another social class or another ethnic or racial type.

An ideal typical picture of a residential succession, at least when minority peoples are involved, entails a number of aspects or stages. These are interwoven and overlap in time. Perhaps the best understanding may be attained by considering the various stages as consecutively dominant characteristics in the residential succession life-cycle. The first step, assuming the presence of conditions within which invasion is possible, is invasion. This is usually met by resistance by the old-established residents in the area, which is the second stage. Third, should the resistance not hold, is the exodus of old residents, and the rapid influx of new ones. Fourth is the reintegration of the residential area around the succeeding people and, perhaps, the establishment of their institutions in the territory. The cycle is completed with the reattainment of relative stability of occupancy in the area.

Not all of these stages—if they may be thought of as constituting stages—reveal the play of the status factor in the succession situation. At least where minority people are the invaders, however, it may be shown that the first three stages mentioned are often characterized by a struggle for social position or for the maintenance of a status position already gained. Whether or not the picture is essentially the same when only different social classes of native-white Americans are involved remains to be established.

Invasions occur for a multitude of reasons. Some are the result of physical or economic pressure, as, for instance, when people are displaced by the taking-over of residential property for business purposes. When singling out invasions for observation, this paper treats only those that are undertaken without such compulsion—i.e., when people of one cultural or racial type move of their own volition into an area occupied by people of some different type. It is in these invasions that the play of status is most evident.

One of the most important facts about voluntary invasions by minority peoples is that usually they are led by families that are

socially and economically prominent, when judged by the standards of the minority.[2]

While minority peoples are ordinarily capable of co-operative action when the welfare or social position of the whole minority is in question, nevertheless within each there tends to be a competitive class structure having much the same pattern as is found in the native-white population of any American city. A colored real estate agent, in Detroit, says: "What my people need is a number of different [residential] sections suitable for different classes of people. Some would have to be for the lowest type. Others should be solely for the well-to-do among us." While he may not have been expressing a view consciously held by many Detroit Negroes, he did at least reveal his own awareness of class divisions within his minority and his hope for residential segregation for each class. Behind this view lies the fact that an economic succession has occurred within a solidly colored area near his home. The crowding of low-income families around a small area of professional and business-class occupancy caused a number of families with higher incomes to move. Most of these latter entered an area where the successful invasion of a few well-to-do families had made it desirable and relatively easy for them to get homes. The places which they left were taken over by people of lower income.

In the tendency for those occupying a high social position to set themselves apart from others of their minority—i.e, to give spatial expression to their status roles—we have one of the prime reasons for residential invasion. Invasions frequently are into residential areas where the rent level is higher than the mass of the minority can pay.[3] The tendency for social status to have an

[2] Some minority families acquire considerable wealth without gaining corresponding prestige among their own people. Such is sometimes the case among families getting their wealth from racketeering and other illegal practices. To the writer's knowledge, no study of invasions started by such people has been made, and the analysis which follows does not necessarily apply to such cases.

[3] The first invaders, in fact, are frequently able and willing to pay higher rental or purchase prices than were prevalent in the area before their entry; their offers of higher prices being intended to offset resistance to their entrance. Because of a knowledge of this practice among Negroes, real estate men sometimes quote higher prices to them than to whites. During the early stages of a succession the exchange value of property frequently holds above the level previously obtaining.

economic basis, even among minorities, has both a compulsive and a restrictive aspect. That is, on the one hand, it makes necessary the displaying of one's economic position; on the other, it enables only a select number to obtain satisfactory overt symbols of wealth and status. Thus, an invasion may give the participants a chance to identify themselves with a residential area which others of their minority cannot, at the time, enter. Such invasions are often more closely connected with the social position of the first invaders among their own peoples than with any real hope of being identified with the old-established residents in the areas invaded.

The tendency, then, is for the economic and status level of an area of invasion to stand relatively high, in the eyes of the masses of the population type involved, during the early stages of the succession cycle. Frequently those people who are eager to share the reputation of the first invaders try to follow them. The prestige of the first families provides an impetus for the continuation of the invasion. Occasionally one hears Italians and Negroes describe neighborhoods to which they are moving by identifying prominent people with these neighborhoods. It is rare, however, that people being thus attracted are able both to see and to confess the operation of this status pull.

In a community that is made up of diverse peoples the tendency is for a person of any one ethnic or racial type to recognize social differences among those of his own type, but to identify members of other groups simply by their broad racial or cultural affiliations. Native whites will commonly view prominent Italians simply as Italians, or laboring-class Negroes simply as Negroes. Families who lead invasions are viewed by the residents established in the area not as people having esteem among others of their own kind but as people fitting the existing stereotype of the race or nationality to which they belong. The tendency is, then, either to resist the invasion or to abandon the area to the newcomers. Were it not for the fact that the first invaders are usually unwelcome and provoke a vacating of other houses in the same vicinity, the invasion would be checked because of a lack of dwellings into which the newcomers could move. These first families, then, whether they wish it or not, fill the double function of driving the established

occupants from the invaded area and attracting others of their own group to replace those who leave.

In the rapidity of turnover that follows—assuming the breakdown of resistance against the invasion—the relative supply and demand of dwellings is often such as to bring down the prevailing rent levels. When this happens, the economic level of those who enter late in the succession is likely to be somewhat lower than that of the first entrants in the invasion. The occurrence of this situation defeats the hope of gaining class segregation by the invasion of a new residential area.

Before this occurs, however, the early residents may attempt to stop the continued influx of newcomers into the invaded area. These activities may be said to constitute the second stage of the succession cycle. However, they do not always occur; for instance, they frequently do not when the area of invasion is one of high mobility or when there are many vacant dwellings. Sometimes, too, they occur, in anticipation of it, before the invasion begins.

Resistance to invasions may take several forms. Among them are, first, individual decisions not to rent or sell property to any so-called "undesirable" type and personal pressures upon others to make similar decisions; second, collective agreements or "restrictive covenants" formally entered into by property owners who are banded together in neighborhood improvement associations; third, subscription to the code of ethics of the National Association of Real Estate Boards;[4] and, last, mob actions.

The intensity of resistance, as also its form, varies from place to place. Such factors as the amount of neighborhood rapport, residential intrenchment through home ownership, and the like, are of real importance. When matters such as these are taken into account, the vigor of the opposition to real or threatened invasion

[4] Article 34 of the Code of Ethics of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, to which all member realtors subscribe, reads: "A Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values of that neighborhood." The article has been universally interpreted to mean that no realtor should rent or sell a house in a solidly white neighborhood to a Negro. No consistent policy has been followed in its application to European immigrants.

appears to be a direct correlative of the social distance between the two sets of people involved.

Behind three of the four above-mentioned forms of resistance to invasions might be hypothesized the operation of status attitudes. (This leaves out of account the institutional control inside real estate boards.) Individual decisions and pressures are ordinarily called into play as an invasion starts or shortly afterward. Collective agreements are usually entered into as a means of checking anticipated invasions; these are usually directed specifically at "non-Caucasians." Both these forms of resistance carry with them the hope of preserving the economic, cultural, and racial character of the section. These latter are factors which affect the status position of the area in the whole community.

Resort to mob action to check invasions has occurred but rarely in any community; however, some instance of it may be found in a very large number of cities.[5] Virtually all such riots as have been reported have been directed at people of a minority race. In Detroit a number of riots occurred in the summer of 1925, when anti-Negro feeling was inflamed by a rapid influx of colored people into jobs and into white residential areas. These took place in fairly good residential areas, in front of dwellings into which prominent Negroes had just moved. In appraising such actions it must be assumed that a number of the participants were drawn into them by the excitement of the occasion. On the other hand, many others, including probably the leaders, were in all likelihood releasing their conventionally repressed attitudes and giving expression to deep-seated feelings against Negro invasion. If this interpretation is correct, we may infer that the known cases of mob tactics betray a deep, persistent resentment against the entrance of racial minorities into white residential areas.

The ostensible reason for resistance against invasion is that property values will be affected adversely. The rent level which comes to obtain after a succession results from the demand for houses in the area by the new occupants and may be either higher or lower than before the invasion. Sometimes, it is true, values

[5] See President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, *Negro Housing* (Washington, D.C., 1932), pp. 46–47.

decline more than can be accounted for by the physical depreciation of the area. Why does this happen? Behind the anticipation of economic decline there is the assumption that the area will be abandoned by all those in the area who can leave. Were it not for the fact that invasion lowers the desirability of a residential area for those already in it, there would be no large-scale exodus, and the succession would remain incomplete. In cases where obsolescence[6] accompanies succession, it ensues from the abandonment of the area to people who can afford only a lower rent.

The exodus of the older residents in an invaded area is motivated by the anticipation of a change in the character of the area and a change in its community status. The withdrawal from the area, thus stimulated, allows the invasion to continue and a relatively complete displacement and replacement to occur. Should the invaders succeed in taking over the area and establishing themselves and their institutions in it, the succession will have run its course.

The extent to which any residential succession conforms to this cycle depends on a number of local circumstances. The course of areal transformation is usually least precise and most difficult to trace when the succession will produce only a slight change in the character of the area. It tends to be clearest when the identification which people have with their areas is strengthened by home ownership and when there is a wide status difference between the established residents and the invaders. Paralleling this, the status factor is least discernible when there is no wide difference between the invaders and the invaded; while similarly, it is most clearly observable when a fairly stable residential area has been entered and when the social distance between the two groups is great. In any case, status motivation is but one of a number of elements that may be seen in the succession situation.

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[6] The term "obsolescence" is used in treatises on real estate to designate losses in property value due to "social" causes. It is contrasted with "depreciation" or a decline due to physical deterioration.

FORCES OF URBAN CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION

HOMER HOYT

ABSTRACT

Urban concentralization may signify either the settlement of a large percentage of a nation's population in metropolitan areas or the concentration of the dwellers of any city into a compact mass with high population density per acre. The term is used in this article in both senses. The urban functions that once contributed to urban centralization, namely, (1) centralized governmental power, (2) defense, (3) religion, (4) amusement, (5) trade, (6) industry, (7) transportation, (8) finance and banking, and (9) utilities, are now promoting urban decentralization in the form of the exodus of the residential population from central areas to the periphery of cities. A historical review of urban development shows that the original small nations in the Mediterranean basin were finally merged into the Roman Empire, with the apex of ancient urban civilization at Rome itself. The disintegration of the Roman Empire caused urban decentralization in the sense of the breaking-up of large cities. The small feudal states of the early Middle Ages could support only villages or small towns in Europe. The rise of modern urban communities began with the growth of commerce and the discoveries of the Portuguese and Spanish navigators. England became the first great commercial manufacturing nation and became highly urbanized by the middle of the nineteenth century. The United States and Germany made rapid progress in industrialization and urbanization from 1851 to 1891. The competition between rival industrial-urban nations was one of the chief causes of World War I. After 1920, Russia, Italy, and Japan endeavored to develop self-sufficing industrial-military systems, thereby increasing the population of their great cities but also heightening the tension leading to World War II. The prospects for continued urban centralization in all these powers are not favorable, for the victory of one group of nations will tend to inhibit the growth of urbanism in the defeated states.

The term "urban centralization" may have a twofold meaning. First, it may signify the concentration of a considerable proportion of the population of a nation into great cities. Second, it may mean that the workshops and residences of any given urban community are concentrated in a compact mass rather than spread thinly over its metropolitan region. Conversely, the phrase "urban decentralization" may signify the breaking-up of large cities into widely separated small towns, or it may denote movement of the industries and the residential population from the center to the periphery of the same urban mass. It is proposed in this article to discuss the functions affecting urban centralization and decentralization in both these senses. First, what are these centripetal and centrifugal urban forces?

The following functions, which may be regarded as the primary causes of the association of people in cities and which serve to explain why the city is possible and desirable, may be enumerated: (1) centralized gov-

ernmental power, (2) defense, (3) religion, (4) amusement, (5) trade, (6) industry, (7) transportation, (8) finance and banking, and (9) utilities.

Cities can come into existence only when there is an agricultural surplus which can be transported to a population which does not raise its food directly. It is true that large agricultural villages may be simply a cluster of farmhouses, grouped together for community living, but the great city, with its government officials, merchants, industrialists, etc., is a community depending upon the exchange of its services for the products of the soil. Hence there must be a basis for exchange between the city and its tributary rural area, whether it be exchange of goods and services or a levy by the city for taxes or tribute. There must be means of transportation for bringing food to the city, and there must be a governmental authority capable of protecting the supply lines from seizure by hostile nations or robbers.

I. CENTRALIZED POWER

When ancient empires extended their sway over rival territories as in the case of ancient Persia or Rome, they increased the tributary area of the capital city and enabled it to become a great metropolis. Conversely, a series of small feudal states will have hinterlands of limited scope and will consequently be characterized by a village or small-town economy. In the great city the palace of the king or emperor is the center of authority and the apex of social desirability. Near by is the gold hoard or the treasury, the palaces of nobles, and the temples of the gods.

In the United States today the growth of the federal power has accelerated the expansion of Washington, D.C., and its environs. A factor aiding the decentralization of cities, on the other hand, is the maintenance of numerous independent political subdivisions, towns and cities in the same metropolitan area with differences in tax rates, zoning, and municipal regulations. The central city in the metropolitan community may be the chief workshop of the region and may bear the chief costs of water supply, port facilities, schools, etc., but its workers may seek to escape from the municipal costs of the highly integrated centers by taking up their residence in suburban towns or country districts whose tax rates are lower because they do not have to bear the costs of the complex functions of the central city. In this case centralization of municipal power by incorporating all the satellite towns and suburban communities into one metropolitan community would simplify the governmental procedure and result in a more equitable distribution of the tax burden among those who share in the benefit of the metropolitan region. One of the causes of

urban decentralization within the metropolitan community is the movement of people working in the city to communities with lower taxes on the fringe of the metropolitan region.

II. DEFENSE

The pattern of the ancient city was compact because it was surrounded by a wall. Protection of life and property was once the most vital reason for urban centralization. In early America the settlers gathered behind the walls of a stockade or fort during Indian raids. Ancient cities were built around a hill like the Acropolis of Athens or the Capitoline Hill of Rome, which were their chief stronghold. Walls inclosed an area of land around this citadel large enough to house the population of the tributary area in case of invasion and even to provide for emergency gardens. The walls of cities on a flat plain were sometimes very imposing, reputedly being 72 feet high in the case of ancient Babylon.

The city population lived in a very compact area in these ancient walled cities. The streets of Rome were only 7–10 feet wide; tenaments reached a height of 10 stories; and a population of 1,000,000 at the time of Augustus was compressed within 6 or 7 square miles.

When a nation maintained armies on its frontiers and established peace and order over a wide area, walls inclosing the cities were unimportant, even in ancient times. Cnossus in Crete evidently depended for security on a navy and was not walled. In ancient Egypt the cities were protected by the desert and their comparative isolation in the Nile Valley. When Augustus established order in the ancient world, suburbs grew beyond the walls of Rome and Carthage. The internal structure of the city could then show expansion of villas on the periphery. Marco Polo likewise reports that the main city of Kubla Khan had twelve suburbs beyond each of the principal gates, because the Khan maintained post roads and military power over a vast territory. Nevertheless, a walled city like Constantinople was a stronghold in an emergency, and the soldiers of the Byzantine Empire were forced to retreat many times behind the fortifications of their principal city.

Modern artillery and airplanes, however, have made the compact walled city an easy target for long-range shells and bombs. Modern military defense instead of being a centralizing is a decentralizing urban force. Airplane factories are more secure from hostile attack when decentralized or divided into small branches protected by a screen of trees. People are safest when scattered in rural homes. Thus the function of defense now

tends to cause dispersion of the urban mass instead of its increased concentration.

III. RELIGION

Religion was at first a centralizing force. The temple of the god was the seat of authority or a sanctuary from enemies. Conquering nations of the ancient world not only overthrew the kings of small states but also their local gods and established one paramount deity for the empire, with the temple in the capital city. Thus Bel was enshrined in Babylon, Assur in Nineveh, Ammon in Thebes. When worshipers of numerous local deities met in a common center, as at Mecca, the way was prepared for uniting Arabia under one god with Mohammed as his prophet. The prestige of ancient Rome as an imperial city led to its emergence as the dominating seat of papal authority. The cathedral was the most imposing edifice in the medieval town. With the rise of the numerous sects of Protestantism and the decline in the emphasis upon the physical temple or cathedral as the center of religious authority, religion has declined as a factor in urban centralization.

IV. AMUSEMENT

The theater of Periclean Athens or of Elizabethan England, the pageantry of the retinue of a great lord passing through the streets of London, the religious festivals with a parade from the principal gate of the city to the temple of the god—all these attract people as the flame attracts moths. It is in the capital city where the greatest amphitheater, the most elaborate gladiatorial games, and the best performers are found. Championship prize fights, major-league baseball, are magnets for the modern urban crowd. The sights of the metropolis, whether it be the Acropolis of Athens, the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, the Forum of Rome, St. Paul's in London, Notre Dame or the Eiffel Tower in Paris, the Washington Monument or the Empire State Building, are marvels to the country bumpkin. The city bright lights, night clubs, and the theater draw people to a central area in the metropolis where the most famous performers appear.

In the central business districts of our great cities the stage formerly exerted a centralizing urban influence. Now the advent of the motion picture and the radio have proved powerful decentralizing factors because the best motion picture can be seen at the outlying neighborhood theater and the President of the United States can be heard in a fireside chat at every farm home.

V. TRADE

The necessity of meeting at a common place for the exchange of goods at some port or crossroads is a centripetal urban force. The Forum of Rome was the central market of the Empire. In medieval times trade was sporadic with fairs and markets at stated intervals, but in modern times it has become a regular and systematic occurrence. Daily crowd movements along certain streets have created shopping habits. The department store, offering many specialties under one roof, was a centralizing influence in the retail trades. Hence buildings like the Merchandise Mart in Chicago likewise concentrated a considerable part of the wholesale trade of the city under a single roof.

The mail-order house, the chain store, and the specialty shops in outlying centers have been decentralizing retail factors, however. Difficulty in finding parking places for automobiles has accelerated the growth of satellite loops with branches of the central department stores. Similarly, direct buying from factories has decentralized wholesale trading.

VI. INDUSTRY

The modern industrial city was ushered in by the steam engine. Concentration of workers in factories was necessitated by the fact that steam power had to be used near its point of generation. In days of slow transportation that likewise meant concentration of homes near the factories. Electric power is decentralizing because electric current can be distributed over a wide area. Automobiles have likewise increased the mobility of the worker. While factories are still predominantly located in great metropolitan areas, they are now at the fringe of those areas rather than at the center, because the advantage of cheap land, permitting one-story factories and continuity of industrial operations, railroad freight-car service to the factory, and low taxes, can best be served on the periphery of the city, where the outer railroad belt lines, the auto truck, and the automobile furnish transportation for goods and for labor.

VII. FINANCE AND BANKING

Brokers necessarily meet in a central place to constitute a common market for securities and commodities. Cable lines, telegraph wires, telephone lines, come to a focus at a common point and relay the minute-to-minute changes in prices to all parts of the world. Stock exchanges and commodity exchanges are centripetal forces. Yet the decline in security trading in the United States has lessened the importance of this type of financial centralization. Branch banking also disperses concentrated banking-power to some extent.

VIII. TRANSPORTATION

Transportation permits great cities to come into existence by tapping a sufficiently wide agricultural area to supply them with food. It likewise permits a large population to work and trade in a central city by expanding the radius within which they can live and commute to the metropolis. Yet swift transportation by automobile has been a great decentralizing factor in the internal pattern of cities, for it permits the urban population to spread out in a pattern of diffuse settlement rather than to gather in a concentrated mass.

IX. UTILITIES

Utilities, such as paved streets and sewerage, are centralizing forces and once constituted one of the chief attractions of the city. Prior to 1900, after the city line was passed, a quagmire of mud or a cloud of dust was encountered. City conveniences and modern bathtubs were not to be found.

First the telephone, then electric lights, the concrete highway and automobile, the septic tank, and the radio gave the advantages of the city to the rural-urban fringe. The city dweller can now have his garden in the country, in a community of curving streets and cul-de-sacs, and still retain the comforts of the city in his home. Thus utilities likewise have become a centrifugal urban force.

Such has been the separate effect of each of the functions affecting urban centralization or decentralization. How have these forces operated to produce the rise and fall of great cities over the period of recorded history? A complete analysis of urbanism would, of course, require an encyclopedia, but a brief review of some of the significant turning-points may direct the way to further studies.

In ancient Egypt in the valley of the Nile one of the first urban civilizations developed. At first in the period prior to 4000 B.C., the Nile Valley was divided into approximately twenty feudal states or nomes, each with small villages. The consolidation of Egypt into two kingdoms and finally into one, with the triumph of one king and one god, led to a centralization of authority in one great metropolis—Memphis, in the delta of the Nile. The advantages of unified administration of the irrigation system of the Nile facilitated the rise of this central power.

The surplus food of the Nile Valley supported the pharoah and priests, the river Nile was the medium of transportation, the deserts on both sides of the Nile protected the country from external invasion, and a powerful ruler maintained internal order. The structure of these cities was in the form of long and narrow settled areas along the margin between the in-

undated area and the desert. Compact circular walled cities were not necessary because of Egypt's relative isolation.

In Mesopotamia, on the other hand, great walled cities like Babylon arose because of the proximity of marauding tribes. Cities in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley struggled with one another for mastery, and Babylon was the metropolis of the conquering king and god. Similarly, Nineveh became a great capital when the constant wars of the Assyrians had reduced hundreds of petty kingdoms with smaller towns into submission. Thus, as a result of innumerable blitzkriegs by ancient military states, the Near East was consolidated into four great kingdoms—Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, and Lydia. The Persians blotted out Assyria and conquered Lydia, Babylon, and Egypt. Consequently, the Persian kings acquired one consolidated empire embracing all these ancient kingdoms, and the tribute of this ancient world was sent to the new capitals which their kings established. Alexander the Great in turn won the Persian Empire and the accumulated gold hoard of the ancient world in a few decisive battles.

Meanwhile in the western Mediterranean, the city of Rome was contending first with other small cities in Italy and finally with Carthage for the supremacy of the western Mediterranean. Spain and Gaul were then in a tribal stage. When Rome had finally crushed Carthage, the petty tribal states of Spain had likewise been broken down by superior military power. Caesar later smashed the tribal federations in Gaul. Thus Rome pulverized the tribal economy in the West and prepared the way for urban centralization. Into the lap of the disciplined legions of Rome, without a serious struggle, fell the East, where Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, and Macedonians had previously broken up local autonomy and established centralized authority. Thus, Rome by the time of Augustus became the heir of the ancient Mediterranean world. At the beginning of the Christian Era peace and order had been established over the entire borders of this great inland sea. Urbanism reached its peak up to that time. The population of Rome reached a million, and it was supported by imports of grain from Sicily, Egypt, or North Africa levied as taxes.

Hundreds of other cities connected by hard-surfaced roads flourished in the Roman Empire. These cities were protected not by their walls but by the Roman legions stationed on the frontiers. Hence the original compact walled city could expand into the suburbs. Rich Romans had their villas in the country. Outside of rebuilt Carthage were *horti* or large estates with gardens.

These great cities of the Roman Empire did not exist primarily be-

cause of manufacturing or even because of trade. Centralized governmental authority with power to collect a surplus from the country districts to support a city population made great Roman cities possible, and amusements in the form of gladiatorial games, circuses, theaters, and baths made these urban centers attractive and desirable.

The internal decay of the Roman Empire in the third century A.D. and its final disintegration in the West by the fifth and sixth centuries of our era destroyed the basis of this great urban civilization. Trade routes were broken up by invading tribes so that food could no longer be shipped to the cities, and the authority was lacking to collect the surplus products of the provinces. The population of Rome declined from the million of the time of Augustus to 50,000 by the sixth century A.D. Only Constantinople remained as the great fortified city of this ancient world.

Urban decentralization in the sense that there were thousands of villages and few great cities reached its peak in the Dark Ages or the ninth or tenth centuries A.D. At that time there were nine hundred feudal states in France alone, and constant warfare was waged between thousands of petty barons. The size of towns was limited by the agricultural area near by which could be protected by the power of the local lord. Gradually consolidation of the authority of the king or the central power began in France, and it was achieved in England quickly by William the Conqueror in A.D. 1066.

The cities that began to rise in the Middle Ages were based on trade, which was at first small in volume and limited to a few necessities such as salt, iron, or wool. These cities protected their commerce by force, and, when national states were small and the power of the king or emperor weak, a city could hold a relatively strong position.

By means of its navy, Venice, acting as intermediary in the trade between Europe and the Orient in spices and silk, rose to prominence. Portuguese navigators encircled Africa and tapped the rich spice trade at its source, making Lisbon for the time the center of world-commerce. Spain, with the best army in Europe and a great armada, discovered and took over the new world with its gold and silver. Holland conquered the Portuguese and became the heirs of the East Indies.

It was England, however, who finally emerged as the chief trading nation, beginning with the conquest of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Laying the basis by colonization of the Americas, by conquering India, by settling in Africa and Australia, by acquiring key positions in Gibralter, Suez, Singapore, Hong Kong, etc., and by the supremacy of her navy, England established free world-commerce. This trade engendered a demand for English manufactured goods, which led to the invention of the spinning

jenny, the steam engine, and all the other mechanical devices for making goods cheaper and faster.

The tremendous expansion of urbanism in the past century was made possible by steam power applied to manufacturing, for it permitted an industrial nation to draw food and materials from all the agricultural raw material-producing nations to keep its factories going and to support concentrated population in its cities.

England first had a monopoly on the new manufacturing processes, and then urbanism made most rapid strides. Even by 1801, 17 per cent of its population lived in cities of 20,000 or over, and by 1851 over half of its population lived in such cities. In 1851 the United States and Prussia were in their industrial infancy, and only 6 per cent of the population of the United States, 3 per cent of the population of Prussia, and 1.6 per cent of the population of Russia lived in cities of 100,000 or over.

After the Civil War in the United States and after the Franco-Prussian War both the United States and Germany forged ahead as industrial nations and competed with England for the markets of the world. Urbanism grew with industrialism as the percentage of people living in cities of 100,000 and over increased from 6 to 15.5 per cent in the United States, and from 3 to 13 per cent in Prussia from 1851 to 1891. The industrial rivalry between Great Britain and Germany was one of the outstanding causes of World War I.

In 1914, Russia, Italy, and Japan were relatively backward industrially; but, since the first world war demonstrated that industrialization and consequently urbanization was a prerequisite to military power, all these nations hastened to build up self-sufficing factory systems. Consequently, the proportion of persons living in cities of 100,000 and over between 1891 and 1931 increased from 7 per cent to 17 per cent in Italy and from 6 per cent to 22 per cent in Japan. Russia, under its five-year plans, hastened to expand its basic industries, and from 1926 to 1939 its urban population increased from 17 per cent to 33 per cent of its total population. Thus, as a result of competition between great industrial nations, the proportion of the population living in great cities in the past century and a half greatly increased first in England, then in the United States and Germany, and finally in Italy, Russia, and Japan. Urbanization also proceeded rapidly in Australia and in the great seaport trading cities of Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Shanghai, Calcutta, and Bombay. In the period from 1800 to 1940, thirty-eight cities gained 1,000,000 population for the first time.

Notwithstanding these rapid strides of urbanism, the Orient remains predominately in the stage of village economy. Five-sixths of the world's

population still live in several million agricultural villages. This village society is the matrix out of which the great city rose in the past and into which it will disintegrate if our highly interrelated urban civilization should ever collapse.

Great cities have thus expanded with the rise of competing industrial nations, each of which has sufficient manufacturing capacity to supply most of the world. In the second world war two groups of industrial powers are in a life-and-death struggle with each other. Both cannot win. To maintain the present population of London, Liverpool, and Birmingham, England must have a world-wide trade. If England's trade routes are disrupted, her great cities will decline. On the other hand, by seizing Vienna, Warsaw, Prague, Copenhagen, Oslo, Brussels, Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Paris, Germany has subordinated these cities to her economy. If German cities expand as a result of domination of the European continent, these other continental cities will probable dwindle. If the German power is smashed, Berlin and Hamburg will shrink. The cities in the United States, like New York, which were dependent for part of their support upon the great flow of commerce between North America and Europe, may likewise be adversely affected by the closing of markets in Europe, Africa, and Asia by hostile powers.

It thus appears that the spectacular growth of urbanism of the past century and a half has come to at least a temporary halt. The world-population, which increased from 800,000,000 to over 2,000,000,000 in that period, cannot continue to gain at the same rate. The decline in the birth rate in the United States and western Europe, the damming-up of the stream of immigration, the disruption of trade routes by wars and government control, and the bombing of great cities from the air are all tending to restrict the sources of growth of great aggregations of population.

The breakup of the large metropolitan area has not yet come to pass within the United States. The population of eight of our largest cities did fail to gain from 1930 to 1940, which was the first decade in our history in which the largest cities did not increase their numbers. However, the suburbs of these eight cities are still growing. Inner decay at the city's center is taking place, because of the decentralizing trends in manufacturing, trade, religion, amusements, transportation, and utilities which have already been noted. A greater danger lurks ahead, that the whole supporting bases of our great metropolitan areas will be so weakened by war, high taxes, and class conflicts that the structure of our highly specialized urban society of today will begin to crack and will finally collapse as did the urban civilization of the Roman Empire.

CHICAGO PLAN COMMISSION

A THEORY OF LOCATION FOR CITIES

EDWARD ULLMAN

ABSTRACT

Many studies have shown that cities are not scattered over the earth illogically, but a general theory of location has been lacking. The orderly spacing of towns as service centers forms a basis for a settlement-distribution theory. Service centers range in size from hamlets performing a few simple functions up to large cities providing specialized services for a large tributary region composed of the service areas of smaller towns. Thus, in an entirely uniform land the larger the town, the larger its tributary area should be. On the basis of a South German "norm" of areal organization Christaller has worked out deductively the central-place theory for distribution of settlements. He sets up typical settlement sizes, determines the normal number of towns in each class, as well as the spacing of the centers, and the area and population of their tributary areas. The theory applies better to agricultural areas than to industrial districts. It is not static but changes to fit changes in underlying conditions, particularly transportation. The system also varies from place to place in the world in line with population density, type of agriculture, governmental organization, and many other factors. These underlying regional differences make possible comparisons between central-place systems in the United States and elsewhere. After further refinement some form of the theory should provide a logical framework for study of existing distributions and perhaps for planning optimum spacing of new settlements.

I

Periodically in the past century the location and distribution of cities and settlements have been studied. Important contributions have been made by individuals in many disciplines. Partly because of the diversity and un-co-ordinated nature of the attack and partly because of the complexities and variables involved, a systematic theory has been slow to evolve, in contrast to the advances in the field of industrial location.[1]

The first theoretical statement of modern importance was von Thünen's *Der isolierte Staat*, initially published in 1826, wherein he postulated an entirely uniform land surface and showed that under ideal conditions a city would develop in the center of this land area and concentric rings of land use would develop around the central city. In 1841 Kohl investigated the relation between cities and the natural and cultural environment, paying particular attention to the effect of transport routes on the location of urban centers.[2] In 1894 Cooley admirably demonstrated the channelizing influence that transportation routes, particularly

[1] Cf. Tord Palander, *Beiträge zur Standortstheorie* (Uppsala, Sweden, 1935), or E. M. Hoover, Jr., *Location Theory and the Shoe and Leather Industries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937).

[2] J. G. Kohl, *Der Verkehr und die Ansiedlungen der Menschen in ihrer Abhängikeit von der Gestaltung der Erdoberfläche* (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1850).

rail, would have on the location and development of trade centers.[3] He also called attention to break in transportation as a city-builder just as Ratzel had earlier. In 1927 Haig sought to determine why there was such a large concentration of population and manufacturing in the largest cities.[4] Since concentration occurs where assembly of material is cheapest, all business functions, except extraction and transportation, ideally should be located in cities where transportation is least costly. Exceptions are provided by the processing of perishable goods, as in sugar centrals, and of large weight-losing commodities, as in smelters. Haig's theoretical treatment is of a different type from those just cited but should be included as an excellent example of a "concentration" study.

In 1927 Bobeck[5] showed that German geographers since 1899, following Schlüter and others, had concerned themselves largely with the internal geography of cities, with the pattern of land use and forms within the urban limits, in contrast to the problem of location and support of cities. Such preoccupation with internal urban structure has also characterized the recent work of geographers in America and other countries. Bobeck insisted with reason that such studies, valuable though they were, constituted only half the field of urban geography and that there remained unanswered the fundamental geographical question: "What are the causes for the existence, present size, and character of a city?" Since the publication of this article, a number of urban studies in Germany and some in other countries have dealt with such questions as the relations between city and country.[6]

II

A theoretical framework for study of the distribution of settlements is provided by the work of Walter Christaller.[7] The essence of the theory

[3] C. H. Cooley, "The Theory of Transportation," *Publications of the American Economic Association*, IX (May, 1894), 1–148.

[4] R. M. Haig, "Toward an Understanding of the Metropolis: Some Speculations Regarding the Economic Basis of Urban Concentration," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XL (1926), 179–208.

[5] Hans Bobeck, "Grundfragen der Stadt Geographie," *Geographischer Anzeiger*, XXVIII (1927), 213–24.

[6] A section of the International Geographical Congress at Amsterdam in 1938 dealt with "Functional Relations between City and Country." The papers are published in Vol. II of the *Comptes rendus* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938). A recent American study is C. D. Harris, *Salt Lake City: A Regional Capital* (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1940). Pertinent also is R. E. Dickinson, "The Metropolitan Regions of the United States," *Geographical Review*, XXIV (1934), 278–91.

[7] *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland* (Jena, 1935); also a paper (no title) in *Comptes rendus du Congrès internationale de géographie Amsterdam* (1938), II, 123–37.

is that a certain amount of productive land supports an urban center. The center exists because essential services must be performed for the surrounding land. Thus the primary factor explaining Chicago is the productivity of the Middle West; location at the southern end of Lake Michigan is a secondary factor. If there were no Lake Michigan, the urban population of the Middle West would in all probability be just as large as it is now. Ideally, the city should be in the center of a productive area.[8] The similarity of this concept to von Thünen's original proposition is evident.

Apparently many scholars have approached the scheme in their thinking.[9] Bobeck claims he presented the rudiments of such an explanation in 1927. The work of a number of American rural sociologists shows appreciation for some of Christaller's preliminary assumptions, even though done before or without knowledge of Christaller's work and performed with a different end in view. Galpin's epochal study of trade areas in Walworth County, Wisconsin, published in 1915, was the first contribution. Since then important studies bearing on the problem have been made by others.[10] These studies are confined primarily to smaller trade centers

[8] This does not deny the importance of "gateway" centers such as Omaha and Kansas City, cities located between contrasting areas in order to secure exchange benefits. The logical growth of cities at such locations does not destroy the theory to be presented (cf. R. D. McKenzie's excellent discussion in *The Metropolitan Community* [New York, 1933], pp. 4 ff.).

[9] Cf. Petrie's statement about ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia: "It has been noticed before how remarkably similar the distances are between the early nome capitals of the Delta (twenty-one miles on an average) and the early cities of Mesopotamia (averaging twenty miles apart). Some physical cause seems to limit the primitive rule in this way. Is it not the limit of central storage of grain, which is the essential form of early capital? Supplies could be centralised up to ten miles away; beyond that the cost of transport made it better worth while to have a nearer centre" (W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Social Life in Ancient Egypt* [London, 1923; reissued, 1932], pp. 3–4).

[10] C. J. Galpin, *Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community* (University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bull. 34 [1915]), and the restudy by J. H. Kolb and R. A. Polson, *Trends in Town-Country Relations* (University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bull. 117 [1933]); B. L. Melvin, *Village Service Agencies of New York State, 1925* (Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. 493 [1929]), and *Rural Population of New York, 1855–1925* (Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Memoir 116 [1928]); Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community* (New York, 1932), esp. pp. 488–514, which contains references to many studies by Sanderson and his associates; Carle C. Zimmerman, *Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota, 1905–29* (University of Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. 269 [1930]); T. Lynn Smith, *Farm Trade Centers in Louisiana. 1905 to 1931* (Louisiana State University Bull. 234 [1933]); Paul H. Landis, *South Dakota Town-Country Trade Relations, 1901–1931* (South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station

but give a wealth of information on distribution of settlements which independently substantiates many of Christaller's basic premises.

As a working hypothesis one assumes that normally the larger the city, the larger its tributary area. Thus there should be cities of varying size ranging from a small hamlet performing a few simple functions, such as providing a limited shopping and market center for a small contiguous area, up to a large city with a large tributary area composed of the service areas of many smaller towns and providing more complex services, such as wholesaling, large-scale banking, specialized retailing, and the like. Services performed purely for a surrounding area are termed "central" functions by Christaller, and the settlements performing them "central"

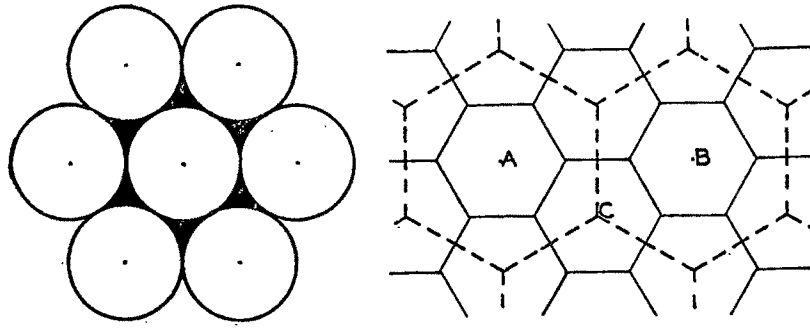

FIG. 1.—Theoretical shapes of tributary areas. Circles leave unserved spaces, hexagons do not. Small hexagons are service areas for smaller places, large hexagons (*dotted lines*) represent service areas for next higher-rank central places.

places. An industry using raw materials imported from outside the local region and shipping its products out of the local area would not constitute a central service.

Ideally, each central place would have a circular tributary area, as in von Thünen's proposition, and the city would be in the center. However, if three or more tangent circles are inscribed in an area, unserved spaces will exist; the best theoretical shapes are hexagons, the closest geometrical figures to circles which will completely fill an area (Fig. 1).[11]

Christaller has recognized typical-size settlements, computed their

Bull. 274 [1932]), and *The Growth and Decline of South Dakota Trade Centers, 1901–1933* (Bull. 279 [1938]), and *Washington Farm Trade Centers, 1900–1935* (State College of Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. 360 [1938]). Other studies are listed in subsequent footnotes.

[11] See August Lösch, "The Nature of the Economic Regions," *Southern Economic Journal*, V (1938), 73. Galpin (*op. cit.*) thought in terms of six tributary-area circles around each center. See also Kolb and Polson, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–41.

average population, their distance apart, and the size and population of their tributary areas in accordance with his hexagonal theory as Table 1 shows. He also states that the number of central places follows a norm from largest to smallest in the following order: 1:2:6:18:54, etc.[12]

All these figures are computed on the basis of South Germany, but Christaller claims them to be typical for most of Germany and western Europe. The settlements are classified on the basis of spacing each larger unit in a hexagon of next-order size, so that the distance between similar centers in the table above increases by the $\sqrt{3}$ over the preceding smaller category (in Fig. 1, e.g., the distance from A to B is $\sqrt{3}$ times the distance from A to C). The initial distance figure of 7 km. between the small-

TABLE 1

Central Place	Towns		Tributary Areas	
	Distance Apart (Km.)	Population	Size (Sq. Km.)	Population
Market hamlet (*Marktort*)	7	800	45	2,700
Township center (*Amtsort*)	12	1,500	135	8,100
County seat (*Kreisstadt*)	21	3,500	400	24,000
District city (*Bezirksstadt*)	36	9,000	1,200	75,000
Small state capital (*Gaustadt*)	62	27,000	3,600	225,000
Provincial head city (*Provinzhauptstadt*)	108	90,000	10,800	675,000
Regional capital city (*Landeshauptstadt*)	186	300,000	32,400	2,025,000

est centers is chosen because 4–5 km., approximately the distance one can walk in one hour, appears to be a normal service-area limit for the smallest centers. Thus, in a hexagonal scheme, these centers are about 7 km. apart. Cristaller's maps indicate that such centers are spaced close to this norm in South Germany. In the larger categories the norms for distance apart and size of centers appear to be true averages; but variations from the norm are the rule, although wide discrepancies are not common in the eastern portion of South Germany, which is less highly industrialized than the Rhine-Ruhr areas in the west. The number of

[12] Barnes and Robinson present some interesting maps showing the average distance apart of farmhouses in the driftless area of the Middle West and in southern Ontario. Farmhouses might well be regarded as the smallest settlement units in a central-place scheme, although they might not be in the same numbered sequence (James A. Barnes and Arthur H. Robinson, "A New Method for the Representation of Dispersed Rural Population," *Geographical Review*, XXX [1940], 134–37).

central places of each rank varies rather widely from the normal order of expectancy.

The theoretical ideal appears to be most nearly approached in poor, thinly settled farm districts—areas which are most nearly self-contained. In some other sections of Germany industrial concentration seems to be a more important explanation, although elements of the central-place type of distribution are present. Christaller points out that Cologne is really the commercial center for the Ruhr industrial district even though it is outside the Ruhr area. Even in mountain areas centrality is a more important factor than topography in fixing the distribution of settlements. Christaller states that one cannot claim that a certain city is where it is because of a certain river—that would be tantamount to saying that if there were no rivers there would be no cities.

III

Population alone is not a true measure of the central importance of a city; a large mining, industrial, or other specialized-function town might have a small tributary area and exercise few central functions. In addition to population, therefore, Christaller uses an index based on number of telephones in proportion to the average number per thousand inhabitants in South Germany, weighted further by the telephone density of the local subregion. A rich area such as the Palatinate supports more telephones in proportion to population than a poor area in the Bavarian Alps; therefore, the same number of telephones in a Palatinate town would not give it the same central significance as in the Alps. He claims that telephones, since they are used for business, are a reliable index of centrality. Such a thesis would not be valid for most of the United States, where telephones are as common in homes as in commercial and professional quarters.

Some better measures of centrality could be devised, even if only the number of out-of-town telephone calls per town. Better still would be some measure of actual central services performed. It would be tedious and difficult to compute the amount, or percentage, of business in each town drawn from outside the city, but some short cuts might be devised. If one knew the average number of customers required to support certain specialized functions in various regions, then the excess of these functions over the normal required for the urban population would be an index of centrality.[13] In several states rural sociologists and others have computed the average number of certain functions for towns of a given size.

[13] In Iowa, e.g., almost all towns of more than 450 inhabitants have banks, half of the towns of 250–300, and 20 per cent of the towns of 100–150 (according to calculations

With one or two exceptions only small towns have been analyzed. Retail trade has received most attention, but professional and other services have also been examined. These studies do not tell us actually what population supports each service, since the services are supported both by town and by surrounding rural population, but they do provide norms of function expectancy which would be just as useful.[14]

A suggestive indicator of centrality is provided by the maps which Dickinson has made for per capita wholesale sales of cities in the United States.[15] On this basis centers are distributed rather evenly in accordance with regional population density. Schlier has computed the centrality of cities in Germany on the basis of census returns for "central" occupations.[16] Refinement of some of our census returns is desirable before this can be done entirely satisfactorily in the United States, but the method is probably the most promising in prospect.

Another measure of centrality would be the number of automobiles entering a town, making sure that suburban movements were not included. Figures could be secured if the state-wide highway planning surveys in forty-six states were extended to gather such statistics.

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made by the author from population estimates in *Rand McNally's Commercial Atlas* for 1937).

[14] See particularly the thorough study by B. L. Melvin, *Village Service Agencies, New York State 1925;* C. R. Hoffer, *A Study of Town-Country Relationships* (Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Special Bull. 181 [1928]) (data on number of retail stores and professions per town); H. B. Price and C. R. Hoffer, *Services of Rural Trade Centers in Distribution of Farm Supplies* (Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. 249 [1938]); William J. Reilly, *Methods for the Study of Retail Relationships* ("Bureau of Business Research Monographs," No. 4, University of Texas Bull. 2944 [1929]), p. 26; J. H. Kolb, *Service Institutions of Town and Country* (Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bull. 66 [1925]) (town size in relation to support of institutions); Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–40; Paul H. Landis, *South Dakota Town-Country Trade Relations, 1901–1931*, p. 20 (population per business enterprise), and pp. 24–25 (functions per town size); Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 and 51 ff.

For a criticism of population estimates of unincorporated hamlets used in many of these studies see Glenn T. Trewartha, "The Unincorporated Hamlet: An Analysis of Data Sources," (paper presented December 28 at Baton Rouge meetings, Association of American Geographers; forthcoming, probably, in March number of *Rural Sociology*, Vol. VI [1941]).

[15] *Op. cit.*, pp. 280–81.

[16] Otto Schlier, "Die zentralen Orte des Deutschen Reichs," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* (1937), pp. 161–70. See also map constructed from Schlier's figures in R. E. Dickinson's valuable article, "The Economic Regions of Germany," *Geographical Review*, XXVIII (1938), 619. For use of census figures in the United States see Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–12.

IV

The central-place scheme may be distorted by local factors, primarily industrial concentration or main transport routes. Christaller notes that transportation is not an areally operating principle, as the supplying of central goods implies, but is a linearly working factor. In many cases central places are strung at short intervals along an important transport route, and their tributary areas do not approximate the ideal circular or hexagonal shape but are elongated at right angles to the main transport line.[17] In some areas the reverse of this normal expectancy is true. In most of Illinois, maps depicting tributary areas show them to be elongated parallel to the main transport routes, not at right angles to them.[18] The combination of nearly uniform land and competitive railways peculiar to the state results in main railways running nearly parallel and close to one another between major centers.

In highly industrialized areas the central-place scheme is generally so distorted by industrial concentration in response to resources and transportation that it may be said to have little significance as an explanation for urban location and distribution, although some features of a central-place scheme may be present, as in the case of Cologne and the Ruhr (p. 858).

In addition to distortion, the type of scheme prevailing in various regions is susceptible to many influences. Productivity of the soil,[19] type of agriculture and intensity of cultivation, topography, governmental organization, are all obvious modifiers. In the United States, for example, what is the effect on distribution of settlements caused by the sectional layout of the land and the regular size of counties in many states? In parts of Latin America many centers are known as "Sunday towns"; their chief functions appear to be purely social, to act as religious

[17] For an illustration of this type of tributary area in the ridge and valley section of east Tennessee see H. V. Miller, "Effects of Reservoir Construction on Local Economic Units," *Economic Geography*, XV (1939), 242–49.

[18] See, e.g., *Marketing Atlas of the United States* (New York: International Magazine Co., Inc.) or *A Study of Natural Areas of Trade in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. National Recovery Administration, 1935).

[19] Cf. the emphasis of Sombart, Adam Smith, and other economists on the necessity of surplus produce of land in order to support cities. Fertile land ordinarily produces more surplus and consequently more urban population, although "the town . . . . may not always derive its whole subsistence from the country in its neighborhood . . . ." (Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* ["Modern library" edition; New York, 1937] p. 357; Werner Sombart, *Der moderne Kapitalismus* [zweite, neugearbeitete Auflage; Munich and Leipzig, 1916], I, 130–31).

and recreational centers for holidays—hence the name "Sunday town."[20] Here social rather than economic services are the primary support of towns, and we should accordingly expect a system of central places with fewer and smaller centers, because fewer functions are performed and people can travel farther more readily than commodities. These underlying differences do not destroy the value of the theory; rather they provide variations of interest to study for themselves and for purposes of comparison with other regions.

The system of central places is not static or fixed; rather it is subject to change and development with changing conditions.[21] Improvements in transportation have had noticeable effects. The provision of good automobile roads alters buying and marketing practices, appears to make the smallest centers smaller and the larger centers larger, and generally alters trade areas.[22] Since good roads are spread more uniformly over the land than railways, their provision seems to make the distribution of centers correspond more closely to the normal scheme.[23]

[20] For an account of such settlements in Brazil see Pierre Deffontaines, "Rapports fonctionnels entre les agglomérations urbaines et rurales: un example en pays de colonisation, le Brésil," *Comptes rendus du Congrès internationale de géographie Amsterdam* (1938), II, 139–44.

[21] The effects of booms, droughts, and other factors on trade-center distribution by decades are brought out in Landis' studies for South Dakota and Washington. Zimmerman and Smith also show the changing character of trade-center distribution (see n. 10 of this paper for references). Melvin calls attention to a "village population shift lag"; in periods of depressed agriculture villages in New York declined in population approximately a decade after the surrounding rural population had decreased (B. L. Melvin, *Rural Population of New York, 1855–1925*, p. 120).

[22] Most studies indicate that only the very smallest hamlets (under 250 population) and crossroads stores have declined in size or number. The larger small places have held their own (see Landis for Washington, *op. cit.*, p. 37, and his *South Dakota Town-Country Trade Relations 1901–1931*, pp. 34–36). Zimmerman in 1930 (*op. cit.*, p. 41) notes that crossroads stores are disappearing and are being replaced by small villages. He states further: "It is evident that claims of substantial correlation between the appearance and growth of the larger trading center and the disappearance of the primary center are more or less unfounded. Although there are minor relationships, the main change has been a division of labor between the two types of centers rather than the complete obliteration of the smaller in favor of the larger" (p. 32).

For further evidences of effect of automobile on small centers see R. V. Mitchell, *Trends in Rural Retailing in Illinois 1926 to 1938* (University of Illinois Bureau of Business Research Bull., Ser. 59 [1939]), pp. 31 ff., and Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 564, as well as other studies cited above.

[23] Smith (*op. cit.*, p. 54) states: "There has been a tendency for centers of various sizes to distribute themselves more uniformly with regard to the area, population, and resources of the state. Or the changes seem to be in the direction of a more efficient pattern of rural organization. This redistribution of centers in conjunction with im-

Christaller may be guilty of claiming too great an application of his scheme. His criteria for determining typical-size settlements and their normal number apparently do not fit actual frequency counts of settlements in many almost uniform regions as well as some less rigidly deductive norms.[24]

Bobeck in a later article claims that Christaller's proof is unsatisfactory.[25] He states that two-thirds of the population of Germany and England live in cities and that only one-third of these cities in Germany are real central places. The bulk are primarily industrial towns or villages inhabited solely by farmers. He also declares that exceptions in the rest of the world are common, such as the purely rural districts of the Tonkin Delta of Indo-China, cities based on energetic entrepreneurial activity, as some Italian cities, and world commercial ports such as London, Rotterdam, and Singapore. Many of these objections are valid; one wishes that Christaller had better quantitative data and were less vague in places. Bobeck admits, however, that the central-place theory has value and applies in some areas.

The central-place theory probably provides as valid an interpretation of settlement distribution over the land as the concentric-zone theory does for land use within cities. Neither theory is to be thought of as a rigid framework fitting all location facts at a given moment. Some, expecting too much, would jettison the concentric-zone theory; others, realizing that it is an investigative hypothesis of merit, regard it as a useful tool for comparative analysis.

V

Even in the closely articulated national economy of the United States there are strong forces at work to produce a central-place distribution of settlements. It is true that products under our national economy are characteristically shipped from producing areas through local shipping-points directly to consuming centers which are often remote. However,

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proved methods of communication and transportation has placed each family in frequent contact with several trade centers. . . . ."

In contrast, Melvin (*Rural Population of New York, 1855–1925*, p. 90), writing about New York State before the automobile had had much effect, states: "In 1870 the villages . . . . were rather evenly scattered over the entire state where they had been located earlier in response to particular local needs. By 1920, however, the villages had become distributed more along routes of travel and transportation and in the vicinity of cities."

[24] This statement is made on the basis of frequency counts by the author for several midwestern states (cf. also Schlier, *op. cit.*, pp. 165–69, for Germany).

[25] Hans Bobeck, "Über einige functionelle Stadttypen und ihre Beziehungen zum Lande," *Comptes rendus du Congrès internationale de géographie Amsterdam* (1938), II, 88.

the distribution of goods or imports brought into an area is characteristically carried on through brokerage, wholesale and retail channels in central cities.[26] This graduated division of functions supports a central-place framework of settlements. Many nonindustrial regions of relatively uniform land surface have cities distributed so evenly over the land that some sort of central-place theory appears to be the prime explanation.[27] It should be worth while to study this distribution and compare it with other areas.[28] In New England, on the other hand, where cities are primarily industrial centers based on distant raw materials and extra-regional markets, instead of the land's supporting the city the reverse is

[26] Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[27] For a confirmation of this see the column diagram on p. 73 of Lösch (*op. cit.*), which shows the minimum distances between towns in Iowa of three different size classes. The maps of trade-center distribution in the works of Zimmerman, Smith, and Landis (cited earlier) also show an even spacing of centers.

[28] The following table gives the average community area for 140 villages in the United States in 1930. In the table notice throughout that (1) the larger the village, the larger its tributary area in each region and (2) the sparser the rural population density, the larger the village tributary area for each size class (contrast mid-Atlantic with Far West, etc.).

Region	Community Area in Square Miles		
	Small Villages (250–1,000 Pop.)	Medium Villages (1,000–1,750 Pop.)	Large Villages (1,750–2,500 Pop.)
Mid-Atlantic	43	46	87
South	77	111	146
Middle West	81	113	148
Far West	.....	365	223

Although 140 is only a sample of the number of villages in the country, the figures are significant because the service areas were carefully and uniformly delimited in the field for all villages (E. deS. Brunner and J. D. Kolb, *Rural Social Trends* [New York, 1933], p. 95; see also E. deS. Brunner, G. S. Hughes, and M. Patten, *American Agricultural Villages* [New York, 1927], chap. ii).

In New York 26 sq. mi. was found to be the average area per village in 1920. Village refers to any settlement under 2,500 population. Nearness to cities, type of agriculture, and routes of travel are cited as the three most important factors influencing density of villages. Since areas near cities are suburbanized in some cases, as around New York City, the village-density in these districts is correspondingly high. Some urban counties with smaller cities (Rochester, Syracuse, and Niagara Falls) have few suburbs, and consequently the villages are farther apart than in many agricultural counties (B. L. Melvin, *Rural Population of New York, 1955–1925*, pp. 88–89; table on p. 89 shows number of square miles per village in each New York county).

In sample areas of New York State the average distance from a village of 250 or under to another of the same size or larger is about 3 miles; for the 250–749 class it is

more nearly true: the city supports the countryside by providing a market for farm products, and thus infertile rural areas are kept from being even more deserted than they are now.

The forces making for concentration at certain places and the inevitable rise of cities at these favored places have been emphasized by geographers and other scholars. The phenomenal growth of industry and world-trade in the last hundred years and the concomitant growth of cities justify this emphasis but have perhaps unintentionally caused the intimate connection between a city and its surrounding area partially to be overlooked. Explanation in terms of concentration is most important for industrial districts but does not provide a complete areal theory for distribution of settlements. Furthermore, there is evidence that "of late .... the rapid growth of the larger cities has reflected their increasing importance as commercial and service centers rather than as industrial centers."[29] Some form of the central-place theory should provide the most realistic key to the distribution of settlements where there is no marked concentration—in agricultural areas where explanation has been most difficult in the past. For all areas the system may well furnish a theoretical norm from which deviations may be measured.[30] It might also be an aid in planning the development of new areas. If the theory is kept in mind by workers in academic and planning fields as more studies are made, its validity may be tested and its structure refined in accordance with regional differences.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

3–5 miles; for the 750–1,249 class, 5–7 miles (B. L. Melvin, *Village Service Agencies, New York, 1925*, p. 102; in the table on p. 103 the distance averages cited above are shown to be very near the modes).

Kolb makes some interesting suggestions as to the distances between centers. He shows that spacing is closer in central Wisconsin than in Kansas, which is more sparsely settled (J. H. Kolb, *Service Relations of Town and Country* [Wisconsin Agricultural Experimental Station Research Bull. 58 (1923)]; see pp. 7–8 for theoretical graphs).

In Iowa, "the dominant factor determining the *size* of convenience-goods areas is distance" (*Second State Iowa Planning Board Report* [Des Moines, April, 1935], p. 198). This report contains fertile suggestions on trade areas for Iowa towns. Valuable detailed reports on retail trade areas for some Iowa counties have also been made by the same agency.

[29] U.S. National Resources Committee, *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy: Report of the Urbanism Committee* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 37.

[30] Some form of the central-place concept might well be used to advantage in interpreting the distribution of outlying business districts in cities (cf. Malcolm J. Proudfoot, "The Selection of a Business Site," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, XIV [1938], esp. 373 ff.).

A RESEARCH NOTE ON SOCIOLOGICAL HOME-PLANNING

SVEND RIEMER

ABSTRACT

Sociological research in housing was carried out in Stockholm, Sweden, with the practical purpose of assisting the architect in the planning of apartments adapted to the needs of family life. Two hundred families co-operated in the investigation, contributing minute activity records for an eight-day period. Activities of the individual members of the family were recorded as to time and the room in which they had taken place. Guided interviews dealt with the adjustment of important functions of family life to the given physical shelter. In addition, identification data and sketches of the furniture arrangement were collected. From these data were computed occupancy statistics which were related to different rooms of the apartment, activities, and members of the family. Thus, a factual basis was gained for the description of varying behavior patterns in different social groups and types of apartments. In connection with the subjective attitudes to different adjustment problems brought out in the guided interviews, this material enabled the sociologist to evaluate the effect of the apartment design upon family life. Home-planning, so far based mainly upon intuition or relatively vague speculations on the part of the architect, might be brought under scientific control by the application of sociological research techniques.

Close co-operation between sociology and architecture in the planning of homes is as yet unknown. Although modern architecture generally conceives itself as "functional," few attempts have been made to investigate by means of empirical research those functions of family life for which the apartment or house has to provide shelter and adequate privacy.

The home design of the architect is most often based on intuition or vague speculations about the living habits of those social groups which are to be accommodated by the building activities. The immediate experiences of the architect in the problem of home adjustment are most frequently derived from customs prevailing in the middle or higher-middle classes. Thus his ideas about home requirements in other social groups, such as manual laborers or farmers, are often inadequate. They do not conform with the underlying social reality.

Sociology, on the other hand, has as yet not attempted to make any contribution in this particular field. Probably no sociologist has ever advised an architect in the details of a home design. The contributions on the part of sociology are as yet of a more general nature. Housing conditions have been described,[1] and the influence of bad housing upon the in-

[1] James Ford, *Slums and Housing* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936).

habitants has been the object of empirical research.[2] Interesting experimental studies dealing with the effect of housing conditions on the social attitudes of the tenants are in progress.[3] This research memorandum suggests that sociology proceed to take a more active part in the planning of the structure and the equipment of apartment houses and family homes. The sociologist is competent to evaluate the consequences of adjustment difficulties in the home environment; he is experienced in the collection of data upon the living habits of different social and national groups; thus he might help to bring about a better adjustment of family life to its physical shelter, the home.

Research of the indicated kind was carried out in Stockholm. In Sweden housing conditions are characterized by considerable overcrowding of the individual home. About 50 per cent of the urban families of that country occupy apartments of not more than one living-room and a kitchen. These two-room units, however, are in most cases in relatively good shape. There are a great number of well-equipped modern apartments in Swedish towns, as private building activities have been kept up by different forms of government loans and subsidies, especially during the depression and recession of the thirties. On the background of more restricted rural-housing requirements, the building industry in that country does not face quite as desperate an economic situation as the United States in attempting to provide shelter for the lowest-income groups. Family habits make the adjustments to a limited number of room-units possible. But the overcrowding of homes made it an urgent problem to make every square foot that could be provided for the individual family as useful as possible. The architects were continually struggling with the problem of whether space or privacy were more desirable, i.e., whether the total space available should be used for a limited number of relatively spacious room-units or whether, for example, in order to provide for adequate sleeping arrangements, space should be sacrificed for the sake of a larger number of subdivisions. The kitchen in rural Sweden is very often used for living-room purposes. If this practice could be stated in more definitely quantitative terms, the architects might feel justified in developing apartment designs with a large kitchen–living-room combination. The other room-units would then have to be relatively smaller. Every architect is concerned with problems of this kind in his home-planning activities.

[2] F. Stuart Chapin, "The Effect of Slum Clearance and Rehousing on Family and Community Relationships in Minneapolis," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1938.

[3] *The Relation between Housing and Delinquency* (Washington, D.C.: Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Housing Division, 1936).

The Cooperative Building Society in Sweden,[4] the H.S.B., sponsored a sociological investigation that tried to clarify some of the indicated problems. In March, 1937, primary material was collected from 215 Stockholm families. These families were selected as a random sample from the household lists of Stockholm's housing statistics. A selection was made, in so far as only families with children living in two- to four-room apartments were included in the research project. Adjustment difficulties could be expected to be most severe in these families; moreover, in Stockholm the apartments with up to four-room units cover the accommodations of not less than 85 per cent of all families. Of all the families that were approached in this connection 50 per cent agreed to co-operate.

The families were asked to keep a record for one week of all the activities that were carried out by the different members of the family inside the apartment. The time and the room-unit in which the activity had taken place were indicated in columns running parallel to those where the activities were registered. Furthermore, the primary material of the investigation included supplementary information about the subjective attitude of the family toward the apartment and toward different adjustment problems. For this purpose the social worker used a guided interview in a discussion with one member of the family—in most cases the housewife. The interview did not deal primarily with details of the apartment as such; it ran along a discussion of functional problems that were of immediate interest to the family. Different situations arising in the routine of family life, such as preparing and serving food, entertaining guests, radio-listening, child-care, etc., were discussed as to their bearing upon a smooth organization of family life within the apartment. Finally the social worker drew a sketch in every home of the furniture and its arrangement in the different room-units. The furniture, of course, expresses the functions which are intended to take place in different parts of the apartment. Some statistical data also were collected about the occupational and educational activities of different members of the family and about size and rent and other qualities of the apartment.

Statistical computations of the activity records mentioned above made possible a first insight into the functional importance of the different room-units. It was possible to show, for example, that in the two-room apartment the total daytime occupancy of the kitchen exceeded that of the living-room to a considerable extent. This is true for both manual and white-collar labor, although the custom of using the kitchen as a

[4] Mrs. Brita Åkerman-Johansson co-operated in the investigation from the social-work point of view.

living-room is much further developed in the first-mentioned group. Fifty-seven per cent of all daytime occupancy in manual-labor families falls upon the kitchen, while the corresponding figure for white-collar labor is not more than 52 per cent. The importance of the kitchen as a living-room decreases as the size of the apartment increases. This, of course, is partly due to the fact that families of very different type and social status cocupy the more expensive apartments with up to four rooms.

Studies of this kind provide information to the architect, who wants to know where the family actually abides during the daytime and how these conditions vary in different social groups. These statistics are, however, not in themselves sufficiently conclusive as to the question which room-units should be enlarged at the cost of the rest of the apartment. Certain functions that are taking place in the living-room, such as entertaining guests, the arrangement of sleeping conditions, might in themselves require more space than that part of everyday life which is restricted to the kitchen. Thus further insight into the problems of home adjustment is required for a final evaluation of various possible apartment designs.

But the occupancy statistics as such leads us one step farther. The development of occupancy in different room-units from hour to hour during the course of the day indicates more closely their actual purpose in the organization of family life. The kitchen is crowded, or perhaps overcrowded, around mealtimes. At this time food is being prepared, the dish-washing is going on, and in many families the meals are eaten in the kitchen also. The living-room stands almost unused before dinner-time. But in the late evening hours it shows a higher occupancy than the kitchen. The reason is obvious, and this insight will certainly not come as a surprise to the architect. Of interest, however, are certain numerical variations in this general pattern. The overcrowding of the kitchen before, during, and after mealtimes is especially noticeable in labor families. In this social group all members of the family have the habit of helping in the kitchen before mealtimes, or at least keeping the housewife company while she is preparing the meal. The labor family, more than any other social group, tends to eat the meal in the kitchen, one of the reasons being that they come home in dirty working-clothes which they do not want to change before dinner. For similar reasons they prefer to sit in the kitchen even after they have had their dinner. In the white-collar group it is more customary to use the kitchen for its specific purpose only—as a workshop where food is being prepared, where dishes are washed, and where the general house-cleaning activities are concentrated. Thus, after dinner-time, the kitchen is evacuated in this social group and the occupancy shifted to the living-room.

The development of the occupancy during the day gives us an insight also into the social problems of home overcrowding. As far as the kitchen is concerned, overcrowding is definitely a mealtime problem. We must assume that the educational influences of parents on their children—in modern times more and more restricted to the family assembly at mealtimes—are weakened wherever the home does not allow for comfort in this situation of family life. Later in the evening the problem arises how to separate different leisure-time activities that interfere with each other. The overcrowding of the living-room brings about a struggle between different generations or even ages in the evening, with negative consequences in one direction or the other. An adolescent boy or girl may have to give up home studies, children may have to refrain from inviting friends to their home, or the parents, on the other hand, may have to put up with a good deal of unrest in the living-room. They may have to refrain from listening to the radio just when they want to do so, and in this way get less relaxation out of their evening hours than otherwise might be the case. Overcrowding, in the modern family, with its diversified interests, leads to a competition for the living-room facilities, and it is an open question, to be solved individually in every single case, who is going to be the loser.

The problem of home adjustment is to some extent a problem of adequate furniture arrangement. Matters of taste and aesthetic appreciation might be overlooked for the sake of the grouping of the furniture, which indicates the functional use of the different pieces and the combination of different activities that might go on at the same time in the same room-unit. The furniture sketches in our primary material permitted a good insight into the habits prevailing in this respect. The following type of furniture arrangement in the living-room repeated itself in about 65 per cent of all families included in the investigation: a big square table was located in the middle of the room and was surrounded by dining-room chairs; one large piece of furniture was placed along each of the four walls of the room—a writing desk, a buffet, a linen closet, a sofa or davenport, etc. In this way the living-room was overloaded with furniture. Overcrowding has become especially severe, as the practices of furniture arrangement have developed in a manner quite different from the intent embodied in the small modern apartments of Stockholm.

How are these practices to be changed? The so-called "parlor-style" furniture arrangement, the main features of which we have mentioned above, has its origin in different traditions, none of which is adjusted to present-day housing conditions. At the time of the gaslight, it was necessary to place a big table in the middle of the room, where the chandelier

was hanging from the ceiling, and the whole family gathered around it. At the time of the gaslight, however, the interests and leisure-time activities of the different age groups in the family were much more uniform than they are today. Furthermore, in more spacious apartments, a more ample supply of furniture was formerly customary. This furniture is in some families acquired by inheritance. In other families traditions prevail which seem to require certain characteristic pieces of furniture more for their symbolic function than for their actual use in everyday life. The writing desk, never or seldom used for writing purposes, and the buffet, which has become superfluous because of ample closet space, belong to this category. Moreover, the parlor as such is an institution which, if prevailing under restricted modern housing conditions, causes a severe conflict with everyday needs. Both in the country and in large urban apartments it was formerly customary to restrict one room from daily use. The furniture in this room had to provide accommodations for social gatherings and also had to serve in a decorative function. This room symbolized on special occasions the unity and social status of the family. If transferred to the small apartments in our modern cities, this custom would cause an overcrowding of the functions of everyday life.

The problem arises how to influence the furniture customs in small apartments in such a way as to achieve the best possible adjustment of family life to the given space and its subdivisions. There are, obviously, two sides to the problem of adequate home adjustment: that of furnishing the best possible shelter and the subjective one of changing the family habits by means of education in the direction of the most efficient use of the given home conditions. To achieve an adequate furniture arrangement is definitely a problem of the latter kind.

In this respect also we were able to make a contribution on the basis of our sociological research. The furniture sketches, mentioned above, made possible the description of the adjustment of the furniture arrangement to more restricted housing conditions. This will be of interest to the interior designer in so far as he achieves an insight in the development of furniture patterns. Like those of the architect, the designs of the interior decorator are usually based on an insight limited to the demands of middle-class families only. We discriminated two different tendencies. A small number of families with relatively high social status and belonging to the lower-age groups represented in our material followed the trend of development that is recommended by the modern interior designer. The concentric arrangement of the furniture around the big square table in the middle of the room was abandoned. Separate groups of furniture for

different functional use were arranged in the four corners of the room. Here we find two easy chairs in front of the open fireplace or simply in one of the corners, often just beside the radio. In another part of the room stands the writing desk, now often replaced by a much smaller secretary, which might also be used as closet space for books, papers, photographs, etc. The dining table has now been pushed into another corner of the room, and in another corner we might find a couch with a small table and a reading lamp. Typical for this type of an arrangement is the mutual isolation of different minor groups of furniture. They all serve different functions and thus create in this one living-room relative privacy for several different activities that might be going on at the same time. The close assemblance of the whole family at one large table is now avoidable, which makes a more adequate adjustment possible to the diversified interests in one family.

The laboring-class families seem to preserve the concentric furniture arrangement even in the small modern apartment. A change can be registered only in so far as some of the inconveniences of the gaslight era have been abandoned. The large table, around which the family gathers in the evening, has been pushed somewhat to the side in front of a davenport or a sofa. Thus the rest of the furniture is more easily accessible. The general pattern in this environment, however, does not indicate any desire for relative privacy. One large table is still the center of the general arrangement, and if there are easy chairs in these homes, they are placed at this one table also, opposite the davenport. A more gregarious type of leisure-time activity is indicated by this arrangement, which deviates from the habits of white-collar labor and which in Sweden, at least, has not caught the attention of the interior designers.

As regards the educational influence of the modern interior designer, it should be made clear that the social problem of an adequate furniture arrangement is not quite as simple as it has often been stated. The interior designer plans the furniture arrangement for the functional needs of everyday life as he understands them. The sociologist, however, cannot overlook the perhaps irrational and sentimental but important function of the traditional "parlor." It is largely ornamental and closely connected with an emotional appreciation of all those symbols which visualize the individuality of every single family. It will be necessary to face the importance of this function for the integration of family life and eventually to create a substitute which will combine this function with a rational organization of the everyday activities that are going on in the home.

Further possibilities to evaluate the primary material of this socio-

logical investigation can only be mentioned very briefly. The activity records allow for rather interesting statistical computation. Thus it has been possible to show the effect of overcrowded housing conditions on the leisure-time activities of adolescents. The smaller the size of the apartment the greater is the tendency of this age group to spend the evenings outside their home. Architects in Sweden were interested in the effect of radio-listening upon the occupancy of different rooms during evening hours. It could be shown that the radio, mostly installed in the living-room, tended to break down the traditional habit of using the kitchen as a living-room in the evening. Different household activities could be measured. The relative duration of cooking, housecleaning, dish-washing, etc., could be stated in strictly numerical terms. The results in this respect were surprisingly consistent also on the basis of a comparison between different social groups. The rhythm of the work day of the housewife could be described by exact graphical illustration. It could be shown how an increasing number of children in the family interferes with any rational organization of the household activities. Individual variations in the arrangement of household activities could be graphically stated and thus made available for educational activities related to this problem. A great number of variations could be observed in the arrangement of sleeping conditions in various types of families. In connection with the result of the guided interview, the advantages and disadvantages of different solutions of this problem could be discussed.

The sociological interests in a housing research of the indicated kind are, of course, of secondary importance only. It is obvious, on the other hand, that the bearing of housing conditions upon the relationship between different members of the family must be evaluated in any attempt to discriminate on the basis of sociological insight between good and bad home-planning. The sociologist himself will never be able to plan a home. The economic and technological possibilities have to be exhausted by the architect. It is the task of the sociologist, however, to give his judgment on the social consequences of the different designs that are economically and technologically possible. We should realize that the architect, who in his home designs actively deals with problems of social relevance without being equipped with insight into prevailing conditions, without any knowledge of the problems of modern family life, is guided by unreliable, prescientific intuition.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM ON SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT[1]

DONALD YOUNG

ABSTRACT

Many related problems in the fields of sociology, social psychology, and cultural anthropology may be viewed as problems of social adjustment for convenience in research planning and stimulation. Not a few of these problems are still beyond the hope of successful attack with scientific techniques now available, but there are, of course, some that meet the tests of probable utility of anticipated research results and of research feasibility in terms of available data, personnel, applicable techniques, and prerequisite knowledge resulting from previous research. Basic work on fundamental questions underlying the general field of human adjustment should be given priority in the selection of problems for emphasis, while at the same time work on specific social problems may be carried forward. Genetic factors in social adjustment, motivations in social adjustment, and the measurement and prediction of success in social adjustment are proposed as three likely areas for basic research. From among the many concrete problems of social adjustment four are selected for present consideration: social adjustment to population changes, to old age, to technological changes, and to the existing national emergency.

Social adjustment may be thought of as the goal of all human relations. People are continually striving for more satisfactory ways of getting along with one another, and too often the result is failure, whether measured in terms of individual needs and desires or of community aims and welfare. The perfect society has not been reached and may be assumed to be beyond achievement. Nevertheless, if greater knowledge were available, it may hardly be doubted that many aspects of social life would be subject to modification of a kind which would commonly be conceded to be improvement.

The phrase "social adjustment" has been given various special meanings by various authors. For illustration, it has been used to mean the procedure followed in helping mental cases find a satisfactory mode of life. It has been used to refer to a dynamic process as well as to a static condition. To some persons it has implied a compromise design for living; to others, a search for a social order ordained by natural law. In this memorandum social adjustment is used in its broadest meaning and does not

[1] This memorandum was prepared for the Committee on Social Adjustment of the Social Science Research Council, consisting of E. W. Burgess, Frederick Osborn, and A. T. Poffenberger, as a preliminary statement of a plan of research for the field of social adjustment.

imply any particular conceptual approach. It is intended as a nontechnical phrase covering a wide range of related problems of both practical and research importance. The idea is to use the term in its commonsense meaning to include many problems of human relations, much as the word "disease" is used to include many distinct forms of illness. Emphasis will be on problems of social adjustment customarily considered the concern of sociologists, social psychologists, and cultural anthropologists.

The purpose of the present statement is to outline a practical, piecemeal attack on pressing problems ripe for study. These must be sifted out from the much larger number of problems which, however desirable their ultimate solution, seem beyond successful attack with scientific techniques now available. Problems selected also should be of such a nature that intensive research would promise results of outstanding social utility. With the number of research problems calling for study far exceeding the possibilities of effective work, it hardly seems justifiable to disregard entirely the possibility of social returns in selecting foci for concentrated effort.

The criterion of research feasibility should be rigorously applied in the selection of areas for development. Too often research has been undertaken because a problem was of pressing social importance and without regard for the possibility of fruitful results through the use of existing facilities and techniques. There are many well-known problems in natural science promising revolutionary results if solved, but the most productive natural scientists will not attack them directly until they have some hope that their tools are adequate for the task. Unfortunately, social scientists have not been similarly careful in their choice of problems, and much effort has been wasted on projects still far beyond the research horizon. Research feasibility, it is proposed, should be tested by examination of the adequacy of (*a*) the available data, (*b*) the existing or potential personnel, (*c*) the applicable research techniques, and (*d*) the foundation of prerequisite knowledge on which to build. In the case of all these four tests of research feasibility, of course, existing inadequacy should not be considered a final barrier to work until it has been determined that the deficiency cannot be remedied; but until these conditions have been met, it does not seem profitable to undertake specific projects, regardless of the importance of the social issues involved.

Another consideration recommended for the selection of problems for development in this field is the prospect of raising the standards of work in the field of social adjustment. Accepted research procedures need to be

applied widely through many projects, but the Social Science Research Council has a particular interest in the improvement of techniques.

Finally, basic work on fundamental problems underlying human adjustment should be encouraged and given priority. It must constantly be borne in mind that some questions cannot be answered definitively until underlying problems have been resolved, and that, consequently, preference should be given such underlying problems. The present recommendation is, then, that some degree of priority, but not exclusive priority, be given to problems in social adjustment of primary importance in preparing the attack on broader aspects of the field.

Problems of social adjustment now apparent as likely foci for work on the basis of review in terms of the criteria listed may be discussed under the two categories of (1) work basic to the general field and (2) selected specific problems of social adjustment. It should not be understood that work under the first category is expected to produce results of value only in a narrow scientific sense; on the contrary, anticipated findings are certain to have immediate social utility, as should become evident when this work is discussed below. The distinction is that both findings and techniques developed should make advance on the kind of projects included in the second category more certain and prompt. On the other hand, studies of selected specific problems must also inevitably contribute to the advancement of research techniques and primary knowledge.

Basic to the understanding of any aspect of social adjustment is adequate knowledge of the genetic factors involved. Unfortunately, genetic questions of most direct bearing on problems of human relations have been neglected by research personnel, perhaps because the natural scientists have been concerned with what they considered even more fundamental problems, while the social scientists have deemed matters of heredity largely outside their province. It is believed, however, that both the natural and the social scientists have a contribution to make to the study of hereditary influences on social adjustment, and it is here recommended that the social sciences should now accept their obligation in this area.

The Committee on Social Adjustment of the Social Science Research Council is so convinced of the validity and importance of this recommendation that it has already undertaken two projects in the genetic field. Mr. R. S. Woodworth has been induced to undertake a critical appraisal of the studies which have been made of the relative roles of nature and nurture with reference to social adjustment, based on data obtained from foster-children and from identical twins reared apart. The second project

includes a series of studies of foster-children under the direction of Dr. Barbara Burks.

Dr. Burks's study is essentially one of the extent to which differences in genetic constitution may cause variations in the responses of different individuals to specific environmental situations. The data used will be drawn from the records of the six thousand children placed out by the State Charities Aid Association of New York in the last thirty years. In the initial stages of this work a careful examination is being made of this material, of the best uses which may be made of it, and of the suitable research methods and techniques. A number of psychologists already have been brought into consultation. Help will later be required of anthropologists, geneticists, sociologists, and men in other fields. The methods, the techniques, and even the objectives of the project will be under constant review and subject to redirection as new lines are opened up or old ones closed. The Committee does not expect to develop from this project any startling advances. Rather it hopes to add somewhat to the slowly growing structure of knowledge about man.

The Committee's views regarding the importance of better knowledge concerning the genetic factors in social adjustment may be obtained from the following quotation from a memorandum prepared for it by Mr. R. S. Woodworth and Mr. Frederick Osborn:

> Since individuals are always found to differ even when growing up and living in the same environment, the probability is that differences in native constitution count for something in determining their response to environmental influences and opportunities. But it is as yet not at all clear how much importance must be assigned to genetic factors as determinants of human differences in intelligence, leadership, sociability, or emotional adjustment to life conditions. Breeding experiments with animals show that it is possible by selection to develop strains of high and of low intelligence, but such experiments are scarcely feasible in man. For lack of anything approximating pure lines we cannot tell very closely what is the genetic constitution of any particular human individual. For group averages we can make valid inferences from the parents to the children. The average native capacity of 100 children of intelligent parents is doubtless greater than that of 100 children of dull parents. If these 200 children should be subjected to a certain environmental factor, said factor being applied impartially to the two sub-groups, the resulting difference between the two subgroups might be large or small. If large, it would show that the genetic factor was important in respect to a certain human trait; if small, it would show the opposite.
>
> The logic of investigation into heredity and environment is clear enough, if only the variables could be controlled. To bring out the effects of environment

cleanly, heredity should be kept out of the equation. This can be done with identical twins reared apart and subjected to environments different in some well-defined respect. Identical twins are specially valuable for studying the effects of environment. For studying some environmental influences the twins need not be completely separated.

For studying the importance of genetic factors it is necessary to obtain individuals of differing native constitution—different genes—and subject them to the same environment. This requirement can be approximated in studies of foster children. Undoubtedly any two individuals selected at random will differ more or less in genic constitution, but we need to know more than this. We need to know how they differ in native capacity for the kind of behavior we are going to study. How shall we know their native capacity for intelligent behavior or social adjustment? We have no direct access to the genes. We have to judge from parents, grandparents, siblings. The more complete our knowledge of the related individuals the better we can approximate to a diagnosis of the individual's native constitution. The suggestion is that nature-nurture studies could be improved by insisting on the use of human subjects regarding whom the maximum of usable information is available.

The last remark applies with equal force to environment, including the previous history of the individual. If we wish to discover the effects of an environmental factor we should know a good deal about the heredity and the previous experience of our subjects.

Problems of social adjustment are complicated by the likelihood that individual variations in genetic factors will make for variations in the adjustment of different individuals to similar situations. Any light that can be thrown on individual or group variations in genetic factors will therefore help to some extent to clarify each of the immediate problems to which this committee may seek an answer. Basic work on genetic factors is a long time process. There are advantages, however, in carrying it on contemporaneously with actual studies in adjustment. Each set of studies will clarify problems of the other.

Successful work in this field will depend upon the collaboration of many groups. A pertinent example is the plan now under consideration by one of the large foundations for setting up a register of all twins born over a five-year period in the United States, or in some large section of the United States. Such a plan if carried out would provide available data upon which important studies could be undertaken in different localities on unselected samples of twins.

Work done since 1925 on genetic factors in variations in intelligence has been reviewed. No comparable review is available for the more recent work on genetic and environmental factors in personality and special abilities. A critical review of work in these fields would result in an improvement in the quality and an increase in the number of future studies.

A second focus of work basic to the general field of social adjustment is the problem of individual motivation, which might profitably be under-

taken at two related points of attack. One calls for the experimental testing of theories of unconscious individual motivation, particularly those of psychoanalytic origin, which have come into use by social scientists.

The need for research on the theories of unconscious individual motivation was presented to the Committee by Mr. A. T. Poffenberger in a brief memorandum from which the following quotation is taken:

Study of problems of social adjustment cannot neglect an examination of psychoanalysis in its function of treating the maladjusted. Still less can it afford to neglect the extension of its sphere to include the interpretation of the everyday behavior of normal individuals and groups such as the child as a member of a family, or as a student in the school population, or such as the adult as a parent or as one of a group of striking laborers.

The principles and techniques of psychoanalysis have grown primarily out of clinical practice, and whatever checks there have been upon such principles and techniques have in the main been derived from clinical work. Such tests of validity do not, however, meet the criteria of social science. Many of the psychoanalytic concepts can be tested in a more rigid fashion and should be so tested. It is believed that if a systematic program of research were to be prepared, investigators here and there could be encouraged to undertake solution of special problems.

Some research of this nature has been reported in recent years, and a few projects are now in progress in psychological laboratories. These should be carefully surveyed and their findings evaluated as a preliminary to plans for new research. The nature of the specific problems to be investigated can be indicated by a few examples:

a) What scientific support is there for the concept of suppression as contrasted with the concept of normal forgetting?

b) What scientific evidence can be found for the origin of vocational, recreational and other interests in the subconscious?

c) What scientific support can be found for attaching great importance to the early years of life in the formation of personality as contrasted with the adolescent years or the years 18 to 25?

d) How are the phenomena of frustration to be interpreted, as well as the consequences of such frustration?

e) To describe one problem in greater detail, what is the influence of the status of the child in the family group upon his later personality development? A great deal of significance has been attached to the birth order of children in the family with the expectation that the oldest child will show certain personality traits, the youngest will show other traits and the only child still others. Carefully controlled studies give varying results, so that it may be suspected that the real influence upon personality may be hidden from casual observation but may be positively correlated though not too highly with birth order. It should be possible to analyze this complex of factors by properly devised research.

In view of the wide acceptance of various concepts of unconscious individual motivation of the nature just described by social psychologists, sociologists, and other social scientists, the attempt should be made to supplement their present theoretical and clinical support by rigorous research.

The second point of attack on motivation in relation to social adjustment suggested by the committee concerns the respective roles in motivation of genetic and other psychological factors in definite social situations. The need here is to discover how choices and drives in the person are determined, on the one hand, by such factors as family expectations and tradition, group pressures, and the prevailing cultural pattern, and, on the other hand, by the response made by the person to these influences in terms of individual differences in inherited aptitudes, in aggressiveness, in initiative, in self-confidence, and in other personality traits. Work in this category would include problems on which considerable valuable research already has been done under such headings as social attitudes, social standards and values, interests, morale, propaganda, and public opinion. Among the fields of human activity for which research in motivation would have value are selection of occupation, choice of avocation, motives for joining voluntary associations, religious experience, aesthetic interests, and humanitarian activities. The research results and methods already available through studies of this nature would furnish an excellent basis for advancing our knowledge of social motivation.

The measurement and prediction of success in social adjustment constitutes the third focus of work basic to the general field. In recent years there has been a rapid development of this type of work. The different fields of human activity in which this development has taken place include the measurement and prediction of (*a*) school success, (*b*) of occupational adjustment, (*c*) of recidivism in crime, and (*d*) of marital adjustment. At the request of the Committee, Mr. E. W. Burgess reported on this work, and the following quotation is taken from his memorandum:

> The general problems and methods involved in the measurement and the prediction of adjustment appear to be much the same in all fields. This is largely because the main steps in the procedure in the prediction of the probability of adjustment in each case are the same, namely:
>
> 1. The selection or invention of a criterion of adjustment
> 2. The determination of the different factors associated with success or failure in adjustment
> 3. The combination of the factors associated with adjustment into a general expectancy table of adjustment

4. The use of the expectancy table to predict the probabilities of successful or unsuccessful adjustment in the individual case. This probability of adjustment in the individual case is always in terms of the group of cases to which he belongs, similar to a person's risk measured by a life expectancy table.

It may be helpful to illustrate these procedures in the case of each of the four fields in which they have been utilized.

If the problem is that of predicting success in college, the first step is to select a criterion such as college grades. Then the relationships of different factors such as high school grades, intelligence, interest, personality traits, with college grades are separately determined. Next, a combination of these factors, properly weighted, is correlated with college grades. Finally, this correlation can be used as an expectancy table and the probability determined of a given person succeeding in his college course.

The criteria of vocational adjustment may vary from attaining a certain degree of success in an occupation to the minimum of holding a job. Once obtained, it is possible to measure the association with it of various factors such as intelligence, vocational interests, school achievement, personality traits. Then these factors can be combined and their total relation to vocational success determined. This done, the expectancy table thus derived may be applied to an individual case to find out the relative risks involved in attempting to pursue different vocational careers.

The most frequent criterion of criminal recidivism or reformation is observance or violation of parole or probation. The Gluecks, however, have employed the criterion of making good as determined by no subsequent known delinquency, unofficial as well as official. Different factors such as age, marital status, personality traits, previous criminal record, are then correlated with the selected criterion. This makes possible the combination of these factors in association with the subsequent record of nondelinquency or recidivism. Finally, individuals may be rated on this expectancy table with reference to whether they are or are not good risks for parole or probation.

Studies in the field of marriage adjustment have not only made use of common-sense criteria such as separation and divorce and reported happiness of the marriage but also of a scale of adjustment made up of a number of questions dealing with the presence or absence of conflict and dissatisfaction in the marriage. Then factors such as age at marriage, happiness of parents' marriage, cultural differences, length of engagement, are correlated with one or more of these criteria. The items are next combined into one prediction score and its relationship to the marriage adjustment scale determined. This makes it possible then to rate before marriage the matrimonial risk of young people.

It is evident that with procedures so similar, with the basic theoretical problems the same, and with questions of method essentially alike, that a significant contribution can be made, at the present time, by a comparative study of pre-

dictive methods in these four fields. Such a study should include the following points:

a) The validity of present criteria of measuring adjustment and the feasibility of improving these criteria.

b) The appraisal of the adequacy of the present group of predictive items, both in scope and in significance.

c) The problem of weighting the predictive items in relation to the adjustment score.

d) The use of quantitative methods, including factor analysis.

e) The evaluation of the limitations of prediction by statistical techniques.

f) The feasibility of complementing statistical prediction by case study analysis.

These prediction techniques are not confined in their use to the above four fields but may be applied to other fields, including adjustments in old age, to relief measures, and to military service and other measures of national defense.

These three proposals for investigation—genetic factors in social adjustment; unconscious, genetic, psychological, and social motivations in relation to social adjustment; and the measurement and prediction of success in social adjustment—are basic social science research. Their findings will contribute greatly to the increase of our scientific knowledge and to methods of scientific research. They will have implications of great importance to our handling of pressing social problems. Their results will be fundamental to research into a whole series of problems of human adjustment.

Turning to concrete problems of social adjustment that are pressing for immediate attention, the Committee has selected two for special consideration. On these two problems—social adjustments to population changes and to old age—preliminary memoranda have been prepared. At a later date consideration will be given to the selection of specific problems in the important fields of social adjustment resulting from technological changes, particularly by the processes of industrialization and urbanization, and the serious problems of adjustment arising out of the national emergency and the measures now being taken for national defense.

A quotation from a memorandum by the writer indicating the nature of the work contemplated upon problems occasioned by population changes is given below:

The need for an adjustment between population changes, resources and the social order satisfactory in terms of human welfare is one which has long been recognized. Until recently population questions were a concern of persons interested in human welfare because the widely accepted assumptions of constant

and unrestrained population growth and the law of diminishing returns led inexorably to such dismal conclusions about the future developments of society as the iron law of wages and the eventual arrival of an inadequate stationary economy. Thus increasing want and misery seemed inevitable. This discouraging outlook was intensified by the fear that Western class differentials in the birth rate, together with dysgenic effects of medicinal success in saving threatened lives, would lead to human biological deterioration. Remedial measures such as migration, family limitation, changes in the economic system and the extension of public aid offered no satisfactory escape.

Today there is worry, increased by the findings of the 1940 census, about insufficient population growth and the dire consequences which have been attributed to the expected stabilization and even decline of population numbers. Fear of biological deterioration through selective birth and death rates has been reduced comparatively with the rise of the new fear that the social order is dangerously wasting human resources through failure to permit the full development of individual capacities. There is less confidence that innate ability can by itself overcome environmental handicaps. The outlook remains dismal, if for a reversed set of reasons. The remedies suggested remain fundamentally those of earlier days, although undoubtedly showing improvement through increased knowledge and experience.

It may, of course, be assumed that no simple solution can be found, but sufficient progress has been made in the field to justify the belief that specific advances may be made now through the marshalling and extension of existing personnel and techniques. The necessary basic data are becoming increasingly available. Population specialists and their research methods are generally conceded to be the equal of those in any division of the social sciences, and are clearly superior in the case of most. The unfortunate circumstance, however, is that population research, while of an exceptionally high order, has become relatively dissociated from neighboring fields such as economics, sociology and psychology. Emphasis has been on the measurement of population changes, e.g., in birth rates, death rates, sex ratios, age distributions, and migration. Consideration of the causes and consequences of the measured changes has been largely left to speculation of doubtful value. For example, much is known about the extent of the decline of the birth rate in Western countries, but the conditions and effects of the small family system in terms of family and child welfare, or the effects of a decreasing population on economic and governmental institutions, have been hardly considered. Similarly, there is considerable knowledge of the directional and numerical aspects of migration, but we are relatively uninformed about the consequences of mobility upon the individual and upon society. Such lack of research concern with the meaning of the population changes being measured is characteristic of the entire field. Effort should be made to correct the situation through the stimulation of research on the social aspects of population changes.

Briefly suggested, work on population changes and social adjustment would be concerned with the influence of the size, mobility and group characteristics of populations upon individual, community and national welfare. The co-operation of population specialists would be required, but the bulk of the work would have to be done by economists, sociologists, psychologists, and others in the social sciences. Study of the relation between population composition, births, deaths and migration and the problems of human adjustment requires the joint efforts of workers in many fields. The concern is not with the population problem in general, but with the selection of a few questions important to social adjustment. Among these are questions such as the following:

What problems of adjustment arise out of the decline in absolute numbers of younger children in the population? This trend, for example, creates a problem of adjustment for the school system which has not yet been seriously attacked. What can we learn about the growing number of small families, particularly the one child family? Studies so far have been limited to problems of the only child of the order of birth, and are inadequate.

What are the economic and social adjustments to be anticipated with relatively fewer children and more older persons in the population? More should also be known about the political implications of the changing age distribution.

What can be discovered about the problems of social adjustment growing out of present trends in the movement of population within the United States? To cite just one group now having great difficulty of adjustment to new residence, reference may be made to the maladjustments of recent Southern white migrants in Northern cities.

There is need also for more knowledge concerning the social aspects of differential birth and death rates, population distribution and resources, mobility, personality and adjustment and culture conflict, forced mass migration, population changes and public welfare measures, influences of changes in the sex ratio, the social aspects of transiency, and the relation between population changes and social security measures.

Old people, their traits, their behavior, and their problems are at last becoming a matter of public interest and concern. Federal and state old age assistance and provision for old age under Social Security legislation are the two outstanding practical evidences that provision for old age is now recognized as a national responsibility. The more basic fact, however, that is slowly but surely forcing itself upon the attention of thinking men is that the proportion of old people in the population is steadily upon the increase and that of children and youth is on the decrease. The political implications of this shift may be inferred from the rise of the Townsend Plan movement and of other equally unworkable schemes for the benefit of the old at the expense of other groups in the population. To quote from a memorandum prepared by E. W. Burgess:

Social scientists have given but little attention to the study of the traits, the behavior, and the problems of adjustment of old persons. Yet wise attempts at assisting old persons in their social adjustments require the knowledge that social science is equipped to provide both upon the traits and behavior of old people and upon the conditions to which adjustment must be made.

Practically the only systematic studies of old age made by social scientists up to the present have been upon the need of old people for economic assistance, studies that first stimulated and later were required by the rapid growth of legislation for old age assistance and for social security. But studies of economic need are but a small, even if an important, part of the research demanded to provide the knowledge necessary for enlightened planning in the field of the social adjustment of persons of later maturity to their place in modern society.

The four central foci for study crucial for the understanding and control of the adjustment of old persons in modern American society are (1) the personality and social background traits of old people, (2) the conditions of adjustment, (3) the possible types of adjustment, and (4) the measurement of adjustment.

Tests are available for the measurement of personality traits that can be used to show the divergent traits of the old and the great individual differences in characteristics between old people. Accordingly, it may be feasible to construct a scale for determining the degree of psychological old age.

One section of the study should deal with a comparison of the status of old persons in various cultures, so that we may have a more objective understanding of the place which the old occupy in American society. But within American society there are many different kinds of community situations, each of which tends to constitute a subcultural unit with its own conditions of adjustment. The greatest differences in conditions of life are to be seen as between urban and rural communities, but within these there are also great variations, as between various types of residential sections in urban communities, between towns of various sizes, and between divergent kinds of rural communities.

The chief problem is to determine to what extent conditions of adjustment are the same or are different as between these different types of communities. It is apparent, also, that there are great differences in the status of the aged by the various occupations and that accordingly conditions affecting adjustment also vary.

Crucial to any study of adjustment in old age is a measure of successful adjustment. A scale on measuring adjustment is essential for determining how personality and social background factors are related to adjustment in old age. A measure of adjustment is necessary if we are to compare adjustment of persons in rural communities with those in cities, or in one section of the country with those in another region. Only through a measure of adjustment can we discover what types of adjustment are more satisfactory than other types.

Questions on which knowledge might be gained through the approaches just discussed concern:

a) The status of old people in different cultures, and in the different subcultures in the United States
b) The status of the old person in different occupational and professional groups
c) The development of an index of senility
d) Changes in personality traits, including intelligence, accompanying old age
e) Factors making for or against creativeness in old age
f) Old age psychoses
g) Old age and conservatism
h) Seniority and its function in social control
i) The differential optimum function of each age group in the population
j) The need of children, adolescents and youth for association with persons in later maturity, including the role of grandparents and other older relatives
k) The determination of the relative productivity of individuals at different age levels in the various professions and occupations
l) Spending activities in old age
m) Types of adjustment to retirement from business and other employment
n) Special interests, avocations, hobbies and other activities in old age
o) The role of the retired farmer in the town
p) Social-psychological analyses of the Townsend movement and other similar movements
q) The changing orientation of social institutions to meet the increasing proportion of older persons in the population

The fact that only two concrete problems of social adjustment are here discussed at length is in part a consequence of the Committee's judgment that these two are of outstanding importance, but the Committee is also of the opinion that the other two later to be considered—the adjustment problems resulting from great technological changes and from measures designed to meet the present national emergency and strengthen national defense—are perhaps of equal importance. Numerous additional concrete problems have been considered by the Committee, and it is on the basis of this consideration that the four mentioned have been tentatively selected for present emphasis.

The task of outlining a co-ordinated plan of research in the field of social adjustment, into which specific studies can be fitted as opportunities arise, has been barely begun by the work reviewed in this memorandum. There is need for much more detailed development of at least some of the problems tentatively agreed upon as of outstanding public and research importance.[2] There is also a responsibility for constant review and ap-

[2] At the present time detailed research planning is in progress not only upon the problem of genetic factors in social adjustment but also upon the problems of unconscious motivation, predictive methods, and adjustment in old age.

praisal of other aspects of social adjustment which later may be discovered to be of equal significance and research feasibility. Research planners in a broad field such as social adjustment must be careful to maintain flexibility and to avoid any danger of rigid direction of personnel and funds into work which, however well chosen initially, may lose its primacy because of changed social conditions or of the opening of previously closed research opportunities.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

GEORGE EDGAR VINCENT: 1864–1941

George Edgar Vincent was born in Rockford, Illinois, March 21, 1864, and died in New York, February 1, 1941. A graduate of Yale University in 1885, he entered graduate work in 1892 at the opening of the University of Chicago upon the urging of President William Rainey Harper, receiving his Doctor's degree in sociology *summa cum laude* in 1896.

The only son of Bishop John H. Vincent, founder and first president of Chautauqua, he was early identified with this pioneer experiment in adult education, being editor of *Chautauqua Press*, 1886; vice-president, Chautauqua System, 1888–98; president, Chautauqua Institution, 1907–15; and honorary president, 1915–37.

Dr. Vincent had a brilliant career as teacher and administrator at the University of Chicago, where he developed the new field of collective psychology. His advancement was rapid: instructor in sociology, 1895–96; assistant professor, 1896–1900; associate professor, 1900–1904; professor, 1904–11; dean in the junior colleges, 1900–1907; dean, faculties of arts, literature, and science, 1907–11.

As president of the University of Minnesota, 1911–17, he placed that institution in the front rank of state universities. His presidency of the Rockefeller Foundation, 1917–29, was marked by wise and progressive guidance of the development of a significant program of medical research and public health both in the United States and in other countries.

Dr. Vincent was author of *Social Mind and Education*, published in 1896, in which he set forth his philosophy of the sciences and a program of college education providing for synthesizing courses "to guide systematically the student's mind out of isolated studies into a unified way of looking at life and conduct," a program not realized until thirty years later with the introduction of the New College Plan at the University of Chicago. He was joint author with Albion Woodbury Small of one of the first college texts in sociology, *An Introduction to the Study of Society* (1895). Throughout his professional career he was constantly in demand as a stimulating and provocative lecturer.

He was associate editor of the *American Journal of Sociology* from its founding in 1895 to 1915 and advisory editor from 1915 to 1933. A charter member of the American Sociological Society, he served as president in 1916. After his retirement as president of the Rockefeller Foundation he continued his participation in movements and causes in which he was interested. He was chairman of the Hospital Survey Committee of the United Hospitals Fund, New York City, 1935–36. He gave an address at the annual dinner of the American Sociologocal Society at Atlantic City in 1939.

E. W. Burgess

University of Chicago

NEWS AND NOTES

American Journal of Sociology.—Everett C. Hughes, University of Chicago, has been elected an associate editor of the *Journal.*

RESEARCH NEWS

Social Science Research Council.—Under the auspices of the Council, four research planning studies in the field of social adjustment are being made. Under the auspices of the committee on genetic factors in social adjustment, Frederick Osborn, chairman, there has been completed by R. S. Woodworth, Columbia University, an analysis of studies of nature and nurture, with particular emphasis upon twins and foster-children, in order to suggest crucial problems for further research.

A committee consisting of A. T. Poffenberger, Columbia University, chairman; L. S. Cottrell, Jr., Cornell University; H. A Murray, Harvard University; and Ralph Linton, Columbia University, is making a critical evaluation of the research upon our conscious motivation as a basis for the development of experimental studies to test clinical findings. A canvass of the research possibilities in the study of problems of social adjustment in later maturity is being made by a committee which includes E. W. Burgess, University of Chicago, and Clark Tibbitts, University of Michigan.

A critical review of methods of the prediction of social adjustment will cover the important research work upon the measurement and prediction of school success, occupational adjustment, recidivism in crime, and marital adjustment. The report will concentrate upon the analysis of a few crucial problems, such as determining criteria of success, contingent predictions, the application of new statistical procedures such as matrix algebra to prediction, and case-study analysis as a complement to statistical procedure, together with suggestions for further significant research. The study will be made by Dr. Paul Horst, psychologist, director of personnel research, Proctor and Gamble Company, with the assistance upon certain phases of the study of Louis Guttman and Paul Wallin. The committee supervising the study consists of S. A. Stouffer, University of Chicago, chairman; Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. Cornell University; E. Lowell Kelly, Purdue University; and M. W. Richardson, director of test construction, Civil Service Commission, Washington, D.C.

American Youth Commission.—The Commission has recently published *Youth Work Program: Problems and Policies* by Lewis S. Lorwin and *Youth, Family and Education* by Joseph K. Folsom.

Bureau of Labor Statistics.—The Bureau has established a new unit to analyze the working population of the country, with a view to discovering the number of available workers with educational backgrounds, technical and manual skills, and other characteristics. At present this section is preparing estimates of the long-time trends in the labor supply of major groups of industries.

Classifying the major manufacturing industries into seven groups according to the trend of their employment figures between 1929 and 1937, the Bureau has undertaken another study to ascertain the industrial makeup of each region and to determine whether it is characterized by industries showing rapid growth, moderate growth, or decline.

Canadian National Registration.—Last August nearly eight million Canadians of both sexes of age sixteen and over were registered for the national war effort. Information obtained from the registrants included age, conjugal condition, dependents, country of birth, nationality, racial origin, languages spoken, education, condition of health, occupation, and employment status. Complete statistics of the characteristics of the adult population and of their capabilities for wartime service will shortly be made available.

The eighth decennial census of the population and agriculture of Canada will be taken as of Monday, June 2, 1941.

University of Cincinnati.—The Department of Sociology has just completed the field work of its study on social trends in Cincinnati since 1900 and is now engaged in the organizing of this material for publication.

Duke University.—Dr. John Gillin has been appointed associate professor of anthropology in the department of sociology. Dr. Gillin's duties will begin next fall semester. He will offer courses in general and cultural anthropology and also courses on the anthropology of the North and South American Indians. Dr. Gillin has been an assistant professor of anthropology in the department of sociology at the Ohio State University but has been on leave of absence this year studying at the Yale Institute of Human Relations. The staff in sociology next year will consist of Charles A. Ellwood, chairman; Hornell Hart, Howard E. Jensen, Edgar Thompson, and John Gillin. In addition, E. R. Groves, University of North Carolina, will conduct a seminar on marriage and the family.

Paul A. Root, School of Theology of the Southern Methodist University, will teach several courses in sociology at the Summer School. Other courses will be taught by Professors Jensen, Hart, and Thompson.

Dun and Bradstreet.—The Research and Statistical Division of this organization is preparing a study of the local market effects of (1) defense orders on industrial communities and (2) army training centers on the neighboring communities. Part I of this study is based upon data showing prime defense contracts according to objective and broken down by industrial area. Estimates of the purchasing power which may be expected to accrue to each area are derived by multiplying each type of order within the area by the prevailing ratio of value added by manufacture in the type of industry represented by that order. These estimates of purchasing power will be accompanied by figures on the population and retail sales volume of the respective industrial area. A later phase of the study will be designed to produce information on three additional points: (1) the time period over which the production of each order is expected to spread, (2) the extent to which these orders displace civilian production rather than add to the total pay roll of the community, and (3) the extent to which subcontracting of parts and assemblies under government encouragement exceeds the previous customary degree of "farming-out" in the same industry.

Based upon estimates of the number of men in each of the important army training centers, the second part of the study consists of estimates of the effect of these centers upon neighboring communities.

Guggenheim Foundation.—Eighty-five fellowships with grants of funds totalling $180,000 to assist research and creative work to be carried on in the year 1941–42 by American and Canadian scholars and artists have been announced by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. Among the awards of interest to our readers are the following:

Edward Prince Hutchinson, demography, Library of Congress, will extend his researches into the socioeconomic significance of population.

Solomon E. Asch will prepare a book on the formation and change of opinion and attitude.

Edward Holland Spicer, anthropology, University of Arizona, will prepare a comparative study of the influences of contact with other cultures upon the Yaqui Indian communities of Mexico and Arizona.

Isabel Truesdell Kelly, anthropology, University of California, has been granted a second fellowship to enable her to continue her ethnographic and archeologic investigations in Mexico.

Dorothy Mary Spencer, anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, is engaged in studying the Mundas, an aboriginal people who live on the high plateaus of Bengal, India.

Wilbur J. Cash, member of the staff of the *Charlotte* (N.C.) *News*, author of *The Mind of the South*, will go to Mexico to write his fellowship book.

Dorothea Lange, Berkeley, California, will make documentary photographs of the American social scene, particularly in rural communities.

George Katona, New York City, will continue his studies in the field of the psychology of learning with special reference to the differences in learning by understanding and learning by memorization and drill.

Rudolf Arnheim will study the application of the principles and methods of Gestalt psychology to art analysis.

Housing Surveys.—The first report resulting from the Real Property Survey and Low-Income Housing Area Survey of Cleveland, Ohio, has been published under the title *Planes of Living in Cuyahoga County*, prepared under the direction of Howard W. Green. The second volume, consisting of eighty-nine pages of text and maps, presents the data for each census tract.

The final report of the low-income housing survey for the New Orleans metropolitan area will probably be published this spring. This project will be the most comprehensive study on housing conditions in the New Orleans area ever undertaken.

The Division of Research of the Work Projects Administration has been conducting sample surveys to determine the number of dwelling-unit vacancies in approximately one hundred cities in the United States where there exists or may exist great defense activity.

Milbank Memorial Fund.—Operating on funds appropriated by the Carnegie Corporation, the Fund has undertaken a co-operative study of the social and psychological factors affecting human fertility. The study is aimed at obtaining information which will partially answer these questions: (1) How does the number of children born to a couple compare with the number wanted? (2) How is the number wanted influenced by various social and psychological factors? (3) How would size of family be affected by various measures which might be included in a national population program aimed at checking the decline in the birth rate.

Plans for the study have been developed during the last two years by the following committee of populationists and psychologists: Lowell J. Reed, chairman; Daniel Katz, E. Lowell Kelly, Clyde V. Kiser, Frank

Lorimer, Frank W. Notestein, Frederick Osborn, S. A. Switzer, Warren S. Thompson, and P. K. Whelpton. The last mentioned has been designated director of field work.

National Resources Planning Board.—Two reports have recently been published by the Board: *Federal Aids to Local Planning* and *Regional Development Plans.* The first of these is a guide to the services and data available in the federal government for use in local planning activities and consists of statements regarding the functions and activities of forty-six federal agencies whose work is most directly related to the type of local planning effort undertaken by cities, counties, and special districts both in normal times and during the present emergency. The latter publication deals with the conservation and use of resources throughout the United States and was printed by Congress, following a message from the President emphasizing that "we must seek wider understanding of the possibilities for that future we prepare to defend."

The Board has also published *Urban Planning and Land Policies,* a report containing case studies of 144 communities in the United States which have been constructed according to a predetermined physical plan.

Psychiatric Monographs.—Under this title the Department of Institutions of the state of California has inaugurated publication of a series of monographs, of which No. 1 has appeared—*Psychiatric Monographs: The Etiology of Child Behavior Difficulties, Juvenile Delinquency, and Adult Criminality, with Special Reference to Their Occurrence in Twins,* by Aaron J. Rosanoff, Leva M. Handy, and Isabel Rosanoff Plesset. According to a statement by Dr. Rosanoff, editor-in-chief, the editorial board plans to publish monographs at irregular intervals as acceptable manuscripts are found. The board will consider monographs embodying original contributions pertaining to the science and practice of psychiatry, including such contiguous fields as those of neurosurgery, genetics, psychology, criminology, sociology, and the like, from universities, hospitals, and other institutions anywhere.

Twentieth Century Fund.—The Fund has recently published *Labor and National Defense,* a study of labor problems in key defense industries and recommendations regarding these problems. The factual findings were presented under the direction of Lloyd Reynolds, Johns Hopkins University, and the recommendations were formulated by the labor committee of the Fund, including William M. Leiserson, National Labor Relations Board; Sumner Slichter, Harvard University; and E. E. Witte, University of Wisconsin.

Work Projects Administration.—The Division of Research is conducting a series of surveys to ascertain the effect of increasing industrial activity upon the need for W.P.A. employment in both active and inactive areas.

Another survey has been instituted upon the characteristics of W.P.A. workers who obtained private employment during September and October, 1940, and also upon the character of the jobs they secured. Interviews were conducted with about 10,000 workers in thirty-two representative counties of the United States.

Information relative to the farm labor supply and requirements, used by numerous defense boards in considering the question of calling trainees to military service, is being supplied the Department of Agriculture by the W.P.A. Research and Records project, Analysis of Farm Data, sponsored by the Department of Agriculture. The Agricultural Statistics Division of the Agricultural Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, which directs the project, has been designated as a defense agency.

The recreation project in New York City has made a survey of the city entrance points and debarkation terminals as a preliminary step in providing recreation for uniformed soldiers while on leave in that city. The project also is working toward the establishment of home and community recreation interests that will include new services as well as the extension of existing services. Efforts are being made to develop adequate recreation coverage through neighborhood organizations.

A research project under way at New York University is designed to establish research techniques for estimating the national incomes of various countries.

NOTES

American Sociological Society.—The next meeting of the Society will be held in New York City, December 27–29. Among other organizations meeting concurrently in New York City will be the Rural Sociological Society, the American Economic Association, the American Association for Labor Legislation, and the Institute of Mathematical Statistics.

Eastern Sociological Society.—Meeting at Providence, Rhode Island, April 19 and 20, the Society devoted the first morning to reports on research. Afternoon meetings consisted of discussion sections on war, personality, and the work of Lester J. Ward. The presidential address was delivered by Maurice R. Davie, Yale University. Margaret Mead, American Museum of Natural History, presented an illustrated lecture on

"Dance and Trance in Bali." The Sunday-morning session consisted of two sections devoted to personnel practice and status and the motivation of sociological research.

Michigan Sociological Society.—The Society met in conjunction with the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, at Ann Arbor, March 14. An address was delivered by L. L. Bernard, Washington University, on "Some Latin-American Sociologists." Two papers related to war were presented by W. S. Landecker, University of Michigan, and H. Warren Dunham, Wayne University; and other papers were delivered by C. R. Hoffer and D. L. Gibson, Michigan State College; N. T. Frame, United States Department of Agriculture; Norman Humphrey, Wayne University; and Edward A. Jandy, Wayne University.

Mid-West Sociological Society.—The Society held its meeting April 17–19 at Des Moines. The opening meeting was a general session devoted to the topic "Sociological Theory and Social Research," with papers by Herbert Blumer, University of Chicago, on "The Observation of Human Conduct," and E. T. Hiller, University of Illinois, on "Social Institutions Viewed as Value Organizations." E. B. Reuter, University of Iowa, addressed the dinner meeting, April 18, on "The State of the Discipline." The balance of the program consisted of a number of sectional meetings. The Mid-west Student Sociological Society met concurrently and participated in these meetings.

American Eugenics Society.—The spring conference and fifteenth annual meeting of the Society was held at New York City, March 31. Frank Lorimer, American University, delivered a paper on "Helping Young America to Responsible Parenthood through Social and Economic Aids," and Mary Fisher, Vassar College, discussed the psychological implications of this question. Among the other speakers were Frederick Osborn, Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation, and Irving Lorge, Columbia University.

American Friends Service Committee.—Through a subcommittee on race relations the Friends Service Committee will hold an Institute of Race Relations and Minority Problems at Westtown (Pa.) School, July 6–26. The Institute will be open to specialists in the field of minority groups who are already active in government, educational, and religious work, qualified graduate and undergraduate students, and lay people who have opportunities for leadership. The course of study will consider the prob-

lems of minority groups within the national scene from the points of view of anthropology, psychology, sociology, economics, religion, and education. Among the lecturers who will participate in the Institute are F. J. Brown, New York University; John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Charles Johnson and Thomas Jones, Fisk University; Donald Young, University of Pennsylvania; and Otto Klineberg, Columbia University, who is also serving as director of studies.

Anisfield Award.—The sixth annual John Anisfield Award of $1,000 for the outstanding book of the year on racial relations has been awarded to Louis Adamic, editor of *Common Ground*, for his *From Many Lands*, an account of the racial contacts and blendings of our recent immigrants in America.

Conference on Methods in Philosophy and the Sciences.—The Conference held its regular spring symposium this year, on April 27, at the New School for Social Research, New York City. The topic was "The Personal, Social, and Scientific Significance of Differences in Philosophical Method."

Educational and Sociological Measurement.—Under this title Science Research Associates, Chicago, Illinois, began publication in January, 1941, of a quarterly journal devoted to the development and application of measures of individual differences. C. Frederic Kuder, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C., is editor, and manuscripts should be sent to him.

Houghton Mifflin Fellowships.—For the seventh successive year Houghton Mifflin Company are offering two fellowships to promising writers who need financial assistance to complete literary projects. These fellowships are $1,500 each, one for fiction and one for nonfiction. Fellowships are given on the basis of work in progress, in an effort to provide unestablished authors with the time and economic security necessary for the completion of their work. Further information may be obtained by writing the Houghton Mifflin Company, 2 Park Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Institute in Family Relations.—This organization held a meeting at Toledo, Ohio, March 27–28, on the theme "Meeting Modern Problems of Family Life." Among those participating were Hornell Hart, Duke University, and Howard Y. McClusky, American Youth Commission.

Institute of General Semantics.—The Second American Congress on General Semantics will be held at the University of Denver, August 1 and 2, 1941. Several sessions of the congress will be devoted to papers on applications of general semantics and related empirical data. Correspondence about the congress may be addressed to Elwood Murray, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado.

During the first week of October, 1941, there will be a symposium on general semantics at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, which will be sponsored by a group of faculty members of the university under the chairmanship of Irving J. Lee. A special intensive seminar will be conducted by Alfred Korzybski at Pennsylvania State College, August 11–22.

Inter-American Congress of Municipalities.—The Second Congress will be held in Santiago, Chile, September 15, 1941. The agenda is divided into (1) general sessions; (2) plenary sessions; and (3) commissions for the study of technical municipal problems. Under the latter heading, attention will be devoted to the collection, use, and unification of municipal statistics, urbanism, and regional and national planning in public services.

Midwest Conference on Tomorrow's Children.—The Conference was held at the Palmer House, Chicago, March 27–29. Among those delivering papers were Samuel A. Stouffer, University of Chicago, Horace R. Cayton, Good Shepard Community Center, Chicago, Melville Herskovits, Northwestern University, and William E. Blatz, University of Toronto.

National Conference on Family Relations.—A series of regional conferences are being held during the spring and summer, including the following: Southern California Conference, at Scripps College, March 15; the Iowa Conference, Coe College, March 20–21; the Pacific Conference, held at Mills College, March 22–23; the Ohio Conference at Ohio State University, March 25–26; the New York State Conference held at New York City, March 28–29; the New England Conference at Harvard University, July 16–18; and the Southern Conference at the University of Alabama, June 26–28. Other conferences for which arrangements have not been completed include the Rock Mountain, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, Oregon, and Virginia.

National Probation Association.—Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes is honorary chairman of a national committee to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the probation movement, which began with the work of John Augustus, a Boston shoemaker. Focal point of the centennial program planned by the board of trustees and professional council will be the National Probation Association's annual conference in Boston's Hotel Statler, May 29–31. Principal objectives of the centennial observance are the strengthening of interest and understanding between the public and the courts and emphasis of probation, parole, and well-conducted juvenile courts as common-sense approaches to crime prevention and control.

Parents' Institute.—The publishers of *Parents' Magazine* have begun publication of a bimonthly periodical, *True Comics*. This magazine, which portrays exciting events of history, is regarded by its publishers as an antidote for "lurid comic" magazines which are read widely by children. The address of the publishers is 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City.

Rockefeller Foundation.—Under the title "A Review for 1940" President Raymond D. Fosdick has presented the annual report of the activities of the Foundation. Observing that, in critical times, "the social sciences may seem like frail reeds to lean upon, " Mr. Fosdick proceeds with the view that society needs the best answers to pressing social questions which the best minds in the social sciences can develop. During 1940 the Foundation made twenty-two grants for the support of work in the social sciences—eight primarily in the field of international relations; two in connection with studies of the amount and distribution of the national income; two in financial and fiscal policy; six in public administration; three in the field of industry, labor, and social security; and one in economic history.

This report reveals two other activities of the Foundation which are of considerable interest. One of these is a program of protecting the careers of scholars unable to continue work in their native lands. From 1933 to 1939 this program was largely viewed in terms of placing scholars. In 1940, however, it became a policy of effecting emergency rescues. In the field of psychiatry the Foundation appropriated $12,500 to the American Psychiatric Association, over a three-year period, toward the cost of teaching conferences for the professional personnel of state mental hospitals; and $175,000 to Duke University, payable over a period of seven years, for the development of teaching in psychiatry.

Sociometry.—Adolf Meyer, Johns Hopkins University, has joined the editorial board of this journal. Other members of the board are John Dewey and Wesley C. Mitchell, both of Columbia University, George P. Murdock, Yale University, and Gardner Murphy, College of the City of New York.

Southern Sociological Society.—The Society held its sixth annual meeting in Atlanta on April 4 and 5, with a registration of two hundred and twenty-five persons. The Society has two hundred and fifty-five members. The meetings were organized around the following topics: "Race and Culture," "Public Welfare and Social Work," "The Community," "Teaching of Sociology," "Population," and "Social Research." The evening session was devoted to addresses by Stuart A. Queen, Washington University, on "Sociologists in the Present Crisis," and Carl C. Taylor, Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, on "Social Science and Social Action in Agriculture."

The elected officers for 1941–42 were: president, William E. Cole, University of Tennessee; first vice-president, L. M. Bristol, University of Florida, second vice-president, Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta School of Social Work; members of the executive committee, Leland B. Tate, Laura Ebaugh, and Harold Hoffsommer; and representative on the executive committee of the American Sociological Society, E. T. Krueger, Vanderbilt University.

United States Office of Education.—The Office of Education has planned and the Rosenwald Fund has financed a series of educational radio programs which will dramatize Negro contributions to American life. The programs, which will be broadcast nationally, will also be transcribed for use in schools, colleges, and by local radio stations.

University of California.—During the summer session courses will be offered in the department of social institutions on rural sociology and population problems by T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University, and on social problems of a changing age by Harry Elmer Barnes, formerly of Smith College and Columbia University.

University of Cincinnati.—At the annual meeting of Alpha Kappa Delta James A. Quinn was elected editor of the *Alpha Kappa Delta Quarterly.*

During March, Sven Liljeblad, Swedish anthropologist and Zorn Fellow of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, was a visitor to this

Department. He spoke before the Sociology Club and Alpha Kappa Delta. Dr. Liljeblad is assistant professor at the Uppsala University of Sweden.

Columbia University.—During the summer session Kimball Young, Queens College, will offer courses in introductory sociology and in institutional patterns and individual behavior.

For the third summer a group of students will investigate life in the South, focusing their attention on Greenville County, South Carolina. This course is offered by Teachers College in co-operation with *The Open Road* and is conducted by W. C. Hallenbeck, Columbia University, and Gordon W. Blackwell, Furman University. The course opens July 14 and closes August 16. Further information may be obtained by writing Professor Hallenbeck, Columbia University.

In the early autumn the Princeton University Press will publish *Medical Progress and Social Change* by Bernhard J. Stern. The book was prepared under the auspices of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics.

Duke University.—D. C. Heath and Company have published a revised edition of *Personality and the Family* by Hornell Hart.

University of Iowa.—Hans von Hentig, University of Colorado, will offer courses in the department of sociology during the summer session.

Lindenwood College (St. Charles, Mo.).—Centering about the theme, "The American Family and National Unity," and sponsored by the department of sociology, a Conference on Family Life was held March 14–16. Among the participants in the conference were Paul Popenoe, Institute of Family Relations, Los Angeles, who delivered addresses on "How Do You Know It's Love?" "Looking Forward to Marriage," "Making Marriage a Success"; and Katherine Lenroot, Children's Bureau, on "Family Life, the Strength of the Nation."

Louisiana State University.—In conjunction with the program of the General Education Board's program for training teachers and research persons in the field of population, Warren S. Thompson, Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, is offering courses during the current semester.

University of Michigan.—Theodore Newcomb, Bennington College, has been appointed associate professor and will have charge of courses in

social psychology. Harvey Locke, Indiana University, will give courses in the summer session in social psychology and collective behavior.

A program of study, bearing the title "Public Policy in a World at War," is designed to present to the summer-session students a well-coordinated course of instruction and reading in the fundamental elements of domestic and foreign policy, the forces which have shaped the course of international affairs in recent decades, and the relationship of the United States to present war and prospective peace. Among the faculty of this graduate study program is Hans Speier, New School for Social Research, who will offer one course under the title of the general program and another on social classes.

McGraw-Hill has published *The Integration of American Society* by Robert C. Angell.

University of Minnesota.—Raymond F. Sletto is on leave for the spring quarter to join the staff of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Harold R. Hosea, formerly an editor of *Social Science Abstracts* and more recently connected with the Washington Research Division of the W.P.A. and editor of the volumes on abstracts of W.P.A. research, will join the staff of the department of sociology as lecturer in sociology to teach the courses ordinarily given by Professor Sletto.

Arthur Ramos, University of Brazil, will give two lectures in April.

University of Missouri.—Recent publications of members of the staff include *Secret Societies: A Cultural Study of Fraternalism in the United States* by Noel P. Gist and *You and Your Superstitions* by Brewton Berry. Forrest D. Kellogg, who has done graduate work at the University of Iowa, has been appointed to the staff.

Mount St. Mary's College (Emmitsburg, Md.).—In conjunction with the department of social sciences of Mount St. Mary's College, *The Sign*, a national Catholic magazine, will sponsor the First Catholic Seminar to South America this summer. The project, which is expected to get under way the first week in July will require seventy days for the entire program, comprising studies on shipboard en route to South America, a selection of courses at the University in Lima, and a number of field excursions and side trips. Principal emphasis will be placed upon an intensive survey of Iberian history as well as Latin-American culture, art, economics, and sociology. Dr. Thorning will supervise the studies in sociology and economics, while to Dr. Weidinger will be committed the research into South

American culture and art. It is planned eventually to expand the seminar project to every country of Central and South America. Outstanding scholars, diplomats, government officials, and spiritual leaders will be invited to participate in this program.

New York University.—During the second term of the summer session (July 28–September 5) a new resident-field course by W. W. Argow will be offered in correctional administration. This course, which will be limited to twenty-five students, will include intensive study of at least six progressive correctional institutions.

University of North Carolina.—Gordon Blackwell, Furman University, has been appointed research associate professor and co-ordinator of research and teaching in the subregional laboratory, effective next September.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.—William L. Kolb, who has been a teaching assistant for the last two years at the University of Wisconsin, has taken the position of instructor in sociology succeeding William C. Loring, Jr., who resigned to take a position with the Defense Housing Commission in Washington.

University of Oregon.—At the summer session held in Portland Donald R. Taft, University of Illinois, will offer courses in criminology and in population theory and a seminar on delinquency.

Peabody College.—Marion B. Smith, Louisiana State University, will serve as visiting professor of sociology during the summer session.

University of Pennsylvania.—William Rex Crawford has been granted a leave of absence for the spring semester of 1940–41 and the fall semester of 1941–42. He has left for the University of Chile (Santiago) as exchange professor under the sponsorship of the Division of Cultural Relations of the United States Department of State. Thorsten Sellin has been appointed chairman of the department of sociology. His monograph on *The Criminality of Youth* was recently issued by the American Law Institute. Albert H. Hobbs has been appointed instructor in sociology. George K. Brown, part-time instructor, has joined the teaching staff of St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York. Rex A. Skidmore, Harrison Fellow in Sociology, has been appointed assistant instructor in sociology.

University of Rochester.—The Conference on Vital Social Problems was held February 18–21 under the direction of the Collegiate Religious Association and the Young Men's Christian Association. The Conference consisted of no general meetings, but a number of discussion sessions were planned by the students in classrooms, fraternity houses, and student unions.

Stanford University.—E. B. Reuter, University of Iowa, will serve as visiting professor during the summer session.

University of Virginia.—Katherine Jocher, University of North Carolina, will teach a course in the background and history of public welfare during the summer session.

Wellesley College.—"Strengthening America at Home and Abroad" is the theme of the Summer Institute for Social Progress which will be held July 5–19 at Wellesley College.

Western Reserve University.—James E. Cutler was recently awarded a distinguished service certificate by the Community Fund of Cleveland for his development of "the highest type of graduate education for the profession of social service."

University of Wisconsin.—Leland C. DeVinney, instructor in the social sciences at the University of Chicago, has been appointed associate professor of sociology.

Morris Opler, Claremont College, will offer two courses in anthropology during the summer session.

PERSONAL

The second book to be published in the "Sociological Series" of the Duke University Press is *Social Science Principles in the Light of Scientific Method*, by Joseph Mayer, Library of Congress and Wheaton College.

BOOK REVIEWS

Critiques of Research in the Social Sciences, Vol. I: *An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America."* By HERBERT BLUMER, with statements by WILLIAM I. THOMAS and FLORIAN ZNANIECKI, a panel discussion, and summary and analysis by READ BAIN. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1939. Pp. xvii+210. $1.00.

In 1938 the Committee on Appraisal of Research of the Social Science Research Council asked Professor Blumer to make a critical analysis of the well-known monograph by Thomas and Znaniecki. This work had been voted one of the most important contributions to sociology by a selected group of scholars in that field. The aim was to get, first, an evaluation of the method and, second, some estimate of the influence of this monograph on social science research method and standpoint. Blumer confined himself almost entirely to the first aim; in the panel discussion which centered around his report, certain of the effects of the work were mentioned. The first half of the present volume consists of Blumer's criticism and certain comments on this appraisal by Thomas and by Znaniecki. The second portion contains a transcription of the round-table discussion on the critique.

The two principal considerations of Blumer concern the methodology and the social theory in the *Polish Peasant.* He reviews briefly the main features of the data to be studied and indicates the high importance which the authors put upon the subjective or meaningful factors revealed in the human documents that served as their chief sources. Regarding the specific technique of analyzing these materials, Blumer maintains that, as far as the monograph itself goes, there is no very clear evidence of a well-developed method. With respect to this point, Thomas mentions, in his comments, that he used methods which he had worked out in connection with his well-known course "Social Attitudes." (And the reviewer takes the liberty of noting an outline of method devised by Thomas and published in this *Journal*, XVII [1912], 725–75, which may well have had some bearing on the Polish research.)

The essential theory of Thomas and Znaniecki concerns the relation of attitude to value, with special reference to the dynamics of change. Around this central concept revolve other concepts, such as the four

wishes, the definition of the situation, life-organization, personality types, and the relation of personal and social disorganization.

In discussing their hypotheses, Blumer notes that the work may be viewed from two levels: first, a "general realization" that externalized cultural factors are dependent on the subjective life of the individuals involved; and, second, a presupposition that specifically definite, fixed, and causal relationships exist between the objective and the subjective factors. In order to test their assumptions, Blumer holds that four factors must be taken into account: (1) the "representativeness of the data," (2) their "adequacy," (3) their "reliability," and (4) the "validity of the interpretation." In generalizing from his criticism, Blumer remarks "that a document has value only in terms of the theory with which it is interpreted . . . . that the validity of the theory usually cannot be determined by the document" (p. 79). In other words, he believes that in this investigation "theories seem to order the data" (p. 77) and not vice versa, as he contends should be the case. However, as a slight concession to those who may feel that the appraisal is too extreme on this point, Blumer grants that the theories of Thomas and Znaniecki may, and probably do, have a high validity even though their theory and generalizations do not emerge from an inductive consideration of their data but rather from their general familiarity with Polish culture in Europe and America, as well as from their acquaintance with human behavior elsewhere. In fact, from Blumer's point of view the human documents merely served to provide "a sensitive and inquiring mind hunches, insights, questions suitable for reflection, new perspectives, and new understandings," which passed into the larger apperceptive mass of the authors and, in turn, aided them in elaborating or altering theories more or less laid down in advance.

In commenting on Blumer's analysis Thomas admits many shortcomings in the monograph and reveals his altered standpoint on research techniques, especially with regard to the use of statistical methods to help check the validity and reliability of the human, subjective documents. (It is worth noting, however, that nowhere does Blumer direct his criticism to the nonquantitative nature of the data or its analysis.) Znaniecki's reactions to the appraisal also indicate certain subsequent modifications in his own theoretical considerations, and he accepts the critic's contention that he and Thomas did not adequately test their theories in the light of their facts. But he is more optimistic than Blumer regarding the solid contribution which the use of human documents affords. While he grants that the conception of the relation of attitude and value was stated in rather static, mechanistic terms, he believes that the relation of

the subjective to the objective factors in social change must be recognized if there is to be a sound social psychology.

In the panel conference on the Blumer critique, the major part of the discussion revolved around the problem of the validity of the authors' theories in relation to their data and the broader general topic of how to test subjective data. Several of the conferees felt that Blumer's criticism was altogether defeatist and even "nihilistic" and that a good deal might be said in defense of the type of approach used in the monograph.

In fact, Blumer sets up a rather absolutist research ideal of an "all-or-none" character from which apparently a careful inductive analysis of data should somehow flow out into sound theories and social "laws." One may well ask if Blumer has sufficiently considered the role of the research worker as not only an instrument in the collection of data—as would be the instance with a cultural anthropologist working with informants—and especially the place of the scholar as an instrument in the formulation of theories and hypotheses. Because theories may "order the data," does that thereby damn the results into the limbo of fantasy? Blumer might examine again the intriguing story of the manner in which scientists everywhere have used their hunches, insights, and prior knowledge not only in setting up their problems and in analyzing their data but in formulating the final theories themselves. Even the "laws" of the natural science reveal the hand and mind of man!

Not least important in this book is Thomas' "own story" of how the *Polish Peasant* came into being, and especially his confession that the very "Methodological Note" which is the bone of most of the contention was actually "in the nature of an essay" appended *after* the entire work had been, to all intents and purposes, completed. This latter fact, which has not been widely known, seems to the reviewer to have some significance with reference to Blumer's critique. It might be instructive to have someone who had never been exposed to such a discussion as the one under review here write a critical comment of the Thomas-Znaniecki monograph from which the "Methodological Note" had been omitted. The reactions might be rather different.

Evidently the analysis of such data as we find in the *Polish Peasant* is difficult to carry forward without some sort of preconception on the part of the worker; but, for that matter, the canons of experimental and statistical research are themselves forms of preconception. If there is no other way out of this dilemma save through an operational approach, there is always a certain homely pragmatism that defends any theory and generalization that encompasses the largest body of facts within the most

consistent logical framework and which serves to give a basis for a certain degree of prediction and control of behavior. The *Polish Peasant* was crucial in the shift from philosophical considerations to empirical research in sociology; and, even if one should grant completely the validity of Blumer's severe criticism—which I do not—it will long remain an important milepost in the advance of the science of human and social behavior. It stimulated a host of concrete community and group studies in Chicago and elsewhere, and its theoretical concepts have proved of certain practical worth in this country and abroad. This seems to be a noteworthy record for a piece of research begun and executed in the period from 1912 to 1917.

KIMBALL YOUNG

Queens College

Social Ecology: A Critical Analysis. By MILLA AISSA ALIHAN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. Pp. ix+267. $2.75.

This is a difficult book to review, for, although its assumptions are stated explicitly only once, and then inadvertently, they serve as the focus for forthright criticism of the so-called "ecological school." Miss Alihan's implied position is of more interest than the argument she levels, mainly, against Park, Burgess, Wirth, and McKenzie. On page 249 the author's position, implied throughout, becomes explicit when she writes: "The application of ecological analogy, the concomitant accretions of alien concepts from several other disciplines, and the modification of these have resulted not only in the deviation of the school from the ecological subject matter, but also in the change of the entire character and scope of the system." This is probably the most significant sentence in the book, for it reveals, first, that Miss Alihan believes there is an "ecological subject matter" and, second, that the "ecological school" she has criticized has not dealt with this subject matter, because their theory has been borrowed, misused, and uncomprehended by the ones who used it. This is a tacit implication that the author knows what the subject matter of ecology is and that it has, as a frame of reference, a well-developed "right" body of theory, concepts, terms, and processes entailed in its elucidation, and, above all, a "true" scientific method.

With this a priori frame of reference Miss Alihan set out to analyze critically the three fundamentals of "the ecological school"—its position, concepts, and methodology—with a view to evaluating their contribution to sociology. The argument is developed to the conclusion that the eco-

logical school's position is untenable because it is a particularistic philosophy, therefore unscientific; its concepts have been borrowed from "alien disciplines"; its methodology is analogical. In the field studies, made by the students of the theorists, Miss Alihan finds little use of the severely attacked piecemeal theories, so one more charge is made, that there is little relation between theory and research. The outcome is a tentative acceptance of factual studies but a rejection of theory and concepts, because, where theory and fact are not congruous, "there is no science." Almost every page sparkles with an indirect challenge or accusation; for instance, ecologists do not know the basic difference between reality and abstraction (p. 48); they do not have a clear or full comprehension of the concepts they are using (p. 36); they are not consistent in their use of the terms they employ to denote the imperfect concepts they have borrowed (pp. 46–47, 48–49); they do not reveal the relation between the processes they describe and the entity "community." They are charged basically with forcing theory into a Procrustean bed of particularistic, eighteenth-century philosophy which divided human affairs into the dichotomy of a state of nature and a state of society, expressed by the ecologists as the biotic order and the moral or social order—more succinctly, "community" versus "society." Miss Alihan also charges the ecologists with supporting the existence of a social contract that took man out of the biotic order into society (p. 95). Moreover, the theoretical background and assumptions of ecologists are "particularistic," "contractual," "dualistic," "materialistic," "organismic," and "physically deterministic."

The reviewer has no quarrel with the author, for each writer may say what he pleases. All he expects is a certain degree of consistency, in logic and fact, between what is alleged and what exists in fact. Thus, the following comment: While Miss Alihan is laying all about her with the cold scalpel of logic, she slips amid the droppings, for in the beginning of chapter iv the background of ecological theory is alleged to be one with the contract school, while in the latter part, and henceforth, she calls it organismic. Here it appears that the author is doing identically what she claims the ecologists are guilty of perpetrating. Then, too, why discuss human ecology entirely without even mentioning the phrase "social ecology," used as the title.

The book is strongly written, incisive in its logic, and should be thoroughly read by every student of ecology; but the reader should not be dazzled by the explicit content, for the tacit assumptions on which the author works are what gives the criticism focus. The reviewer, for one, will look forward eagerly for an elucidation of Miss Alihan's position, theory,

and method. He is immediately interested, however, in two items: a definition of "the ecological subject matter," and a reference or two to the "right" body of scientific theory implied in the analysis. Until this is done, "social ecology" remains mainly an exercise in logic where what "is" is torn apart by the standard of what "ought to be," without the objects of the criticism being in possession of the abstract desideratum, which is apparently understood by Miss Alihan but not by the theorists of "the ecological school."

A. B. HOLLINGSHEAD

Indiana University

Contemporary Social Theory. Edited by HARRY ELMER BARNES, HOWARD BECKER, and FRANCES BENNETT BECKER. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940. Pp. xx+947. $5.00.

The present volume undertakes a thorough survey and appraisal of "the diversified research and formulations which constitute contemporary social theory." In the words of the authors, "an effort has been made to canvass all salient aspects of contemporary social thinking and to assess their significance for the current social scene and for the probable development of social theory in the generation which lies ahead." Moreover, the authors are convinced that the task has been ably accomplished since "any adequately prepared person who reads this book will obtain a clear and comprehensive idea of what is going on today and will also secure hints as to what may be expected in the near future."

In spite of the fact that the volume is a symposium contributed to by nineteen different writers, the book is "a logically organized and well-unified treatment which should constitute the natural conclusion of courses in the history of social and sociological thought." There is no longer any need for the traditionally inadequate treatment of sociological theory.

This book will enable teachers and students to round out their courses properly. . . . . It seems logical that this volume should supplant or at least complement the handbooks now being used in courses being devoted to general sociology. . . . . By the time this treatise has been digested, the students will know what sociology is today, what its interrelations with the other social sciences are, and what it may become tomorrow. . . . . The editors have consciously endeavored to make it the best extant manual for advanced sociology courses and have the conviction, right or wrong, that it is as yet the only work of its kind in English. . . . . It is the most serviceable guide to advanced studies in the sociological field.

The book itself, in its organization and content, presents one conception of general sociology or, in the alternative phraseologies, social or sociological theory; it is designed as a more or less comprehensive synthesis of the various aspects of social science. An abbreviated presentation of the organization and content will give an adequate conception of the volume.

Part I, on "The Sociological Frame of Reference," opens with a brief sketch by Barnes on the development of sociology. This is followed by a long discussion of "types" by Becker, a short discussion of concepts by Eubank, and a paper by Dahlke on the sociology of knowledge. Part II, on "Interactions of the Natural Sciences and the Social Sciences," presents two papers, one by Goldenweiser commenting on the works of Dilthey and Rickert and the other by Lundberg tracing the development of statistical techniques. Part III, on "Theories of Environmental Influence on Human Society: Anthropogeography and Human Ecology," contains a long paper by Franklin Thomas on anthropogeography and a short paper by Quinn on human ecology. Part IV, on "Biological Data and Social Theory," presents three papers: one by Barnes gives a historical summary of physical anthropology, one by W. W. Howells discusses race, and one by Frank Hankins assesses the "Demographic and Biological Contributions to Sociological Principles." Part V, on "The Study of Mental Currents and Psychic Processes," contains two papers: in the first, Kimball Young and D. W. Oberdorfer deal with certain trends in psychology; in the second, Goldenweiser discusses psychoanalytic theory in relation to social analysis. Part VI, on "The Cultural Approach to Problems of Social Development," presents a paper by Goldenweiser on anthropological studies, one by Howard Becker on "Historical Sociology," and one by Barnes on "The New History, Archeology, and Cultural Evolution." Part VII, on "Some Applications of Sociological Theory to the Social Sciences and Public Problems," presents seven miscellaneous papers: Parsons on sociological elements in economic thought, Barnes on sociological contributions to political thought, Seagle on sociological trends in jurisprudence, Barnes and J. P. Shalloo on criminology and penology, Philip Klein on social work, J. S. Roucek on sociology and education, and M. J. Williams on representative sociological contributions to religion and ethics. A bibliographical appendix by C. W. Mills and a name and subject index end the volume.

This is a rich and varied body of content; many disciplines and fields of specialized research are brought into the pattern. But even so one is struck by the significant omissions; the claim that the book treats "all salient aspects of contemporary social thinking" is, apparently, not in full

harmony with the facts. The body of analytical sociology, for example—the body of sociological study that has had to do with the analysis of social processes as distinct from historical phenomena, on the one hand, and from the consideration of practical problems, on the other—seems to be almost completely overlooked. This can hardly have been an oversight in view of the fact that a very large percentage of the scholarly work in sociology has been and is of this character. One must assume, therefore, that the omission of this area of interest was deliberate and intentional. If this be the case, the pretentions of scholarly objectivity in the organization of the work are not in accord with the actual performance. And the omission of this area of sociological interest, quite apart from its academic status and regardless of any question as to its scholarly reputability, destroys any pretension that the volume may make to systematic adequacy. One is forced to recognize the sectarian character of the organization presented. There can be, of course, not the slightest criticism directed toward a work because it exploits a particularistic conception; every author should be free to select and present the subject matter that seems to him to have significance. It is another matter, however, to claim completeness when completeness does not exist. And it is particularly unfortunate in the case of a book of this character which is likely to be used by various instructors who, because of the incompleteness of their own training, may fail to recognize that the book lacks the systematic adequacy that it seems to claim. From this point of view, the volume is likely to operate, if it falls into the hands of relatively untrained teachers, as an insidious form of propaganda for a particular conception of sociology.

The placement of emphasis and the distribution of space in the volume can be understood only in the light of some practical consideration or scholarly orientation that is not made adequately explicit. As a random example, "The Role of Anthropogeography in Contemporary Social Theory" runs to sixty-eight pages while the paper on "The Development of Human Ecology in Sociology" is allotted twenty-nine pages; thirty pages are given to "Statistics in Modern Social Thought" and over one hundred pages are given to "Historical Sociology" and historical developments; there are full chapter discussions of development in several institutional lines but no space given to others. This is not to suggest that the allocation of space should be other than it is; there are doubtless adequate reasons for the distribution, but it would be helpful to know the considerations that determined it.

When attention is turned from the general character and organization of the volume to a consideration of its specific content, there are many things to commend and more than a few to deplore. It is perhaps inevita-

ble that a symposium should be an uneven performance. Especially, it is to be expected that a group of essays that undertakes to cover a field the boundaries of which are drawn to include some twenty or more relatively independent disciplines and their subtended specialties should be particularly rough. At any rate, the present essays cover a pretty wide gamut of scholarly adequacy and of literary skill. Some of the essays are well written and several gracefully written; a few give so little attention to form of presentation that the thought is partially obscured, and a few, because of bizarre or inept literary ornamentation, are pathetic and a little absurd. An occasional author is not always careful to distinguish between rhetoric and analysis. The essays are also quite diverse in manner of treatment. Some present the writer's position on the matter in hand with a minimum of attention to the relevant literature; at the other extreme, some of the essays are little more than annotated bibliographies—in some cases with little or no annotation. Some of the essays give an apparently unbiased presentation of the field summarized; others fall somewhat short of a completely objective viewpoint or presentation. Some authors are generous in their treatment of opponents, others are abusive; some of the authors acknowledge their indebtedness to other students, a few assume their body of wisdom to be, if not innate, at least an exclusive possession. And so for many other differences from paper to paper. Some of the diversity is understandable in terms of the range of subject matter; not all areas call for the same mode of treatment. Some of it seems to result from an insufficiently hard-boiled editorial policy, from an overtolerant desire not to mutiliate the contributors' copy. But regardless of the explanation, the unevenness of treatment is a characteristic of the book.

In spite of any seemingly critical remarks that have been made, the volume has a real value and a definite field of usefulness. Once the student realizes that the book is organized to present one conception of sociology rather than to give a doctrinally neutral survey of the discipline in its relations, he can swear allegiance to the doctrine or he can ignore it. In either case, he can read the essays for what they are—independent papers on various aspects of social science reality. For the most part the essays reach a fairly high degree of scholarly competence and they direct the student's attention to sources of information in many social science specialties. While the book is perhaps a little less than the unique contribution that the editors believe, it is nevertheless a welcome addition to a shelf of manuals that attempt to summarize and indicate the trends in the rapidly growing social science literature.

E. B. Reuter

University of Iowa

Conditioning and Learning. By E. R. HILGARD and D. G. MARQUIS. New York: D. Appleton–Century Co., 1940. Pp. xi+429. $2.75.

It would require a pair of competing technicians to give a critical review of this book from the standpoint of psychology. There is so much to be known in this field, and so much that requires specific experimental skill, that no sociologist could know it without abandoning his own craft to become an expert in this. What we can see quite plainly is that the authors have selected a topic of the greatest importance for their résumé and that they have handled it, from the literary point of view at least, quite admirably. The exposition is clear and orderly, the account of reference experiments succinct, and there is no attempt to inflate the importance of the knowledge already gained. The distinction between the classical conditioning experiments and the instrumental conditioning experiments is particularly important, more especially for those who did their first explorations in this field twenty years ago. It becomes clear that the Pavlovian pseudoneurology has been abandoned by modern students of conditioning, and that the instrumental conditioning experiments are likely to lead to results which have most reference to social science problems.

Most sociologists who talk and write about stimulus-response psychology seem to have the idea that the only important datum is the classical conditioning experiment. This viewpoint can be changed and broadened by the Hilgard-Marquis book. They give explicit attention to the mechanisms or processes of reinforcement, extinction, generalization, discrimination, serial learning, stimulus substitution, and a number of the other well-fashioned concepts of the S–R arsenal. After all, what sociologists need to know from S–R psychology is that behavior is rooted in drive, implemented by random behavior, terminated by goal response or tension reduction. It should not be supposed, however, that Hilgard and Marquis think that S–R psychology is now ready to present a perfected system to sociological social psychologists. They stress its limitations and the inadequacies of present experimental data. I think we may agree, though they do not affirm, that we are on the way to a theory of social learning by the use of the very concepts which they discuss, and that, unless sociologists wish to do all this work over again, they had best take it over from present-day psychologists. A theory of social learning is urgently needed in the social science field, and it is nice to be able to report that the basis for it is being laid down now. One warning, however: although the book is simply written, it is not simple reading for the sociologist. He lacks so many of the skill units (manual and visual familiarity with experimental instruments and procedures, for instance) that

it is likely to "stretch" his mind to attempt to acquire them from the descriptions in the text. But we've got to start learning this material sometime and this is as good a place as any.

JOHN DOLLARD

Yale University

Contemporary Social Problems. Edited by LOUIS WIRTH. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. ix+68. $1.00.

This little volume should prove useful as a "laboratory manual" for teachers of contemporary social problems, but it is its theoretical contribution which most interests the reviewer.

The monograph is the result of conferences initiated by the General Education Board which brought together several eminent social scientists representing different fields of interest to work out an improved formulation of social problems for teaching purposes.

An Introduction by Professor Wirth contains a theoretical statement of the nature of a social problem. He stresses the conflict of values and disagreement over instrumentation of ends which characterize every social problem. This section also ventures a tentative outline of the various values in connection with which social problems arise. Another feature is a suggested formula which the analysis and presentation of a given social problem might follow.

Chapter ii, written by Professor Max Lerner, emphasizes the "lag" conception of social problems and while well written adds very little which is new.

In chapter iii, the real highlight of the monograph, Professor Wirth presents a concise but comprehensive statement of the social problem "Housing." This is offered as a model of the form an analysis of any social problem might take. Most encouraging to the reviewer is the place the author gives in his analysis to the subjective definitions of the layman and of diverse pressure groups. Not only are the scientific opinions of technological and economic experts consulted, but due attention is given to the role which popular attitudes and interest group attitudes play in policy determination. There is a concluding section on "Teaching Resources" which demonstrates how bibliography and other materials can be utilized for more productive teaching.

Although no one blueprint for the presentation of social problems will meet the interests and requirements of all teachers, this exploratory volume is an intelligent suggestion for more effective and realistic teaching.

RICHARD C. FULLER

University of Michigan

Monopolistic Competition and General Equilibrium Theory. ROBERT TRIFFIN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. xiv+197. $2.50.

This book is a revision of a Doctor's thesis in economic theory—rather in the "pure theory" sense—at Harvard, and a Wells Prize Essay. As sociologists are not very likely to be moved to read it in any case, no very extensive review will be needed to warn them against such an undertaking. The book shows reasonable critical and expository competence in dealing with theoretical questions. But the present reviewer is somewhat puzzled to understand the proliferation of discussion in recent years on the topic of imperfect competition. Such discussion consists largely of somewhat rhetorical preaching of the importance of the subject, and that applies to this work in particular. It is difficult to believe that any competent economist, in the past generation, if ever, needed to be told that competition is imperfect in a complicated variety of senses, or what the main types of imperfection are, or especially that most competitors possess some degree of monopoly, while any monopoly is subject to an indefinite amount of competition. On the other hand, it seems rather futile and pedantic to attempt a careful description and classification of kinds and sources of imperfection in markets, in abstract speculative terms, beyond the general theory of monopoly and of "duopoly." These branches were fairly well developed before the expression "imperfect competition" became something like a craze in economic discussion. What would be useful in this field would seem to be rather an inductive study of facts, with a view to finding out what kinds of cases are actually important. The late Dr. Veblen would surely find in this type of literature comforting confirmation of his accusation that economic theorists seem to be motivated to a considerable extent by the love of dialectic as dialectic and of taxonomy for the sake of taxonomy.

FRANK H. KNIGHT

University of Chicago

An Appraisal of Walter Prescott Webb's "The Great Plains: A Study in Institutions and Environment." By FRED A. SHANNON, with comments by WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB, a panel discussion, and a commentary by READ BAIN. ("Critiques of Research in the Social Sciences," No. 3.) New York: Social Science Research Council, 1940. Pp. xi+254. $1.00.

Professor Webb's volume, the focus of all four parts of this paper-bound bulletin, was declared in 1938 by the Council's Committee of Appraisal to be the "most significant" work in American history "published in this

country since the first World War." At the Committee's invitation, Professor Shannon, a historian, prepared a long, incisive, and generally unfavorable critique. In this he principally took Webb to task for his overbroad generalizations unsupported by evidence, his many factual inaccuracies, and his too sharp differentiation between the manner of life on the subhumid, treeless Great Plains and the well-watered, forested area to the eastward. Probably because Webb refused to accept this review as a competent appraisal of his work, he ignored these issues of fact in his brief "rebuttal." They also received little attention from the conference where author met critic and fifteen other scholars from the several fields of the social sciences. Those at the conference who maintained that *The Great Plains* was an exceptionally noteworthy book were not in complete agreement upon the qualities which made it great. Most of the panel, furthermore, thought that some of Shannon's criticisms and further research would oblige Webb considerably to narrow the scope of his thesis.

For the sociologist, the record of this conference and Professor Bain's lucid commentary upon it are of special interest. Among the questions discussed were: What criteria shall be used to evaluate a study in the social sciences? What is the worth of a hypothesis and the proper balance between it and supporting facts? What is the historian's function? What is an institutional fault and a culture type or subtype, and what roles do soil, climate, and social heritage play in restraining or promoting culture changes in a new environment? The conference members at least agreed that these problems are of large concern to all social scientists and that further interdepartmental discussion and research should aid greatly in their solution.

WILLIAM T. HUTCHINSON

University of Chicago

Youth—Millions Too Many? By BRUCE A. MELVIN, with a Foreword by ELEANOR ROOSEVELT. New York: Association Press, 1940. Pp. 220. $2.00.

After a presentation of current socioeconomic trends, Melvin's realistic interpretation of the place of youth in the contemporary American scene rehearses the plight of surplus farm, village, city, and Negro youth. It next focuses critical attention on available educational and recreational facilities, briefly surveys the various adult and youth-led programs designed to promote the welfare of young people, and concludes with a

challenging discussion of the contribution of youth to democracy and presents many constructive suggestions for making this contribution effective.

Some readers may regard the author as unduly pessimistic. To the reviewer he merely insists on facing the present, unpleasant status of youth which, if ignored, will ultimately undermine the stability of society. That the author refuses to accept the implications of the title of his volume and is basically optimistic is shown by the following passage from page 219:

> Millions too many youth? Not if the needs of America's unemployed millions are satisfied. . . . . Not if America's marginal families are given a little more security. Not if America's heritage of natural resources is to be passed on to future generations. . . . . Not if America is to remain the land of high hopes, of humanitarian ideals, of freedom, which have been her strength.

Formerly a senior member of the research division of the Works Progress Administration and director of three of its major studies of youth, the author has composed his discussion with much competence. While the author is far more adequate in handling the social and economic than the psychological and genetic phases of the problem, this book is perhaps the most authentic, unsentimental, brief introduction to the so-called "youth problem" now available.

HOWARD Y. MCCLUSKY

American Youth Commission

The Prison Community. By DONALD CLEMMER. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1940. Pp. 341. $4.00.

The criminologist and penologist should find this book about an Illinois penitentiary useful, for not only is it fact crammed but it also attempts a comprehensive interpretation of "the culture of the prison." Nonspecialists too should find it interesting, not only as a study of an important kind of contemporary social institution but also as a study of the influence of the group on the individual, for here is a comparatively simple social structure in which the behavior of all of the personnel can be very closely observed. Mr. Clemmer has taken commendable care in explaining many "obvious" features of this institution, and his interest in its "culture" has also led him to make ingenious but clear and well-documented classifications of his data. For example, he differentiates and vividly describes the types of communities which contribute to the convict population, such as "Coalville," "Farm County," "River County," "Metro" (a large city), etc. To a stimulating book he appends a sum-

mary of his own experience because "the reader has the right to know something of the interpreter's orientation." Mr. Clemmer is professionally concerned with diminishing "prisonization" and reducing recidivism, which may explain his preference for seeing the penitentiary as a "prison community" rather than as an "institution," but this reviewer, given Mr. Clemmer's wealth of material and many insights, would prefer not to quibble over what he feels is an ill-advised use of one word.

BUFORD JUNKER

Berkeley, California

A Report on the Development of Penological Treatment at Norfolk Prison Colony in Massachusetts. By W. H. COMMONS, T. YAHKUB, and E. POWERS. Edited by C. R. DOERING. New York: Bureau of Social Hygiene, 1940. Pp. xxi+274.

Four separate contributions comprise this volume about the Norfolk Prison Colony under Superintendent Gill (1928–34). The Foreword by the editor, Dr. Doering, is the only part that offers any critical analysis or evaluation of the Norfolk experiment as a whole. The negative judgment expressed is contained in a well-written analysis that "progressive" penologists will do well to read with care. The "Official Manual of the State Prison Colony" (pp. 1–67) by Commons is a relatively complete and neutral record of the official organization, rules, regulations, and guideposts by means of which the institution sought to operate. The "History of the State Prison Colony" (pp. 71–206) by Yahkub is an account not only of activity and physical growth but attempts also to show the development of the "Norfolk idea" as reflected in the speeches, comments, and recorded observations of Superintendent Gill and numerous members of his "research staff." The last section, "Individualization of Treatment as Illustrated by Studies of Fifty Cases" (pp. 209–64) by Powers is a rather sketchy summary of problems and needs in fifty selected cases, with author's comments on accomplishments and failures in each case.

All four reports appear to have been written at the termination of the "experiment" in 1934, and the mystery of six years' delay in publication remains unexplained. Despite obvious inadequacies there is much valuable material in this report, and criminologists will welcome this account of an effort in penology that was unique in many ways and that held forth great promise for future development.

GEORGE B. VOLD

University of Minnesota

Some Social Aspects of the Depression (1930–1935). By CLARENCE J. ENZLER. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1939. Pp. xii+187.

Enzler presents a survey of the contents of some three hundred books and articles dealing with economic costs, health, mental attitudes, poverty and relief, education, crime, and other items during the depression. Well written and nicely proportioned, his book might well appear on reading lists for courses in poverty, dependency, social problems, and the like, for it presents a useful summary of a large mass of material.

Much of the data covered is statistical, and, for the most part, the author handles this material critically and well. On subjects such as mental attitudes, poverty, and crime, however, where he runs out of statistics, Dr. Enzler quotes less critically the impressionistic statements of individuals whose opportunities for observation were not all that could be desired.

In some instances the author failed to find the best data available, and in a few cases he overlooked important points. The discussion of health, for example, mentions only one of Dr. Carroll Palmer's excellent studies of the effects of the depression on growth. In presenting a black circumstantial case for lowered disease resistance he makes too little mention of the use of surplus commodities, etc. In discussing the effect of the depression on the family and on the birth rate the author missed the fact of delayed marriages so carefully estimated by Stouffer and Spencer. The author may object to these latter comments because his Bibliography includes no items appearing after the year 1934. Since the years 1930–35 appear in the title, however, one has a right to assume that the data will cover the entire period.

CLARK TIBBITTS

University of Michigan

ABSTRACTS OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

The persons who have aided in the preparation of the material for this issue are: Hubert Bonner, Vivian I. Clarke, Frederick Elkin, Donald L. Foley, James Fontana, Merton D. Oyler, Erich Rosenthal, Joan Schutz, and Everett K. Wilson. The numerals and letters appearing after each abstract correspond to the items in the following scheme of classification:

I. THEORETICAL SOCIOLOGY
- *a*) Sociological Theory
- *b*) History of Sociology
- *c*) Methods of Research
- *d*) The Teaching of Sociology

II. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY
- *a*) Human Nature and Personality
- *b*) Collective Behavior

III. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
- *a*) The Family
- *b*) Ethnic and Racial Groups
- *c*) Social Stratification
- *d*) The Church and Religion
- *e*) The State and Political Process
- *f*) The School and Education
- *g*) Economic Institutions
- *h*) Voluntary Associations

IV. POPULATION AND HUMAN ECOLOGY
- *a*) Demography
- *b*) Ecology
- *c*) The Rural and the Urban Community

V. DISORGANIZATION
- *a*) Personal Disorganization
- *b*) Social Disorganization

381. **Some Ideas on Social and Psychological Research.**—In community studies there are two alternative methods of approach: either to inform individuals or groups that inquiries are being made for research purposes or not to inform them. The latter plan involves two difficulties: the danger of subjectivity and the fact that it cannot be so well applied to wealthy classes. Another plan tried in Poland is that of offering a prize for the writing of life-histories by the subjects. This may involve distortion for the sake of the prize. Only 15 per cent of a group of families did not use corporal punishment of children when field workers lived with families, and the object of research was not disclosed, while later, when the object of research was known, returns from the same group showed 90 per cent against corporal punishment. The historical approach may reveal an individual datum which plays an important part in the process of discovery. At present, recognition of such data seems to be dependent upon intuition. Intuition must be tested statistically and checked against ideas of other collaborators. —**Marie Jahoda,** *Sociological Review*, XXX (1938), 63–80. (Ic.) E. K. W.

382. **The Correlation between Fertility and Intelligence within Social Classes.**—The present inquiry studies the connection between fertility and intelligence in groups of people taken from fairly restricted social and socio-economic categories and compares the connection between these two factors found in each group. The sample includes ten thousand school children from the age of nine to eleven and one-half. The percentage distribution of sibships of different sizes in each type of school examined shows that the proportion of children belonging to families of five or more is very much greater in elementary schools than among fee-paying pupils. The extent of these differences may be exaggerated by the figures since the chance of selecting siblings from larger families for the sample is greater. Elementary-school children from smaller families

seem to benefit more from the scholarship system. In correlating family size and intelligence for different types of schools, the category "All Free Pupils" shows a steady decline in index of brightness and intelligence quotient with increase in size of family. In the "All Fee-Payers" category, while there is a tendency for families of one and two to be superior in intelligence, there is little divergence between sibships of three, of four, and of five and over. The application of the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient for family size and index of brightness to the free pupils and to the fee-paying groups confirms the work of those investigators who have found that the connection between fertility and intelligence is not independent of the social environment. The more favorable the environment, the less obvious seems the connection between the intelligence of children and the sibship to which they belong. In the correlation of intelligence and fertility by five classes differentiated on a basis of vocation, average income, and social status there is some indication of a slight trend of declining intelligence with increasing family size, especially in the minor professional group. The size of the probable error makes the apparent superiority of only children not significant, except in the case of skilled and clerical workers. It appears probable that the correlation between fertility and intelligence for these workers is due to peculiar social and economic conditions. In this group many children may be a greater handicap to promotion, the intelligent parent may wish to limit family size for the sake of education, or differences in accessibility to contraceptive knowledge between social classes may be indicated. These results may be viewed with equanimity since it is now a recognized fact that the extent of differential fertility has narrowed in the past few years. Second, investigation such as that of Freeman, Holzinger, and Mitchell indicates that improvement in the environmental circumstances of the poorer population would do more to raise the level of national intelligence than the more difficult task of attempting to adjust fertility rates. —**Pearl Moshinsky**, *Sociological Review*, XXXI (1939), 144–65. (IV*a*.) E. K. W.

383. **The Causes of War.**—There are three theories of the nature and cause of war: (1) the socialist view, which regards war as the outcome of the imperialist stage of economic development; (2) the liberal and free-trade economists' theory denying any necessary connection between capitalism and war, attributing the latter to atavistic survivals and ideas of power; and (3) the theory represented in psychoanalytic writings finding the cause of war in inherent aggressiveness of human nature and failure of repressive mechanisms. Reviewing the objections to the imperialist theory, it seems that imperialism has tended to become a fight for external markets and spheres of economic influence. Support of the national state tends to generate hostilities, militarism, and war. This theory, however, requires further clarification. Liberal economists state that intermingling of political and economic factors is not inherent in capitalism but rather is a perversion of it. Protectionism is not an essential characteristic of capitalism. But in reality this connection exists as the tendency toward autarchy and tariff protection. Where the socialist would revise the economic system toward more equitable distribution and international co-operation, the liberal economists would remove the atavistic aggressive spirit of nationalism, reduce trade barriers, and establish federal authority. This would be successful, however, only if measures were taken to eliminate deeper economic causes of war and militarism. The psychoanalytic theory of the projection of repressed tendencies to destruction is valuable but is too individualistic and neglects other causative factors—those sources of frustration nearer the surface. The interwoven factors which may be considered *the* cause of war seem to be: imperialist rivalries encouraged by capitalist economic organization and reinforced by differences in political power; residual resentment from former wars; the existence of armaments; insistence upon right of self-defense plus lack of international organization; psychological factors making for anxiety, fear, and hate; and the lack of a general opinion due to the fact that the mass of people do not feel individually responsible or competent to choose among or deal with the complex issues. Causation is, then, extremely complex, and the attempt to control factors often results in vicious circles.—**Morris Ginsberg**, *Sociological Review*, XXXI (1939), 121–43. (III*e*.) E. K. W.

384. **"Kultur" as a Symbol in Peace and in War.**—The word *Kultur* inherited from Goethe a moral significance which enabled its use as a watchword in World War I.

The Pan-Germans saw that the idea of *Kultur* might be used as a powerful instrument, involving race theory, the falsifying of the history of *Kultur* (in the sense of civilization), and negating the rights of an individual. *Kultur* gradually became the touchstone of two schools of political thought, one wishing for peace with England and liberty at home; the other wishing war with England and thought under government control. The latter group, demanding colonial opportunities for dissemination of *Kultur*, prevailed. So in the past, every party has used *Kultur* for its own purposes.—**Philip Hartog,** *Sociological Review*, XXX (1938), 317–45. (I*a*, III*e*.) E. K. W.

385. **The Psychological Appeal of Federalism.**—Assuming federation to be desirable, a certain state of mind is necessary to make it possible. In preparing the way for any form of federation, then, the following are some basic points. (1) There must be assurance of the federation's power and willingness to protect. (2) There must be assurance of the federation's capacity to supply our economic needs. (3) We must endeavor to create a sentiment of loyalty to the federation. (4) This sentiment must be linked to the existing sentiment of loyalty to the constituent states of the federation. (5) We must consider providing some form of psychological compensation for the loss of national military power and the abrogation of complete national autonomy. (6) We must consider the advisability of endeavoring to arouse some sense of guilt or shame at the general low standard of morality that obtains between states. (7) We must bear in mind that cohesion within a federation is easier in the face of real or imaginary external threat. (8) In this connection we might profitably consider how far it may be possible to deflect externally directed aggression from human enemies to other ends that imply a more sublimated form of aggression, in which nature is in the last resort "the enemy." (9) Since war has hitherto proved a unique means of mobilizing moralized aggressive energy, it would seem important so to frame these other ends that they can serve as "moral equivalents of war."—**J. C. Flügel,** *New Commonwealth Quarterly*, VI (1940), 102–15. (III*e*.) F. E.

386. **Psychological Foundations for a New Commonwealth. II.**—Our efforts to maintain peace and achieve international unity have failed not because they aimed too high but because they aimed too low. Petty schemes of reform and plans for reorganization which touch only the periphery of the problems cannot raise powerful forces or effect far-reaching decisions. Collective security and peace depend on (1) the reorientation and sublimation of the combative instinct and (2) the establishment of a unity of mind among nations. Political, juridical, and military negotiations can be successful in the process of unification only when there is preparation by spiritual forces and values. Only when efforts for peace and security are conceived as part and parcel of a major enterprise of social and intellectual reconstruction will they be likely to achieve their object.—**Hans Zbinden,** *New Commonwealth Quarterly*, V (1939), 48–58. (III*e*.) F. E.

387. **Psycho-physical Problems Revealed in Language: An Examination of Metaphor.**—In psychoanalytical treatment there is value in understanding the metaphorical language of patients. For a live metaphor reveals a forgotten, originally psychophysical, experience. A metaphor can evolve only in language or in the arts when the bodily orifices become controlled. The emotions which originally accompanied the bodily discharges then find substitute channels and materials in speech. In metaphor the repressed psychophysical emotional experiences have found in the preconscious the appropriate verbal images that express them. An examination of metaphors used by patients reveals a preponderance of images based upon experiences of the pregenital stages and the repressed Oedipus wishes, plus something of the early incorporated environment. Other metaphors may reveal instinctual tension, lack of achievement, or pent-up energy.—**Ella Freeman Sharpe,** *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, XXI (1940), 201–13. (II*a*.) F. E.

388. **The Psychical Experiences during the Shocks in Shock Therapy.**—A psychotic is a person who has abandoned reality because it was too difficult and too dangerous and whose hypercathected narcissistic libido has attracted to itself nearly the whole of the

libidinal forces. By means of this regression a fantasy world is created in which childhood and all unsatisfied wishes become alive. In shock therapy, following the injection, a series of changes in organic functions occurs, and the patient is forced to take notice of the outer world as something distorted, changed, and unfamiliar to him. Then with the coma stage, he is subjected to a most drastic loss of his ego—passing through the experience of death. This fear, especially of death, causes a breakup of the rigid narcissistic cathexis. After awakening from the shock, the patient feels as though he were born again to a life for which he has just successfully fought against the destructive forces of death. The wish to reconstitute the old psychotic ego persists at first, but each successive treatment continues the disruptive process until eventually this is no longer possible. At the same time the newborn ego forms a progressively stronger and further-reaching cathexis with each new experience. The patient reproduces the process of development through which he passed during the early years of his life.—**Isidor Silbermann,** *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis,* XXI (1940), 179–200. (II*a.*) F. E.

389. The Influence of Early Environment in the Development of Neurosis and Neurotic Character.—Psychoanalysts have tended to neglect the important role the early environment plays in the genesis and development of neurosis. One group of environmental factors includes specific events, such as the death of the mother or a prolonged separation of the child from the mother. Such prolonged separations affect the child's personality so that clinically he appears emotionally withdrawn and isolated. A second group deals with the general color of the mother's emotional attitude to her child. There are certain types of mothers—often unconsciously hostile to their children—whose influence is injurious to the child through increasing his sexual and aggressive impulses and fantasies and also his anxiety and guilt. To understand this sort of mother, it is very helpful to have a knowledge of her parents and of how she conceives them. These theories should be further studied with statistical comparisons between the environments of neurotic and of normal children.—**John Bowlby,** *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis,* XXI (1940), 154–78. (II*a.*) F. E.

390. Social Utopias in American Literature.—American utopias are not a revolt against the present or an escape from reality. Their principal characteristics are a sense of immediate reality, mechanical and statistical considerations, and a rational, practical orientation. To Americans utopia even in the nineteenth century was not a dream but a reality. Now, however, the growth of a real American utopia has come to an end. And since each epoch of great social and political disturbances creates new utopias, we may now expect a renascence of such utopian thought in America.—**J. F. Normano,** *International Review for Social History,* III (1938), 287–300. (I*a.*) F. E.

391. The Concept of Psychic Suicide.—The theory that some people can die on purpose or can commit psychic suicide has been borne out for many years. The same forces which lead to ordinary suicide can impel some people to die without the need of resorting to any physical agency. Explorers and anthropologists have given evidence of this in primitive peoples. An interesting case study of a married woman exemplifies a modern instance.—**A. A. Brill,** *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis,* XX (1939), 246–51. (II*a*, V*a.*) V. I. C.

392. Rapport sommaire sur l'évolution de la sociologie depuis 1920 en Hongrie [Summary Report on the Development of Sociology in Hungary since 1920].—Hungary's pre-war social science was a mixture of theories, partly realistic and partly normative. The situation changed following the war, more realistic and descriptive work having emerged. Men important in the new sociological development are Jules Moór, Barnabé Horváth, Etienne Bibó, Jr., Joseph Szabó, and Paul Angyal in law; Ch. Balas, F. Heller, T. Surányi-Unger, J. Neubauer, and Denis Nagy in economics; Etienne Dékány, Ladislas Ottlik, and O. Prohaszka in social theory; Paul Angyal, L. Leopold, G. Farkas, Jules Hornyánsky, Antoine Schütz, Louis Szücs-Szomor, E. Dékány, and Jules Kornis in crowd and social psychology; L. Noszlopi in social ethics; A. Bodor, Ujszászy, and F. Hunyada in rural sociology; E. Wildner, E. Dékány, Louis

Illyefalvy, and Tibor Mendöl in urban studies; Jos. Somogyi in the study of heredity; Raymond Rapaich in the sociology of plants;, Paul Teleki in human geography; Georges Trócsányi and Guy Mihelics in political science; Tagányi, Jule Szekfü, Valentin Hóman, Alexandre Domanovsky, Elemir Mályusz, and Tibor Barát in history. Two pre-war societies—the Hungarian Sociological Association (1908–14) and the Sociology Society (up to 1918)—were replaced by the Hungarian Sociological Society in 1920, which publishes *Társadalomtudomány* ("Social Science"). Other reviews with sociological articles are *Századunk* ("Our Century") and *Budapesti Szemle* ("Budapest Review").—**Etienne Dékány,** *Revue internationale de sociologie,* XLVI (1938), 51–61. (*Ib.*) D. L. F.

393. **A Survey of Mental Ability in a Rural Community.**—The purpose of this investigation is to take a geographical rural area in England and to make a survey of the intelligence of its inhabitants by means of standardized tests applied to every school child in that area. The inquiry is supplemented by an attempt to ascertain the incidence of mentally defective persons of all ages in the community. This community, consisting of one small compact town, with three surrounding villages and numerous outlying farms, is a relatively remote agricultural area containing a total of about fifteen hundred persons in 1934 when the 187 children of ages six to fifteen years were tested with either the Otis Primary or the Otis Advanced Test and the 43 children eight to ten years were also tested with the Stanford-Binet. The age norms for the group obtained from the best-fitting straight regression line, which gave the mean score at each chronological age, were found to be somewhat lower than those provided with the Otis test instructions. After correction for age, the Otis scores were expressed in terms of the standard deviation from the mean, the distribution approximating a normal curve of error. The mean intelligence of the children, as measured by the Stanford-Binet Test, was lower than that previously found for urban populations. The 122 interrelated children—related by consanguinity or by marriage—had a somewhat narrower range of test scores but averaged the same as the 65 children of families outside the related clan. Siblings, first cousins, and other blood relations among the children were significantly more alike on their test scores than were the unrelated children. The children of professional men had the highest mean test score, followed in turn by the children of traders, artisans, and laborers. The range of each group, however, surpassed the mean of the professional group. The 24 mental defectives in the community, 2 of whom were below and 18 above school age, were classed as 19 morons, 4 imbeciles, and 1 idiot. The total incidence was much higher than that of previous official surveys of the nation and even of rural areas, the chief excess consisting of feeble-minded females between the ages of twenty and forty. This high incidence suggests that, if strict canons are applied, a larger proportion of individuals in rural communities must be counted as defective than is officially recognized. The related clan of the community included 17 of the 19 simpletons and a total of 20 out of the 24 mental defectives, as compared with a probability of 16 defectives for 122 out of the 187 school children in the related clan. However, this ignores a possible difference in the birth rate between clan and nonclan families. Three morons suffered from epilepsy and one from recurrent mania; among psychotics of normal intelligence were one male with Huntington's chorea and two females with manic depressive insanity. All seven cases of insanity were within the related clan.—**M. V. Mathews, D. A. Newlyn, and L. S. Penrose,** *Sociological Review,* XXIX (1937), 20–40. (II*a.*) M. D. O.

394. **Bevölkerungsentwicklung und Wehrkraft [Population Growth and Man-Power].**—The natural basis of general conscription is limited by the growth of population. The yearly recruitment of conscripts depends on the number of male births twenty years ago, on the mortality of the male population in the first two decades of life, and on the migration of this group. Although it is highly questionable whether it is of much value for the preservation and creation of man-power to fight infant mortality beyond its present all-time low, one, nevertheless, should try to decrease the high mortality in the first month of the infant's life. The fight against child mortality does not promise any substantial gain of man-power. Better traffic regulations and accident prevention may save the lives of the most courageous and bold young people. Since a decline in infant and child mortality does not result in any substantial gain of man-

power, the only way to increase it is by a higher fertility, which should be achieved by all possible means. In 1937 the number of German men twenty years of age was 315,000; in 1940 it will be 639,000; and 500,000 in 1950. A comparison of the man-power of the middle European states for 1950 shows the following rank order: Germany, Italy, Poland, Great Britain, and France, However, the man-power of a state is not determined by a single age class but by the age groups of able men between twenty and forty years. While today France and Poland together have just as many men in these age groups as has Germany, in 1960 they will have three million men more than Germany. It is impossible to state whether the fitness of successive age classes before the World War has increased or decreased, since the number of men called up varied with the changing demand for recruits.—**Friedrich Burgdoerfer,** *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv,* XXVI (1936), 129–53. E. R.

395. **La Nature et les formes de la democratie [The Nature and Forms of Democracy].**—A democracy consists in the sovereign rule of the people. Since this is not assured unless all participate on an equal basis in the formation of the common will, equality is an essential principle of democracy; but its content varies with historical conditions, and thus the corresponding democracies take different forms. Our notion of equality includes all groups in the population regardless of social position, but this is not universally valid. The principle of majority rule is also necessary, permitting the greatest possible agreement between the individual and the general wills. The political majority and minority are linked in one group by homogeneity and the free movement of individuals from one to the other, but if these conditions are absent, the majority principle becomes one of domination rather than of unity. These are the necessary premises of a democracy. Absolutist democracies, where power is concentrated and the individual has no civil rights, depend on the political unity of the people and their desire for such a regime. Dictatorship can combine with democracy, as when it is desired to unite against an enemy; and even when not based on democracy, dictatorship is always considered a temporary means to be eliminated in favor of democracy when it has attained its goal. Liberalism is not necessarily associated with democracy. It is based on a valuation of individual personality above the state, with the faith that a rational solution will result from the free concurrence of individual wills. The influence of this doctrine created the system of mechanical checks between governmental institutions to safeguard individual liberty at the expense of the unity of the state. The fundamental, unquestionable premises of democracy form a conservative element; and if liberalism and relativism destroy faith in these, the minimum of homogeneity of political beliefs necessary for its functioning is gone, and the democracy breaks down. There are two forms of democracy: representative and plebiscitary. In the first, the general will is formed and the resulting unity of the people personified by a representative body. The representative is free to make decisions (but only within his competence, as distinct from a sovereign) and is responsible only to his conscience. The representative is legitimated by being invested in an electoral procedure. In a plebiscitary democracy the general will is formed by referendums and elections and identified with the wills of the majority of the voters. Where the people or parties choose functionaries to carry out their mandates and remain under their control, they have representative democracy.—**Gerhard Leibholz,** *Archives de philosophie du droit et de sociologie juridique,* VI (1936), 126–47. (III*e*, I*a*.) J. S.

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This report, based upon the technical discussions of specific aspects of the housing problem by experts of several federal agencies, formulates a program for dealing with the housing problem based upon the following lines of approach: lower costs of construction, public control to induce planful development, and public funds under public initiative for those who otherwise cannot have decent homes.

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A study under the auspices of the Institute of Social Research of fifty-nine families of unemployed, emphasizing the relationship between a man's role as economic provider and his authority as the head of the family and the effect of economic dependence of the wife and children upon their attitude toward the head of the family.

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A series of twenty-six papers presented at the first congress of the Latino-Americano de criminologia, assembled under the editorship of Dr. Oswaldo Loudet, director of the Institute of Criminology of Buenos Aires. The papers have been contributed by a number of eminent Latin-American scholars and are devoted to an evaluation of the biological and sociological factors in the antisocial behavior of delinquents.

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rology, physiology, psychoanalysis, psychiatry, the Gestalt psychology, and anthropology. Especially significant is the stress devoted to the treatment of personal disturbances.

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The main body of the volume is a report submitted by an expert commission on conditions in the oil industry. It contains, in addition, the award of the Labor Board following this report, the dissenting opinions and pleas of oil companies, supreme court decision, and an extensive bibliography. It is evidently meant to be the Mexican government's statement of its case in the oil controversy.

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The ecology of human habitations ranging from primitive settlements to modern metropolitan centers is used as a basis upon which to interpret the social organization and collective life of human communities. It ends with a plea for planning human settlements in such a way as to produce the best promise of an improved adjustment between man and his habitat.

MURPHY, JOHN C. *An Analysis of the Attitudes of American Catholics toward the Immigrant and the Negro, 1825–1925.* Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1940. Pp. x+158.

A dissertation based on opinions publicly expressed by Catholic leaders.

NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD. *The Structure of the American Economy,* Part II: *Toward Full Use of Resources: A Symposium by Gardner C. Means, D. E. Montgomery, J. M. Clark, Alvin H. Hansen, and Mordecai Ezekiel.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940. Pp. v+48. $0.15.

A second part of a report by the National Resources Planning Board on the structure of American economy, suggesting a program designed to insure the full use of our national resources.

OLSEN, O. E. W. *Post-war Housing Problems,* Vol. XI, No. 6. Geneva: Geneva Research Centre, 1940.

An analysis of the post-war housing problem in its social and economic implications, summarizing the results of the research work of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization on the housing question. The concluding section deals with the effects of the war upon housing and projects some post-war problems.

OSTERGAARD, SOREN K. *Into Abundance.* Chicago: Willett, Clark & Co., 1940. Pp. x+154. $1.50.

The recipe for abundance given here is to share the opportunities for work by starting an economy which will be self-accelerating in that every capacity for expansion that

is used creates new opportunities for further expansion. The author's view is that the New Deal has done this but not enough and that the people of the United States must create an organization enabling them to work for themselves toward an economy of abundance.

PARKES, HENRY BAMFORD. *Recent America.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1941. Pp. viii+664. $4.50.

A history of the United States from 1900 to date.

PATRIC, ANTHONY. *Toward the Winning Goal.* Rio de Janeiro, 1940. Pp. 316.

A journalistic account of the social situation in Brazil with particular emphasis on the developments since the victorious revolution of October 3, 1930. Much of the discussion is devoted to a statement of the policy and program of President Vargas, who assumed office at that time. The author has had a long period of residence in Brazil and is intimately acquainted with the country. This is an analysis in English on Brazilian government and social structure.

PATTON, LESLIE KASS. *The Purposes of Church-related Colleges: A Critical Study—a Proposed Program.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940. Pp. ix+287. $3.00.

A study based on a survey of two hundred and sixteen liberal arts colleges. Data are mainly formal statements of purpose found in college documents and the statements of college presidents.

PICKERT, CHARLES CUSTER, and BAERMAN, RALPH BERLAND. *The Way Out for America.* St. Paul, Minn.: Institute for Christian Economic Action, 1941. Pp. 151. $1.50.

The volume contains an analysis of the farm problem arising from the agricultural surpluses and the belligerency of the have-not nations arising from scarcity and found to be two halves of one problem. It suggests a new plan of agricultural export to surmount previous trade barriers as a means for establishing peace abroad and prosperity at home.

PIGOU, A. C. *The Political Economy of War.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1941. Pp. viii+169. $1.50.

This is a revised version of a volume published in 1931. It deals with the economic causes, costs, and effects of war, and the economic problems incident to preparation for and conduct of war.

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work: Selected Papers, Sixty-seventh Annual Conference, Grand Rapids, Michigan, May 26–June 1, 1940. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. x+736. $3.00.

Selected papers upon social objectives in a time of world-crisis, areas of social-work concern, and social-work practice.

Progress of Scientific Research in the Field of the Exceptional Child: Proceedings of the Sixth Institute on the Exceptional Child of the Child Research Clinic of the Woods Schools. Langhorne, Pa., 1939.

Articles included are: "The Child, the Savage, and Human Experience," by A. Irving Hallowell; "What Is an Exceptional Child," by W. E. Blatz; "The Interplay between Intellectual and Emotional Factors in Personality Diagnosis," by Bruno Klopfer; "A Method for the Study of Personality Reactions in Preschool Age Children by Means of Analysis of Their Play," by J. Louise Despert; and "A Special School Looks at Special Education," Charles M. Morris.

Public Administration Organizations: A Directory of Unofficial Organizations in the Field of Public Administration in the United States and Canada. Chicago: Public Administration Clearing House, 1941.

The organizations are classified by activities, states, and regions in the United States, and a special section is devoted to Canadian organizations. A brief summary introduces the volume and a bibliography of directories is appended.

RADZINOWICZ, L., and TURNER, J. W. CECIL (eds.). *Penal Reform in England: Introductory Essays on Some Aspects of English Criminal Policy.* ("English Studies in Criminal Science," Vol. I.) London: P. S. King & Sons, 1940. Pp. 177. 10/6.

This collection of essays by ten authors summarizes the information regarding trends in crime rates, in criminal legislation, and in the organization and policies of the courts, the probation system, and the correctional institutions. It is principally a description of these policies and agencies as of about 1939. It does not contain any generalized discussion of penology.

RAPER, ARTHUR, and REID, IRA DEA. *Sharecroppers All.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. x+281. $3.00.

A rather popular book dealing with both the Negro and the white sharecropper.

REYNOLDS, QUENTIN. *The Wounded Don't Cry.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1941. Pp. 253. $2.50.

A journalist's eye-witness account of how they behaved in northern France and England during last summer's blitzkrieg period.

REYNOLDS, T. H. (ed.). *As Our Neighbors See Us.* Privately published, 1940.

Consists of close to seventy excerpts from the pens of Latin-American scholars and statesmen during the years 1914–40. The reading ranges from historical reviews of the Monroe Doctrine to discussions of contemporary economic problems that indicate the traditional and the reactionary ideas present in the South American mind in the formulation of its attitude toward the United States. The book is intended to appeal both to specialists and to laymen.

REUSS, CARL F. *Content of Washington Weekly Newspapers.* Bull. 387. Pullman: State College of Washington, 1940. Pp. 47.

A study of twenty-two small-town newspapers.

RICHARDSON, JANE, and KROEBER, A. L. *Three Centuries of Women's Dress Fashions: A Quantitative Analysis.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1940. Pp. iii+153. $0.50.

A statistical study and analysis of the changes in women's dress from 1605 to 1935. Six numerical indices of dress are followed during this period as far as data permit. The work is concerned with stylistic cycles and rhythms which permit the discussion of the relation between the individual temporal movements in culture.

RODGERS, EDITH COPPERRIDER. *Discussion of Holidays in the Middle Ages.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. 145. $1.50.

A carefully documented study covering the period from 1200 to 1520, with some attention to the sociological significance of holidays.

ROSEN, S. MCKEE, and ROSEN, LAURA. *Technology and Society: The Influence of Machines in the United States.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1941. Pp. xiv+474. $3.00.

This study traces the influence of machines upon various aspects of contemporary life. It is introduced by a chapter on "National Policy and Technology" by William F.

Ogburn. The contents of the book fall into four parts: "The Technologic Base," "Economic Effects," "Social Effects," and "Political Effects." The conclusion discusses the prospects of technology in reshaping contemporary society. It is designed as a textbook in scientific courses in the social sciences and as a basic social science work for students in schools of engineering and technology.

SCHEVILL, FERDINAND; VINER, JACOB; COLBY, CHARLES C.; WRIGHT, QUINCY; RIPPY, J. FRED; and LAVES, WALTER H. C. *The Foundations of a More Stable World Order.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941. Pp. xiii+193. $2.00.

Lectures presented before the Harris Foundation Institute at the meeting of 1940. Following are the lectures: "Can Our Civilization Achieve a More Stable World Order?" by Ferdinand Schevill; "International Economic Relations and the World Order," Jacob Viner; "The Role of Shipping in the World Order," Charles C. Colby; "International Law and the World Order," Quincy Wright; "The United States and World Order," J. Fred Rippy; and "The Institutional Requirements for a More Stable World Order," Walter H. C. Laves.

SCHILPP, PAUL ARTHUR (ed.). *The Philosophy of George Santayana.* Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University, 1940. Pp. xvi+698. $4.00.

The second volume to appear in the "Library of Living Philosophers." It consists of a series of articles presented by some eighteen philosophers analyzing the views of George Santayana. Next appears the lengthy statement by Santayana in which he replies to the articles and clarifies his philosophical position.

SCHMIDT, CARL T. *American Farmers in the World Crisis.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xi+345. $3.00.

The author is senior agricultural economist for the A.A.A. Among the topics discussed are the social-economic conditions of American farmers and farm laborers, the major reason for low farm incomes, the impact of machinery on agriculture, the efforts at self-help, and the government agriculture relief programs.

Science, Philosophy and Religion. New York: Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, Inc., 1941. Pp. viii+443. $1.50.

This symposium consists of twenty-four papers presented at the initial meeting of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life. Papers were grouped under the following divisions: "Social Sciences and Humanities," "Philosophy," "The Natural Sciences," "Religion and the Philosophy of Education." Among the authors who have contributed papers are: Van Wyck Brooks, Moses Hadas, Robert M. MacIver, Pitirim A. Sorokin, Mortimer J. Adler, Douglas C. Macintosh, Jacques Maritain, Harry A. Overstreet, Albert Einstein, Harold D. Lasswell, and Paul Weiss.

SELLIN, THORSTEN. *The Criminality of Youth: Being a Condensation of the Reports of the Author to the Criminal Justice–Youth Committee of the Institute during and in Aid of Its Work on the Youth Correction Authority Act Approved and Promulgated by the Institute May 18, 1940.* Philadelphia: American Law Institute, 1940. Pp. 116. $1.50.

Contains the most complete statistics upon criminality and recidivism of youth now available.

SENIOR, CLARENCE. *Democracy Comes to a Cotton Kingdom: The Story of Mexico's La Laguna.* Mexico: El Libro perfecto, 1940. Pp. 56. $0.15.

An account of an experiment in collective agriculture in La Laguna region of Mexico.

SHREVE, FRANCIS. *Psychology of the Teaching of English.* Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1941. Pp. 275. $2.50.

SIMON, YVES R. *Nature and Functions of Authority*. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1940. Pp. 78.

This Aquinas lecture given under the auspices of the Aristotelian Society of Marquette University presents the problem of authority on the basis of theological writings, primarily of St. Thomas, and arrives at the conclusion that the principle of authority, "wherever the welfare of a community requires a common action, the unity of that common action must be assured by the higher organs of that community," must be counterpoised by the principle of autonomy, "wherever a task can be satisfactorily achieved by the initiative of the individual or that of small social units, the fulfillment of that task must be left to the initiative of the individual or to that of small social units."

SPIEGEL, HENRY W. *Land Tenure Policies at Home and Abroad*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. xii+171. $3.00.

A typical presentation of land-tenure policies including public control over land, the legal background, land inheritance, farm-credit and farm-tenancy policies in the United States and in Europe, showing the varying motives behind governmental interference under varying circumstances. It contains a special analysis of land tenure in a democratic country (England) and in a totalitarian country (Germany). A valuable bibliography is appended.

STAFFORD, PAUL TUTT. *Government and the Needy: A Study of Public Assistance in New Jersey*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. xiv+328. $3.00.

A case study of the national problem of public assistance. It traces the historical development of the public poor relief institutions in New Jersey, examines the methods of administration, and proposes the steps necessary to the establishment of modern state system of public assistance. It outlines the framework of a new federal state-local system which could be operated not only in New Jersey but on a national scale. The primary emphasis is on broader aspects of legislative policy and administrative organization.

STRACHAN, J. E. *New Zealand Observer: A Schoolmaster Looks at America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. vii+128. $1.50.

A visitor's running comments upon American life and education.

THOMAS, DOROTHY SWAINE. *Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1941. Pp. 487. $6.00.

The first volume in a series concerned with the interrelationships between social and economic factors and population development in Sweden. It gives a general analysis of population from 1750 to 1933, population movements, agricultural development, adjustment of the agricultural population, and industrialization. The second part of the volume is devoted to an analysis of types of communities from 1895 to 1933. Over one hundred pages are given over to presentation of basic materials.

THORNDIKE, E. L. *Human Nature and the Social Order*. New York, Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. xx+1019. $4.00.

Presents certain facts and principles of psychology which the author believes should be known by students of sociology, economics, government, law, and other sciences of human affairs. The presentation of the psychological facts centers around the discussion of a response mechanism of human abilities, wants, and individual differences. Application is made to such topics as philanthropy, economics, supply and demand, natural resources and capital, labor and management, consumption, ownership, government, law, and social reform. The book is intended primarily for college students.

TRUMAN, DAVID BICKNELL. *Administrative Decentralization: A Study of the Chicago Field Offices of the United States Department of Agriculture*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1940. Pp. xvii+211. $2.50.

Basing its analysis upon the assumption of the desirability of decentralization in administrative practice, this volume analyzes the problem of decentralized administration

with special reference to the Department of Agriculture and more particularly with reference to the field offices of that department in Chicago.

VAN DER SLICE, AUSTIN. *International Labor, Diplomacy, and Peace, 1914–1919*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941. Pp. xi+408. $4.00.

An account of the role of labor in the conduct and settlement of the last war.

WALSHAW, R. S. *Migration to and from the British Isles*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1941. Pp. 94. 5*s*.

This volume, with an Introduction by D. Caradog Jones, offers a balance sheet of the migration to and from the British Isles, including Eire, showing the incongruities between the facts of migration and population policies and values. A special treatment is given to migration of aliens.

WAPLES, DOUGLAS; BERELSON, BERNARD; and BRADSHAW, FRANKLIN R. *What Reading Does to People: A Summary of Evidence on the Social Effects of Reading and a Statement of Problems for Research*. Chicago: University of Chicago, Press, 1940. Pp. xi+222. $2.00.

A "systematic synthesis" of literature meant as a prologue to research in this field.

WIECK, EDWARD A. *The American Miners' Association: A Record of the Origin of Coal Miners' Unions in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1940. Pp. 18+330. $2.00.

A historical study based on contemporary records.

WILLCOX, WALTER F. *Studies in American Demography*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1940. Pp. xxx+556. $4.50.

A series of papers by the chief statistician of the Census of 1900 designed to present a statistical description of the population of the United States and of its main groups, as well as a survey of recent statistical changes which may furnish a basis for forecasting the near future.

WIRTH, LOUIS (ed.). *Eleven Twenty-six: A Decade of Social Science Research*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. xv+498. $3.50.

A collection of papers given on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the dedication of the Social Science Building of the University of Chicago. Besides the formal papers there are included transcripts of a series of round tables on generalization in the social sciences: "The Social Sciences, One or Many," "Quantification: The Quest for Precision," "Training for Social Science Research," "Generalization in the Social Sciences," and "Social Science and Social Action." One of the major contributions to the volume is the complete bibliography of the social science faculty of the University of Chicago for the last decade.

WOLFLE, DAEL. *Factor Analysis to 1940*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. vii+69. $1.25.

An evaluative digest of the assumptions, procedures, uses, and limitations of the various methods of factor analysis with a bias in favor of the Thurstone method. Contains a bibliography of 530 titles of theoretical, critical, and research materials.

WOODYARD, ELLA. *Culture at a Price*. New York: George Grady Press, 1940. Pp. 126. $1.00.

One of the studies in the "Social Significance of Adult Education in the United States" series sponsored by the American Association for Adult Education. It deals with the activities of correspondence schools and their clients indicating the factors in our adult education scheme which allow the correspondence schools to survive and also pointing out some of the actual services these institutions render.

WUNDERLICH, FRIEDA. *British Labor and the War.* New York: Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science, New School for Social Research, 1941. Pp. 80. $0.40.

A study of the chief problems which have arisen in England since the beinnning of the war, specifically treating the questions of meeting the demands of wartime production and the political attitude of labor.

YODER, SANFORD CALVIN. *For Conscience Sake: A Study of Mennonite Migrations Resulting from the World War.* Goshen, Ind.: Mennonite Historical Society, 1940. Pp. xx+300. $2.00.

A carefully written history of the Mennonite migrations caused by the World War. A brief treatment of the background of the Mennonite faith and of the struggles faced by the Mennonite as a result of the world-situation. The migrations are discussed in two sections, the first dealing with those occurring among Mennonite groups in North America and the second dealing with the migration of Russian Mennonites. In connection with the latter, treatment is given to the migrations to Canada, Mexico, Brazil, and Paraguay, and to wandering refugees in the Far East.

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